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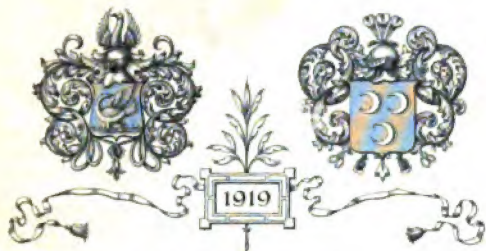
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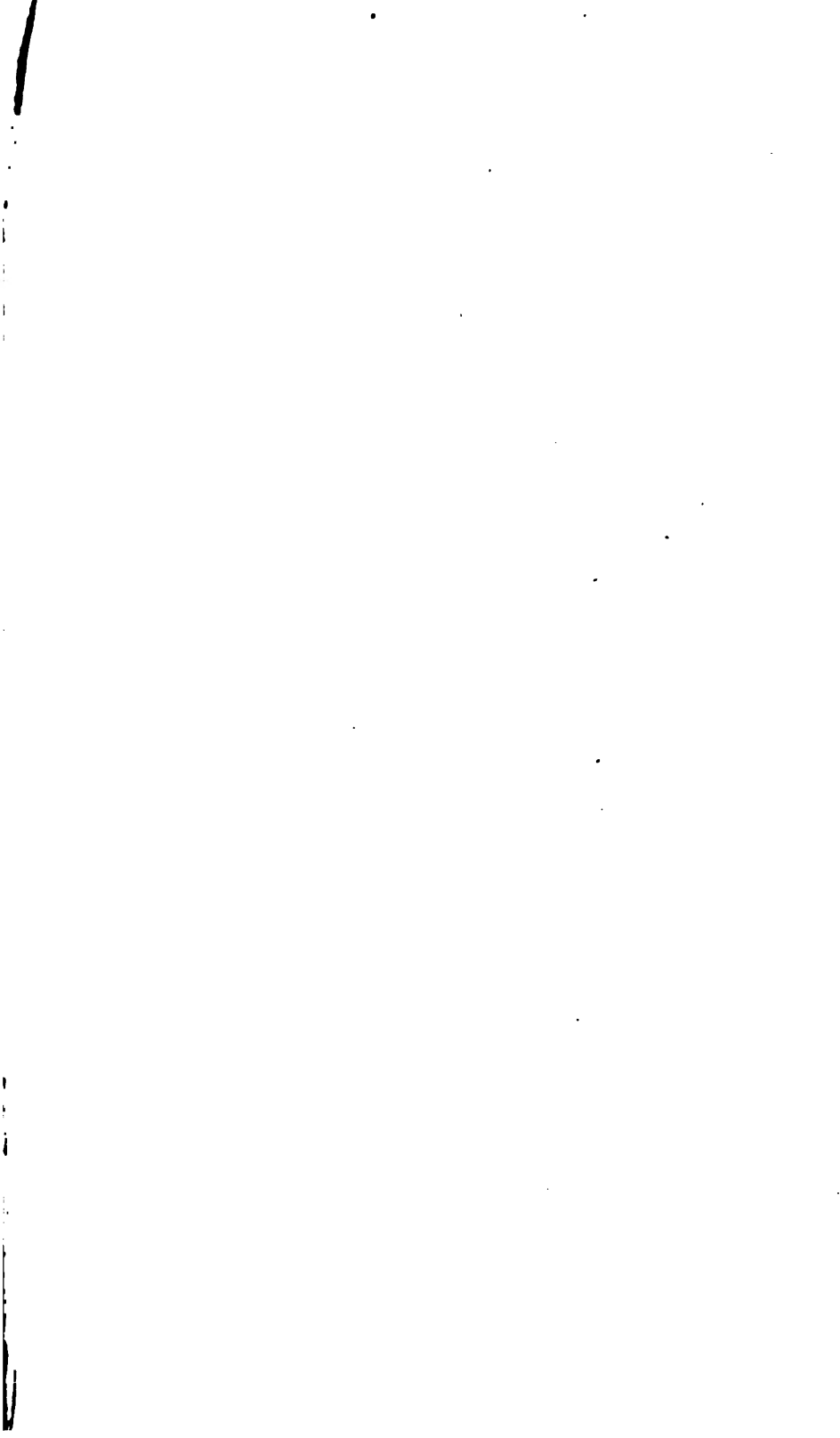
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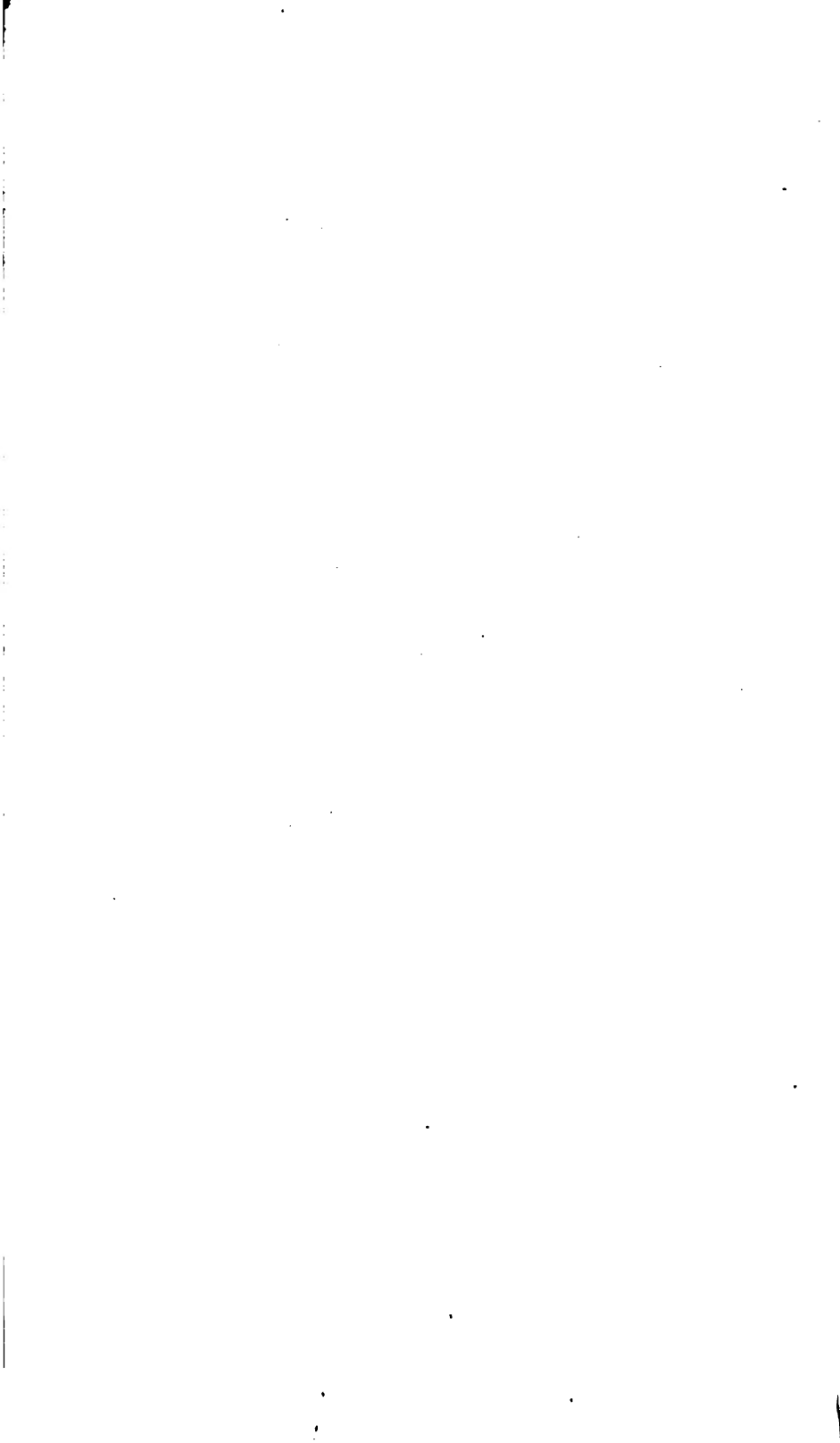
*granddaughter of
General Peter Gansevoort, junior
and widow of the
Honorable Abraham Lansing
of Albany, New York*

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7







AN
HISTORICAL REVIEW
OF THE
STATE OF IRELAND,
FROM THE
INVASION OF THAT COUNTRY UNDER HENRY II.
TO ITS
UNION WITH GREAT BRITAIN
ON THE FIRST OF JANUARY 1801.

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

BY FRANCIS PLOWDEN, *Esq.*

VOL. IV.

Pauci prudentiâ honesta ab deterioribus, utilia ab noxiis discernunt : plures
aliorum eventis docentur. TAG. 4. *Ann.* 33.

Few are qualified by their own reflection to mark the boundaries between
vice and virtue. To separate the useful from that which leads to destruction
is not the talent of every man. The example of others is the school of
wisdom. MURPHY'S *Trans.* Vol. i. p. 273.

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AN
HISTORICAL REVIEW
OF THE
STATE OF IRELAND.

THE anniversary commemoration of the French Revolution was celebrated on the 14th of July, with the most solemn festivity and a gala, by the inhabitants and neighbourhood of Belfast, the more strongly to mark their sympathy with the French revolution. All the armed corps of volunteers attended, and fired several feus de joie; many striking emblems in allusion to the revolution of 1688 were displayed, marked their horror of despotism and arbitrary power. And a most sympathetic address or declaration on the occasion, was sent to the society of the Friends of the Constitution at Bourdeaux.*

* Their answer shews the boasted sympathy which at that time existed between these gentlemen in the north, and the French revolutioners. It was received by Mr. Sharman, the president of the meeting.

"The Society of the Friends of the Constitution, at Bourdeaux, to the
"Volunteers and Inhabitants of the town and environs of Belfast, in Ire-
"land.

"*Friends and Brethren,*

"YES, generous Irishmen!—Receive this appellation, which we have hitherto granted *exclusively* to Frenchmen, true friends of our constitution. Receive it, notwithstanding the distance which separates us; the difference of our idioms, and of our manners: Men inspired by a love of the human kind, and the spirit of liberty, are mutually attracted, however distant their situations: there is nothing intermediate between them, were they placed at different extremities of the globe. The citizens who agreed to the declaration concluded on at Belfast, on the 14th July, 1791, are then *all our brethren and our friends*.

"Your address, read the 12th of this month, at one of the public sittings of our society, and frequently interrupted by universal bursts of applause, has filled our souls with sentiments of delight; in contemplating the purity, the compass, and the energy of your maxims respecting the natural and political rights of man. We fancied we beheld the standard of liberty, which philosophy at this day unfurls in every part of Europe, arrested in its progress on the rock of Ireland, to receive the new homage of an enlightened people.

These public acts of communication of the Protestants in the north with France, gave particular offence to government, who manifested great jealousy and diffidence towards all persons connected with them. Mr. Tone had been secretary to the Catholic committee, and Messrs. Simon Bader and William Todd Jones were their avowed friends and advocates. Several therefore, of the Roman Catholic gentlemen of landed property, who disapproved of this general system of political measures pursued by these societies, in order to express their horror of co-operating in any degree with such men and measures, seceded formally from the Catholic committee; and on the 27th of December, 1791, presented to the lord-lieutenant a petition or address, which went no farther than a general expression of

" The truth of your sentiments; the depth of your reflexions; the gracefulness of your expressions, recalled to our recollection those celebrated bards, those immortal poets, whom the rage of the tyrannous Edward pursued with his most cruel prosecutions, to stifle the voices of the country, of honour, and of liberty.

" France has given the signal of a bold insurrection against all prejudices; against all abuses; against all illegitimate authorities. May it, *as you desire*, become general among the human race! That day, friends and brethren, will arrive; when the different parts of the civilized world shall raise together their eloquent voice; which, like that of Belfast, shall assert the rights of the people, and teach them to recover them by the empire of reason, and the power of the laws.

" Receive, friends and brethren, the congratulations and thanks of a free people, transmitted to you through us, as their organ, for the example which you yourselves lately gave to the universe!

" We congratulate you on the talents displayed in the exposition of your principles respecting the nature and end of government. We congratulate you on the sagacity, the noble freedom, with which you have pointed out the influence of the French revolution on the happiness of every people. We congratulate you on the courage, with which you force tyrants to listen to expressions of that lively interest which you take in our fate; to hear the prayer which you address to God, that he may protect us with his power; to attend above all, to the ardent vows which you have offered up for our success. In fine, we congratulate you, *brethren and friends*, on the respect which you have shewn to the National Assembly of France, by addressing to it directly your declaration. Ah! that you could conceive the degree in which that brilliant act of admiration has penetrated our souls with joy and gratitude! —that you could conceive how much all good Frenchmen are touched, honoured, filled with noble pride, when they behold the just tribute of applause, which they themselves unceasingly offer to their regenerate assembly, passing from mouth to mouth, from clime to clime; to that council of Sages, who thus enjoy, before hand, the glory with which posterity will be crowned.

" We are, with the most tender affection,

" Friends and Brothers,

" The members of the Society of the Friends of the
" Constitution, at Bourdeaux.

" AZEMA, President,

" CHAPELLE, Secretary."

" At Bourdeaux, 14th of August, 1791,
" in the third year of our liberty."

submissiveness and respect to government, throwing themselves and their body upon their humanity and wisdom.*

On the 30th of December, 1791, the United Irishmen of Dublin held a special session, at which they approved of a circular letter which was calculated to encourage similar societies; and to it they annexed a declaration of their political sentiments, and the test which they had taken, as a social and sacred compact to bind them more closely together.† They also in their publications animadverted severely upon the 64 addressers. The general disposition to republicanism which appeared in the publications, and whole conduct of these new societies, became daily more and more obnoxious to government: they were chiefly composed of Dissenters: the several leading men amongst them were Protestants of the established church: it was believed and constantly preached up by the Castle, that this new, violent, and affectionate attachment of the Dissenters for their Roman Catholic brethren, proceeded not from any sentiment of liberality or toleration, but purely to engage the co-operation of the great mass of the people the more warmly in forwarding the several popular questions lately brought before parliament. The truth, however is, that their marked forwardness to applaud and sympathize with the French innovators had caused suspicions in many strong abettors of those very points, that the ulterior views of the societies then formed, (into which the Catholics were not admitted) tended to objects beyond the known limits of the constitution. From that time shyness, jealousy, and distrust subsisted between those new societies and the Whig Club, though the agents and writers for government attempted to identify their views, measures and principles, as appears by the newspapers, and other publications of that day.

In the county of Armagh, the local differences and internal warfare of the *Defenders* and *Peep of Day Boys*, were carried on with increased acrimony: duration naturally extended the evil; and the extension gave the *Defenders* the superiority of numbers; they in their turn became occasionally assailants and aggressors. The *Peep of Day Boys*, occupied with their own contest, gave not into the enlarged views of liberality and attachment to the Catholics, which distinguished all the public acts of their brethren at Belfast and Dublin. Here on the contrary, appeared all the bitterness of ancient puritanical rancour against popery; and it is not improbable, that the refusal of the Earl

* A copy of the address, with the names of those who subscribed it, is to be seen in the Appendix, No. LXXXVI. It highly displeased the opposite party, and many severe things were said upon the 64 addressers: some called it an eleemosynary address.

† For this declaration, vide Appendix, No. LXXXVII.

of Charlemont to countenance and abet the ferocious efforts of the *Peep of Day Boys* against the *Defenders*, became the immediate cause of a partner having been imposed upon him in the government of that province. For at the spring assizes for the county of Armagh, 1791, the grand jury and high sheriff entered into the following resolutions:

“That a rage among the Roman Catholics, for illegally arming themselves, has of late taken place, and is truly alarming: in order then to put a stop to such proceedings, and to restore tranquillity, we do pledge ourselves to each other, as magistrates and individuals, and do hereby offer a reward of five guineas for the conviction of each of the first twenty persons illegally armed and assembled as aforesaid.”

An address presented by the Ulster volunteers, to their general, Lord Charlemont, after his return from England, on the occasion of a coadjutor having been appointed with him in the government of Armagh, strongly marked the deep sense of the affront they still conceived had been put upon him by such an unprecedented appointment. And shortly after some spirited resolutions were entered into, and an address presented by the Belfast volunteers to those of Dublin on the subject of the Armagh resolutions, expressing sentiments of toleration similar to those contained in the resolutions of the Dublin Independents, and the other volunteer corps of the metropolis. Publications were industriously circulated, that the most distant idea of intolerance was thus warmly disclaimed on all hands, and in every quarter of the kingdom. Did the people of Ulster entertain any thing like disaffection to their Roman Catholic brethren, it was in Belfast, the largest and most populous town of the province, that the symptoms of it would have been most prevalent. Happily there no such disaffection had existed: on the contrary, a spirit of manly and enlightened liberality, which promised to promote and perpetuate that national unanimity, on which depended the hopes and prosperity of the kingdom. Resolutions of the Independent Dublin volunteers, and those of the delegates from the Protestant members of the other corps were published, expressive of feelings and sentiments which proved that the appellation of Irish volunteers should mean what it originally meant, friends of universal and equal liberty; devoted enemies to religious bigotry and intolerance to usurpation of the common rights of man, and the base subjection of the many to the few. It was to be lamented, that an avowal of those generous sentiments had been called forth by a misconception of some of their fellow countrymen, no less zealous than others in the cause of general freedom; no less inimical to the bigotted intolerance of the sixteenth century.

Misconception it was that could ever have brought any description of the people of Ulster under the disgraceful charge of bigotry and intolerance. The gloomy cloud of superstition, which lately enveloped the greater part of Europe in all the horrors of religious dissention, of cruel and relentless persecution, was already dissipated by the increased and increasing light of philosophy and reason, even in those countries where it was most dense, and its influence most mischievous. It was not to be supposed that any vestige of it remained in a country like that so long exercised in contemplating the rights of men and nations, for much less attention to abstract politics than Ireland had indulged in, would have shewn, that persecution for religious opinions was incompatible with the law of nature, of society, and of God. The Armagh resolutions might possibly contain some incautious expressions, but the expressions of men of known fidelity to the cause of civil and religious freedom, and to the general interests of the kingdom, inseparably connected with the concord of its inhabitants, candour would interpret with indulgence; nor would she wrest an unguarded phrase into proof incontrovertible of treason against the rights of Irishmen. Certainly the men of Armagh might have laboured for the restoration of peace in their county, which, beyond doubt, was their only object, without resorting to expressions, which seemed to asperse a general denomination of loyal subjects. To adopt such expressions was imprudent in them, and probably an inadvertent error: they would, no doubt have magnanimity enough to come forward and disavow the principles. As for a spirit of intolerance among the Protestants of Ulster, it was purely ideal, and those who were acquainted with the state of political and religious sentiment in that province knew it to be so. The common enemies of both Protestants and Catholics, who wished to depress the power of each by playing off one against another, were those who alone endeavoured to persuade the people of Ireland of its existence, and who would fain give it being, and call it into action, to serve as an instrument of oppression. The people of Ireland were warned to be on their guard against the deep artifice; a spirit of brotherly forbearance could alone frustrate the design of the common enemy: nor could their country derive any good but from the unanimity of all denominations of its people.

The year 1792 opened scenes peculiarly important to the fate of Ireland. Some years had past without any parliamentary proceeding relative to the bulk of the nation, which never ceased to feel and latterly to express their suffering under the existing code of penal laws, affecting persons professing the Catholic religion. In consequence of some of the warmest advocates for the Catholic claims having resorted to general and abstract reasoning

they greatly suffered in the eyes of government and the majority of parliament. It was at this time difficult to suggest a general ground of civil freedom, without being suspected of being tainted with Gallic licentiousness. The whole Catholic body, on some ground or other, was now worked up to an absolute expectation of relief. The addressers superadded to the equitable grounds of their claims, the submissiveness and respect of their application, and their confidence in the humanity and generosity of government. The petitioners relied more on the irresistible force of truth and equity, than on the liberality or justice of government. Prudence however taught them, that some attention was to be paid to appearances and prejudices. It has been observed, that the great political change in the public mind had been produced by the writings of Messrs. Burke and Paine: between these two extremes, no middle post was tenable. In order, therefore, to purge themselves in the eyes of government of any of that sort of levelling democracy, which was so peculiarly obnoxious to government, the Catholic committee chose for their council and agent the son of Mr. Burke, conceiving that he would give no advice, concur in no measure, abet no step, without the privity, direction and approbation of his father: and it was no unfair conclusion on the part of the generality of the Catholic body, that whatever was backed and supported by Mr. Burke,* could not be urged or claimed upon French principles.

* It had been concerted, and it was soon after well known, that Mr. Burke's particular friend, Sir Hercules Langrishe, was to bring forth the Roman Catholic bill. Mr. Burke on the occasion wrote a very able letter or rather a most constitutional essay on the subject to his friend. This letter is of very material importance to the history of the progress of Catholic emancipation. Sir Hercules Langrishe was the man fixed upon by government to bring forward the subject of their claims. He had always been favourably disposed to them: but his sentiments had been latterly altered by the fashionable cry against all popular claims, and the fear he was under of shewing any degree of opposition to the system of the Castle, which ever had been the polar star of his political navigation. Mr. Burke therefore tells him, that he wished his ideas had been more his own. In consenting to stand forward on this occasion, the baronet appears to have acted with extraordinary caution: he communicated both his own and all other persons objections against the claims of the Catholics: he furnished him with all the letters and publications written upon the subject by Catholics and others, and in a letter of the 10th December, 1791, most pointedly urged him to deliver his opinions upon the whole case before him. Mr. Burke on the 3d of January, 1792, gave him that learned and liberal opinion upon the subject of elective franchise, which probably reconciled the British minister to the propriety, justice, and necessity of acceding to their demands. It was avowedly written to meet every species of objection: political, legal, constitutional, moral, local, permanent and provisional. It was calculated to remove the prejudices of the church of England, and every species of Protestant Dissenter, and above all supereminently demonstrative of the compatibility of Catholic emancipation, with the coronation oath. With the full objection to the democracy of some few of the Catholics before his eyes: he thus spoke. "It becomes an object of very serious consideration,

It appears to have been well understood between the British and Irish cabinets, that the opinions and countenance of Mr. Burke, at this period the triumphant and unrivalled champion of church and state throughout Great Britain, should be permitted to have

"whether, because wicked men of various descriptions are engaged in seditious courses, the rational, sober, and valuable part of one description should not be indulged their sober and rational expectations! You who have looked deeply into the spirit of the Popery laws, must be perfectly sensible, that a great part of the present mischief which we abhor in common, has arisen from them. If the absurd persons you mention, find no way of providing for liberty, but by overturning this happy constitution, and introducing a frantic democracy, let us take care how we prevent better people from any rational expectations of partaking in the benefits of that constitution as it stands. The maxims you establish cut the matter short. They have no sort of connexion with the good or ill behaviour of the persons who seek relief, or with the proper or improper means by which they seek it. They form a perpetual bar to all pleas and all expectations.

"There is another way of taking an objection to this concession, which I admit to be something more plausible, and worthy of a more attentive examination. It is that this numerous class of people is mutinous, disorderly, prone to sedition, and easy to be wrought upon by the insidious arts of wicked and designing men; that conscious of this, the sober, rational, and wealthy part of that body, who are totally of another character, do by no means desire any participation for themselves, or for any one else of their description, in the franchises of the British constitution.

"I have great doubt of the exactness of any part of this observation. But let us admit, that the body of the Catholics are prone to sedition (of which, as I have said, I entertain much doubt), is it possible, that any fair observer or fair reasoner, can think of confining this description to them only? I believe it to be possible for men to be mutinous and seditious who feel no grievance: but I believe no man will assert seriously, that when people are of a turbulent spirit, the best way to keep them in order, is to furnish them with something substantial to complain of.

"The popular meeting from which apprehensions have been entertained, has assembled. I have accidentally had conversation with two friends of mine, who knew something of the gentleman who was put into the chair upon that occasion; one of them has had money transactions with him, the other, from curiosity, has been to see his concerns: they both tell me he is a man of some property; but you must be the best judge of this, who by your office, are likely to know his transactions. Many of the others are certainly persons of fortune; and all, or most, fathers of families, men in respectable ways of life; and some of them far from contemptible, either for their information, or for the abilities which they have shewn in the discussion of their interests. What such men think it for their advantage to acquire, ought not, *prima facie*, to be considered as rash or heady, or incompatible with the public safety or welfare.

"You have sent me several papers, some in print, some in manuscript. I think I had seen all of them except the formula of association. I confess they appear to me to contain matter mischievous, and capable of giving alarm, if the spirit in which they are written should be found to make any considerable progress. But I am at a loss to know how to apply them, as objections to the case now before us. When I find that the general committee which acts for the Roman Catholics in Dublin, prefers the association proposed in the written draft you have sent me, to a respectful application in parliament, I shall think the persons who sign such a paper, to be unworthy of any privilege, which may be thought fit to be granted; and that such men ought, by name, to be excepted from any benefit under the con-

currency and support also through the kingdom of Ireland. The great object of political attention throughout Ireland in the year 1792, was the question of opening some constitutional rights to the Catholics. The transactions of this year have generally been

"stitution to which they offer this violence. But I do not find that this form
 "of a seditious league has been signed by any person whatsoever, either on
 "the part of the supposed projectors, or on the part of those whom it is calculat-
 "ed to seduce. I do not find, on inquiry, that such a thing was mentioned, or
 "even remotely alluded to, in the general meeting of the Catholics, from
 "which so much violence was apprehended. I have considered the other
 "publications, signed by individuals, on the part of certain societies; I may
 "mistake, for I have not the honour of knowing them personally, but I take
 "Mr. Butler and Mr. Tandy not to be Catholics, but members of the estab-
 "lished church. Not one that I recollect of these publications, which you and
 "I equally dislike, appears to be written by persons of that persuasion. Now,
 "if, whilst a man is dutifully soliciting a favour from parliament, any person
 "should chuse, in an improper manner, to shew his inclination towards the
 "cause depending; and if that must destroy the cause of the petitioner, then,
 "not only the petitioner, but the legislature itself is in the power of any weak
 "friend or artful enemy, that the supplicant, or that the parliament may have.
 "A man must be judged by his own actions only. Certain Protestant Dissent-
 "ers make seditious propositions to the Catholics, which it does not appear
 "that they have yet accepted. It would be strange that the tempter should
 "escape all punishment, and that he who, under circumstances full of seduc-
 "tion and full of provocation, has resisted the temptation, should incur the
 "penalty. You know, that, with regard to the Dissenters, who are stated to
 "be the chief movers in this vile scheme of altering the principles of election
 "to a right of voting by the head, you are not able (if you ought even to wish
 "such a thing) to deprive them of any part of the franchises and privileges
 "which they hold on a footing of perfect equality with yourselves. They may
 "do what they please with constitutional impunity; but the others cannot
 "even listen with civility to an invitation from them to an ill-judged scheme of
 "liberty, without forfeiting, for ever, all hopes of any of those liberties which
 "we admit to be sober and rational. It is known, I believe, that the greater,
 "as well as the sounder part of our excludee countrymen, have not adopted
 "the wild ideas, and wilder engagements, which have been held out to them;
 "but have rather chosen to hope small and safe concessions from the legal
 "power, than boundless objects from trouble and confusion. This mode of
 "action seems to me to mark men of sobriety, and to distinguish them from
 "those who are intemperate, from circumstance, or from nature.

"Such, my dear Sir, is the plain nature of the argument drawn from the re-
 "volution maxims, enforced by a supposed disposition in the Catholics to unite
 "with the Dissenters. Such it is, though it were clothed in never such bland
 "and civil forms, and wrapped up, as a poet says, in a thousand "artful folds
 "of sacred lawn." For my own part, I do know in what manner to shape
 "such arguments, so as to obtain admission for them into a rational under-
 "standing. Every thing of this kind is to be reduced, at last, to threats of
 "power, I cannot say *vix* victis, and then throw the sword into the scale. I
 "have no sword; and if I had, in this case most certainly I would not use it
 "as a make-weight, in political reasoning.

"Observe on these principles, the difference between the procedure of the
 "parliament and the Dissenters, towards the people in question. One employs
 "courtship, the other force. The Dissenters offer bribes, the parliament no-
 "thing but the front negative of a stern and forbidding authority. A man may
 "be very wrong in his ideas of what is good for him. But no man affronts me,
 "nor can therefore justify my affronting him, by offering to make me as happy
 "as himself, according to his own ideas of happiness. This the Dissenters do

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represented as differently, by the different persons who have undertaken to rehearse them, as if they had retailed the acts and deeds of distinct centuries and distinct people. Although it be a matter of undoubted notoriety, that no member of opposition did bring forward or move any thing on behalf of the Catholics during the session, (except the presentation of petitions) and

“ to the Catholics. You are on the different extremes. The Dissenters offer, with regard to constitutional rights and civil advantages of all sorts, every thing: you refuse every thing. With them, there is boundless, though not very assured hope; with you, a very sure and very unqualified despair. The terms of alliance, from the Dissenters, offer a representation of the commons, chosen out of the people by the head. This is absurdly and dangerously large, in my opinion, and that scheme of election is known to have been, at all times, perfectly odious to me. But I cannot think it right of course, to punish the Irish Roman Catholics by an universal exclusion, because others, whom you would not punish at all, propose an universal admission. I cannot dissemble, to myself; that in this very kingdom, many persons who are not in the situation of the Irish Catholics, but who on the contrary, enjoy the full benefit of the constitution as it stands, and some of whom, from the effect of their fortunes, enjoy it in a large measure, had some years ago associated to procure great and undefined changes (they considered them as reforms) in the popular part of the constitution. Our friend, the late Mr. Flood (no slight man) proposed in his place, and in my hearing, a representation not much less extensive than this, for England; in which every house was to be inhabited by a voter, in addition to all the actual votes by other titles, all those (some of the corporate) which we know do not require a house, or a shed. Can I forget that a person of the very highest rank, of very large fortune, and of the very first class of ability, brought a bill into the House of Lords, in the head quarters of aristocracy, containing identically the same project, for the supposed adoption of which, by a club or two, it is thought right to extinguish all hopes in the Roman Catholics of Ireland? I cannot say it was very eagerly embraced, or very warmly pursued. But the lords neither did disavow the bill, nor treat it with any disregard, nor express any sort of disapprobation of its noble author, who has never lost, with king or people, the least degree of the respect and consideration which so justly belongs to him.

“ Several are in dread of the manœuvres of certain persons among the Dissenters, who turn this ill humour to their own ill purposes. You know better than I can, how much these proceedings of certain characters among the Dissenters are to be feared. You are to weigh, with the temper which is natural to you, whether it may be for the safety of our establishment, that the Catholics should be ultimately persuaded, that they have no hope to enter into the constitution, but through the Dissenters.

“ Think, whether this be the way to prevent, or dissolve factious combinations against the church or the state. Reflect seriously on the possible consequences of keeping, in the heart of your country, a bank of discontent, every hour accumulating, upon which every description of seditious men may draw at pleasure. They, whose principles of faction would dispose them to the establishment of an arbitrary monarchy, will find a nation of men who have no sort of interest in freedom; but who will have an interest in that equality of justice or favour, with which a wise despot must view all his subjects who do not attack the foundations of his power. Love of liberty itself may, in such men, become the means of establishing an arbitrary domination. On the other hand, they who wish for a democratic republic, will find a set of men who have no choice between civil servitude, and the entire ruin of a mixed constitution.”

that the bill brought in by Sir Hercules Langrishe, a constant supporter of government was long thought of, maturely digested and reflexedly approved of by government before it was ushered into the House of Commons: yet has that very circumstance been notoriously falsified by the Earl of Clare in the most solemn manner.

* "With respect to the old code of the Popery laws, there cannot be a doubt that it ought to have been repealed. It was impossible that any country could continue to exist under a code, by which a majority of its inhabitants were cut off from the rights of property. But in the relaxation of these laws there was a fatal error. It should have been taken up systematically by the ministers of the crown, and not left in the hands of every individual, who chose to take possession of it, as an engine of power or popularity. This, however, was done; and before the subject attracted the notice of the servants of the crown, the Popery laws were unequivocally repealed so far as they affected the rights of property, were relaxed in every clause of intolerance, which affected the Popish worship; and the profession of the law was opened to persons of the Popish religion, without qualification or restriction. In 1792, a giddy young man, now no more, was brought over here from England by the Catholic committee, as their avowed agent, who, immediately after his arrival, commenced a warm canvass of the members of both houses of parliament for the political interests of his clients, and in the course of this canvass I can state, from my own knowledge, his great argument was, an unequivocal offer of the services of his clients to men whose stations naturally gave them some weight in the public councils, to establish their political power on a basis not to be shaken, if they would put themselves at the head of the Catholic body."†

* Speech of the Earl of Clare, on the 10th of February, 1800.

† An account of these first transactions has been left us by the young man, whom the chancellor had thus charged with levity, who evidently acted under the advice of his father, and whose revising pen is discoverable through the style, language, and sentiments of the whole pamphlet. It is entitled, *An Address from the general Committee of the Roman Catholics to their fellow Protestant Subjects, &c.* published in Dublin, 1792. Here we find the following account of the division of the Catholic body. (P. 5.) "In the first place it is incumbent upon us to reduce the confused mass of obloquy, which has been heaped upon us, into some kind of certainty, both in its substance and in its application. We shall afterwards examine the grounds of it. For this purpose we are to premise, that a division in the Catholic body has been artfully imagined, and strongly insisted upon; of which one part is honoured with the appellation of the real Catholics; the men of birth, property, education, character, morals, and understanding: The other part is represented, as a base, unlettered, mechanical, poor, and vulgar herd; the ob-

The body of the Roman Catholics, though necessarily anxious to be relieved of the hardships they had so long laboured under, could not be altogether insensible of the new and unaccustomed sympathy and liberality of any of their Protestant countrymen.

"scure tenants of the counting house, and the rude tillers of the soil; men incapable of comprehending the principles of society, or the ties of moral obligation.

"First, it is proper to remark, that the distribution and contra-distinction of men, which is here supposed, implies an entire and previous dissolution of the social bond, and one which if ever it takes place, can only exist for the destruction of the superior class. But *fortunately* for the prosperity, the peace, and the honour of Ireland, no such division has yet been effected among the Roman Catholics. It is true indeed, that a division (if the defection of so small a number can be called a division) has been fomented, and yet subsists, which however it is to be lamented upon other grounds, is not of the nature above described. Two parties are seen amongst us, one composed of those who (from motives best known to themselves) have been induced to put their hands to the address of the 17th of December; for which act Lord Kenmare has been declared unworthy of our confidence: the other party consists on one hand, of this committee, delegated for the purpose of transacting the concerns of the Roman Catholics; and on the other, of all those who have come forward in various resolutions of approbation to this committee, and of abhorrence of the imputations, which Lord Kenmare's address has obliquely thrown upon us, but which many of the addressers themselves have since honourably disclaimed.

"Of these two parties it is evident, that the pompous and encomiastic side of the picture above delineated, is meant to apply to the followers of Lord Kenmare; the villifying and opprobrious expressions relate to this committee, and to those who have supported it. Before we proceed to expose the injustice of this application in both its parts, we wish to have it understood, that in discharging ourselves from illiberal reflexions, we only mean to reject those which imply some evil moral quality. We should be far from the mean and insolent vanity, so unbecoming a Christian and a man, of taking pride in the accidents of birth, wealth, and education, in whatever degree we might possess them. We do not account ourselves better than those whom perhaps a kinder providence, has placed in the most humble life, and who serve their generation with a more obscure, or a less successful industry. Why should indigence be insulted? We do not despise the poor, nor him who with the sweat of his brow, bears all the burden of the common curse. Our actions will show, that we are not willing to sacrifice, for objects of avarice and ambition to ourselves and to our children, the necessary security, the just importance, the protecting franchise of the man, whose hard toil obtains from our mother earth the very bread we eat. When, therefore, it is asserted, that we are only the unlettered, poor, mechanical members of our persuasion; we deny it only because it is not the fact. As far as it regards ourselves, the imposture is less material. But, when it is considered, that it is not this committee alone, who are represented as destitute of property, character, and knowledge, incapable of discerning social good or public utility; but that all the Roman Catholics, who have stood forth on this occasion, the principal merchants of so many trading cities, the householders of all the parishes of this capital, the landed proprietors of so many counties, are involved in this indiscriminate reproach of meanness, poverty and ignorance; common sense, and the feelings of mankind exact from us an authentic assertion of the truth. We declare then, and we are warranted in declaring, that the names and characters of the persons who have signed resolutions in favour of the general committee, are of the first respectability in every class, and every line which the law has left open to

The Catholics did not weigh to a scruple those differences, by which the religious tenets of the established church and the Dissenters varied from their own; nor did they open old accounts to discover whether the asperity of Puritanical rigour had been softened by the assumption of Protestant ascendancy: those, who upon the broad basis of constitutional freedom adopted the principle of their emancipation could not but be received with cordiality, as the welcome heralds of the cessation of their bondage, and coadjutors in the glorious work of their delivery. Although the Catholics were not generally admitted into the different societies, which had lately been formed and instituted for promoting the great popular objects of civil freedom and reform: yet it was morally impossible, that many Catholic individuals should not at that time have sympathized with their Protestant brethren in the forwarding of those objects. Nothing however had been ever suggested, much less attempted by them as a body towards their attainment. Under the existing vehemence of political prejudice it was found prudent in the body, to prove to the legislature as well as the nation at large, as the fact was, that the exertions of their body were exclusively confined to the relaxation of the penal code.*

"us. Let those who have read their resolutions themselves judge of their capacity, and say whether they are, as has been insinuated, below the standard of the human faculties, and incapable of political combinations, or even of appreciating their own wants, and their own grievances.

"It has been represented, that they have no stake in the prosperity of their country, and nothing to hazard in the event of public calamity. If we are to speak of their substance, to bring the estimate within the lowest possible calculation, we cannot compute the property of those who have already signed resolutions in our favor (to say nothing of ourselves, or of those who are yet to sign) at less than ten millions sterling; we should come nearer the truth, if we should say twenty millions. If mercantile, and personal wealth constitutes the greater part of this sum, it is because the property of the Roman Catholics is principally vested in trade, and that we have been long incapable, and are but lately qualified to acquire real estates. But though Providence has not frowned upon our humble industry, we repeat it again, that we solicit relief not for the sake of the rich, but for the sake of the poor. And if we were all sunk (as too many of us are) in one dreary lot of hopeless poverty, we should only possess a stronger claim to the charities of parliament, and one argument more for a participation in equal laws.

"But it is said these addressers are the landed interest. A landed interest is certainly respectable, and deserves much, but not the whole attention of a legislature; that is to say, where it is united, and not when it is in a state of unnatural separation from the general mass of property. It so happens, however, that a much greater proportion of that very property is with the committee, than with the followers of Lord Kenmare."

* Thus were their exertions expressed by their agent Mr. R. Burke: "We now proceed to shew, that the principles and conduct imputed to us, are equally destitute of foundation. It is said, that we are turbulent and seditious, that we have formed regular plans for the intimidation of parliament, and that instead of making application for favours, we assert claims of right, of speculative right unknown to the constitution, and subversive of society. These are the charges; we are not afraid to repeat them. Whether we in-

On the 19th of January, 1792, the parliament was opened by a speech from the throne, in which his excellency, after having communicated to them the marriage of the Duke of York with the Princess Royal of Prussia, observed, that the constant attention they had shewn to the interests of Ireland made it unnecessary to recommend to them a continuance of that wise system of policy, from which their country had received such inestimable advantages in the increase of her trade, credit and manufactures. The address, which was moved by Lord Thurles and seconded by the hon. G. Knox, imported the thanks of that house to his majesty for continuing in the government a lord lieutenant, who had shewn a zealous disposition to forward every measure that might contribute to the public welfare; and that they were convinced of his decided resolution to support the due execution of the law; and that under his firm administration they should feel confident of the maintenance of good order and government: upon which Mr. Grattan said, he most cheerfully concurred in every thing honourable to his majesty, and sincerely rejoiced in every circumstance, which could really add to his public and private happiness, which must give pleasure to every branch of his majesty's subjects, and to none more sincerely than to his loyal people of Ireland. They must ever rejoice in the auspicious increase of the illustrious House of Hanover, whose accession to the throne of these dominions had been attended with so many blessings to that country, as well as every other part of the empire. So far he was ready to concur in the address. But to that part of it which went to declare thanks to his majesty, for continuing in the government of this country a lord lieutenant and an administration whose measures he had found it necessary to oppose, and who had uniformly opposed every measure urged for the good of their country, he could not give his assent. Ten years had elapsed since they had recovered their constitution,

"intimidate, or are ourselves the object of intimidation, is for those to pronounce who bear the imputations with which we are covered, and the vengeance which is denounced against us. What have we done, or what are we able to do, which makes it necessary for the newspapers and pamphlets of the day, to threaten us with the unfolded terrors of Irish, and even of British power? This we conceive is something like intimidation. But why is it, that while on one side we are reprobated as vile, and as of no account in the scale of public judgment: on the other, we are treated as enemies of the most dreadful importance? Such are the inconsistencies into which our enemies are hurried. It is the perturbation of the passions.

"As to the committee we are to observe, that if it is an improper, it is at least no recent institution. It was formed about twenty years ago, under the immediate eye, and tacit sanction of government. From that time forward, all the parliamentary and general business of the Roman Catholics have been transacted through that channel by every minister, and every public man, to this very day."

and three since, in the opinion of some, they had lost it. Their present ministers had made two attempts on their liberties; the first had failed, and the second had succeeded. They could remember the propositions; the people of Ireland would not consent to be governed by the British parliament: an expedient was devised, let the Irish parliament govern the people of Ireland, and Britain govern the Irish parliament. She was to do so specifically in those subjects in which she had been most oppressive; monopolies of commerce east and west. They were to put down the Irish constitution, in order to put up the monopoly against Irish commerce. The ministry, who conducted this trick, took care to make the Irish advance by a certain number of propositions, under an assurance, that the British cabinet would to an iota accede, and they made the Irish parliament give an additional revenue on the faith of that accession. They then suffered the propositions to be reversed; turned them against the country from which they were supposed to proceed, and made them fatal at once to their constitution, and her commerce. The individuals concerned in that business, some of them, had pledged themselves against an iota of alteration: they broke their honour. The Irish minister was pledged to a specific system; he prevaricated; in the attempt on her liberty he was a violater; in taking her taxes a swindler. This measure was defeated by the influence principally of that part of the aristocracy, who refused to go through the bill; and who had been dismissed. They who made the attempt had been advanced and rewarded. The path of public treachery in a principal country leads to the block; but in a nation, governed like a province, to the helm.

The second attempt was their modelling of the parliament: in 1789, fifteen new salaries, with several new pensions to the members thereof, were created at once and added to the old overgrown parliamentary influence of the crown. In other words the expenditure of the interest of half a million to buy the House of Commons; the sale of the peerage and the purchase of seats in the commons; the formation of a stock-purse by the minister to monopolize boroughs, and buy up representations. This new practice whereby the minister of the crown becomes the common borough-broker of the kingdom, constitutes an offence so multitudinous and in all its parts so criminal, as to call for radical reformation, and exemplary punishment; whether the persons concerned be Lord Buckingham or his secretary, or those who became the objects of his promotion, because they had been the ministers of his vices. It was a conspiracy against the fundamental laws of the land, and sought to establish, and had established, in the place of a limited monarchy, a corrupt despotism; and if any thing rescued the persons so concerned from the name

of traitors, it was not the principle of law, but its omission, that had not described by any express provisional statute that patri-
cide, of which these men in intention, and in substance were
guilty. They had adopted a practice, which decided the fate of
their parliamentary constitution. In vain should they boast of
its blessings, and of its three estates, the king, lords, and com-
mons; when the king sold one estate to buy the other, and so
contaminated both. The minister had sent one set of men pack-
ing into the peers, and another into the commons; the first he
called the hereditary council, the latter the grand council of the
nation, and both, that once great and august institution, the par-
liament. Such a condition puts the constitution of Ireland not
below a republic, but any other form of genuine and healthy gov-
ernment; it was not mixed monarchy with parts happily temper-
ed, and so forth; the cant of grave and superannuated addresses;
but a rank, and vile, and simple, and absolute government; ren-
dered so by means that made every part of it vicious and abomin-
able; the executive who devoured the whole, and the other two
parts, which were thus extinguished: of such a constitution the
component parts were debauched by one another. The monarch
was made to prostitute the prerogative by the sale of honours;
the lords by the purchase: and the commons prostituted their
nature by being the offspring not of the people but of a traffic;
and prostituted themselves again by the sale of their votes and
persons.

He allowed the British constitution to be the best; and ar-
raigned this mode as the worst, because practically and essential-
ly the opposite of that British constitution. The British minis-
ter had given an account of the British constitution, which he
wished to extend to the Irish constitution: "Aristocracy," says
he, "reflects lustre on the crown, and lends support and effect to
democracy; while democracy gives vigour and energy to both;
and the sovereignty crowns the constitution with dignity and
authority.....Aristocracy is the poise," says he; "give an infusion
of nobility." The minister here can answer him: he who sold the
aristocracy and bought the democracy? he best understands in
practice what is this infusion of nobility: he who has infused
poison into this aristocratic and this democratic division of pow-
er, and has crowned the whole with corruption: he well knows
all this, as far as Ireland is concerned to be the theatric repre-
sentation; and that the constitution of the country is exactly the
reverse of those scenes and farces which are acted on the public
stages, of imposture and hypocrisy.

By this trade of parliament the king was absolute: his will was
signified by both houses of parliament, who were then as much
an instrument in his hand as a bayonet in the hands of a regiment.

Like a regiment they had their adjutant, who sent to the infirmary for the old, and to the brothel for the young; and men thus carted as it were into that house to vote for the minister, were called the representatives of the people.

Mr. Grattan then with an astonishing power of eloquence travelled over, once more, the whole ground which he had taken each of the three last sessions, but with new point and re-integrated vigour. The chancellor of the Exchequer answered, that he was not surprised, that the right honourable gentleman, for want of other matter, should recapitulate the accumulated invective of many sessions; he should be extremely surprised, indeed, if this invective, so often refuted, should make any impression upon the house. If the right honourable gentleman supposed he should follow him through all that maze of charges, of propositions, of malt duties, of police, of India trade, and all that strange incongruous jumble, calculated to poison the public mind, he would request to be excused: they had been already refuted, and if they were brought forward in the course of the session, they would be refuted again. When the right honourable gentleman imputed to government, crimes that would disgrace an individual, a government conscious of its integrity, must disregard the imputation; but when he lightly charged parliament, he lowered parliament in the eyes of the public, and did a positive injury to the country. Since 1779, which he fixed as the commencement of depravity, the parliament of Ireland had done more for the benefit of the kingdom, than all the antecedent parliaments from the days of Henry II. In that space, the country had advanced to a degree of prosperity unhoped for, even by the most sanguine; yet that was the very period the right honourable gentleman thought fit to depreciate, by which he might do an evil that certainly he did not intend.*

On the 25th of January, 1792, Sir H. Langrishe rose, according to notice, to bring forward some resolutions in favour of the

* Several other gentlemen spoke on the side of government; amongst the most forward were Mr. Sheridan and Sir Henry Cavendish: the latter was very personal against Mr. Grattan, for the violence and intemperance of his language, and a disorderly extra dissertation on the measures of the lord lieutenant; which brought up Mr. Grattan in reply; who spoke thus: (12 P. D. p. 23) "It seems the right honourable baronet is ignorant of the only subject he is supposed to be acquainted with, *order*. He talks of scurrilous language; his language and epithets return on himself: but a man's language is of little moment; it is his conduct that is essential. What shall we say of the conduct of that man, who voted in one session for a pension bill and against it in the next; of that man, who voted for a place bill in one session and voted against it in the next; of that man, who voted for a committee to proceed towards impeachment against the present ministry for the selling peerages, and the very next sessions votes for thanks to that very ministry: what does he think of such an apostate?"

Catholics of that kingdom. He prefaced his motion by a warm and able, though very guarded speech.* It was then ten years since the cause of the Roman Catholics particularly engaged the attention of parliament; since they took their last review of those laws which the passions and prejudices, perhaps the pressure, of an intemperate season had entailed upon them.

The present times and circumstances invited them to resume that duty. The good offices they owed one to another; the indulgence due to fellow subjects, recommended and endeared by the unimpeachable conduct of a century, the consideration they owed to the national prosperity, all united in calling their attention to the revision of that subject, at a time when the public mind was becoming more enlightened, and prejudices and jealousy were every day yielding to confidence and affection. With satisfaction he considered, amongst the few honours of his humble life, that of being almost the first member of the Irish parliament, who ventured to state the imprudence and immorality of the Popery laws, as a system of jurisprudence subversive of integrity, and as a scheme of government, which, whilst by its severity it alienated the body of the people, by its impolicy forbade them to vest in the state any hostage for their fidelity.

The agitation of truth must ever make an impression. Succeding times became more enlightened, and religious animosity gave way to moral justice and political wisdom.

In the year 1774, the legislature first gratified the Roman Catholics with an opportunity of testifying their allegiance, by framing an oath for them, competent to that test, without involving any article of religious faith, or speculative opinion.

Four years afterwards (in 1778) the legislature, wisely confiding in their oaths, rewarded their loyalty by some substantial concession.

The act in their favour then passed, truly recites in the preamble, "that from their uniform peaceable behaviour for a long series of years, it appears reasonable and expedient to relax several of their incapacities and disabilities."

Accordingly, it allowed them "to take leases of land for nine hundred and ninety-nine years, and at any rent; to enjoy all such estates that should be left or transferred to them, and to dispose of the same by will or otherwise; and that they should be deviseable and transferable, as in the case of other people."

* It is an irrefragable proof of the falsity of Lord Clare's position, that the question was left in the hands of every individual, who chose to take possession of it, as an engine of popularity or power. Sir Hercules said, he had communicated with as many members of parliament as he could, (consequently with his own friends) and Mr. Secretary Hobart seconded the motion.

The abominable usurpation of the child against the father was abolished ; and to these concessions, the conditions annexed were : taking the oath of 1774 ; and that the law should not extend to converts relapsing, or to Protestants becoming Papists, or educating their children in the Popish religion. The legislature naturally considering, that some suspicion attached on frequent versatility of faith, and on those who professed a religion themselves, which they would not transmit to their posterity.

Four years after that (in 1782) the spirit of toleration further extended itself, and sound policy gained a further ascendancy in favour of the Roman Catholics. That system of severity, which a few years before was thought prudence, began to look something like injustice ; and what prejudice had adopted as preservation, moderation began to view as little short of oppression.

In 1782, the capacity of acquiring land by purchase (which in 1778 was granted under a fiction) was given direct and entire.

“ The acquisition by purchase, grant, limitation, descent, or devise, by will or otherwise descendable, as the lands of Protestants,” was communicated to the Roman Catholics : some of their disabilities, as to education, were removed : the severe law was repealed, that compelled the Papists to declare on oath when, and where, and by whom they heard mass celebrated : the unequal attachment of their properties to make reprisals for common robberies, was discontinued : their horses were no more to be exposed as public plunder ; and the preposterous, but offensive prohibition, whereby persons professing the Popish religion were forbidden to reside in certain cities, was repealed : they were allowed the full rights of property ; the free exercise of religion ; and to appoint guardians to their own children.

These were great efforts of liberality, in opposition to old opinions, and the usual acrimony of religious dissention, and a signal triumph over rooted prejudices. It disclosed such a growing confidence, such an amicable sympathy, such a relenting of heart, in the predominate powers of the state towards the Roman Catholics of the country, as ought to conciliate their affection, engage their gratitude, and confirm their attachment to the state. And in fact, such conduct of the legislature (he spoke with confidence and assurance, from the authority of experience) had produced those effects.

If he were not of that opinion, he would not stand as their advocate for another concession. For as the state is paramount, and all men who live under its protection, live under its controul, and are amenable to its superiority, if they approach the legislature, they must approach it by the avenues the constitution has marked out ; if they apply to parliament, it must be by petition, not representation or remonstrance ; if they would have benefits,

they must solicit them as favours, and accept them as concessions. That was not only the constitution of Ireland, but the constitution of every settled government in the known world.

As to the natural rights of man (of which they had lately heard so much) they did not belong to political society; they belonged to that state of nature which had been so accurately described by Mr. Hobbs, and so ardently recommended by Mr. Paine; a state where, indeed, the race was to the swift, and the battle to the strong; where possession was property, and strength was right; a state superior to the conditions of society, the restrictions of covenant, or the bondage of law.

Therefore he freely confessed, that notwithstanding his prepossessions in favour of the Roman Catholics, he was yet for some time checked in his ardour, and interrupted in the progress of his services to them, by reading lately a multitude of publications and paragraphs in the newspapers, and other prints, circulated *gratis*, and communicated to every body, with every degree of industry, purporting to convey the sentiments of the Catholic body of Ireland.

If these were their sentiments, they were such as could not recommend them to the further favour of the state; they were such as must alienate their old, and could not get them new friends, if they would chuse their friends from amongst those, who were friends to the constitution. What was the import? They were exhortations to the people never to be satisfied at any concession, until the state itself was conceded; not only that, but, until a new constitution should be made for their present accommodation, and future entertainment; they were precautions against public tranquillity; they were invitations to disorders, and covenants to discontent; they were ostentations of strength, rather than solicitations for favours; rather appeals to the powers of the people, than applications to the authority of the state; they involved the relief of the Catholic, with the revolution of the government, and were dissertations for democracy, rather than arguments for toleration; they seemed the projects of some bold theorists, whose principles were to divide man from man, and whose politics were to separate Great Britain from Ireland; they seemed to be the effusions of some rash philosopher, ignorant of our system, who would set loose and adrift the little planet we inhabit, and commit it to the vortex of a vain and exploded philosophy; to range the universe without attraction, connexion, or relation to any greater or other body.

If the Roman Catholics embraced those sentiments, the state could not embrace them: if they were misled by rash counsels to engage in confederacies of perpetual requisition; if they were not to be satisfied at any concession, whilst any thing remained

to be conceded, in that case common sense must suggest, that they should not by any new concession unite more power with their discontent.

He had the happiness to assert from authority, what he had long learned from experience: "That not a sentiment of that tendency was entertained by the Catholic body; none such belonged to them; they renounced them; they utterly disclaimed them." There was not a class of his majesty's subjects more attached than they were to the monarchy and hereditary succession, more obedient to the laws, or more devoted to the king and constitution, as by law established.

These principles they had testified by their conduct at all times; at times very different from the present, when the laws were less indulgent, when they had fewer pledges to bind them to their country; when property and the titles of land were not irrevocably fixed; at times when hostile fleets and armies were on their coast, and when even the king on the throne, by some may not have been supposed to stand as he did without a rival in their affections.

They then came forward by solemn declaration to re-assert those principles at the foot of the throne; to vindicate them from all possible misconception or misrepresentation; they approached by the ways of the constitution, without asserting a claim of their own, or presuming to dictate to the authority of parliament. "They desired a further repeal of the laws affecting them; they expressed gratitude for past favours, confiding in their liberality and benevolence, that future favours would be as extensive as the general welfare of the state should admit."

With such a testimony, he addressed them in favour of the Roman Catholics; with a declaration of that import in his hand, subscribed by an host, as to national authority; persons of high distinction, ancient family, great character, enlightened education, ample fortune, and extensive influence in the country; men of general intercourse and knowledge, political, professional, mercantile; men too, who, themselves and their ancestors had made ample sacrifices to a sanctimonious observance of their vows. Without affecting or entertaining any disrespect for any other orders or classes of the people, it seemed from such persons that national opinion and professional principles were best collected; not from a few deluded people in the south; not from a few dissatisfied people in the north; nor yet from any strange and incongruous connexion that might be fabricated between both: nay, if by some wonderful rotation these two extremities should ever happen to meet; if by some monstrous convulsion, the two poles, far as they were asunder, should be brought into conjunction, they would not have force to disturb the happy and temperate re-

gions placed between, where the people enjoyed equal days and indulgent heavens.

It was under such a conviction that he addressed them with confidence for a further repeal of the laws affecting the Roman Catholics, to that extent which their wisdom and liberality should lead them to think expedient. What that extent should be, was to him the only question that could divide the opinion of parliament on that subject.

As for himself, balanced between confidence in the Catholics, and devotion to ancient establishments, he had not found it easy to accommodate between the two contending propensities.

1st. He would give them the practice and profession of the law, as a reasonable provision, and application of their talents to their own country.

2dly. He would restore to them education, entire and unrestrained, because a state of ignorance was a state of barbarity. That would be accomplished by taking off the necessity for a licence, as enjoined by the act of 1782.

3dly. He would draw closer the bonds of intercourse and affection; by allowing intermarriage, repealing that cruel statute that served to betray female credulity, and bastardize the children of a virtuous mother.

4thly. He would remove those obstructions to arts and manufactures, that limited the number of apprentices, which were so necessary to assist and promote trade. He then moved, "That leave be given to bring in a bill for removing certain restraints and disabilities under which his majesty's Roman Catholic subjects labour, from statutes at present in force."

The right honourable Mr. Hobart seconded the motion, without making any observation.

Mr. Cuffe (now Lord Tyrawley) thought that gentlemen would do well to state their opinion of the conduct of the Catholics. Those, headed by a nobleman, who was distinguished for his liberality and extended property, who had signed the declaration alluded to by the right honourable baronet, deserved every kindness in the power of the legislature to bestow. They were good citizens, loyal subjects. They had told them they would be grateful for any indulgence; and that they would not pretend to point out the extent of the relief, which, in their wisdom, they might think proper to bestow. Surely, in those circumstances, they could not refuse them some indulgence. But there were Roman Catholics who had conducted themselves in a very different manner: they had established a court of delegates in the capital; and they had appointed local committees in the several counties: they had entered into associations with the discontented and the turbulent of all religions. And, relying upon their power, they pre-

sumed to dictate to the legislature what they would have. That system seemed to have been adopted in order to terrify parliament.

Several gentlemen spoke on the opposite side of the question; when at last, Mr. Hobart said, it was not his intention to debate the question. He should not have risen, were it not for the suggestion of Mr. Cuffe. He therefore declared, that if any attack should be made on the establishments in church and state, it was the fixed determination of government to support them; and any attempt of that nature, either by force or intimidation, would be found to meet the decided opposition of the government of both countries.

Leave was then given to bring in the bill, and a committee appointed to prepare the same, without a dissenting voice.

No sooner had this leave been given, than Mr. O'Hara suddenly rose, and said: he agreed with most of the gentlemen who had expressed their sentiments respecting the giving some further relief to the Roman Catholics, and very heartily concurred with the house in the leave given to bring in a bill for that purpose. But that in order to have the subject fully before the house, it might be wished that the house knew exactly the particulars in which the Roman Catholics desired relief: first, because parliament might otherwise unintentionally omit matter which might appear essentially necessary to the Catholics, however unimportant it might appear to parliament, and so fail of giving satisfaction; but more particularly because, if the relief desired by the Roman Catholics were ascertained, the house might then draw the line definitively, and say, "we will meet your wishes thus far, but never can go further."

He said, he had thought in the year 1782, that every thing was then done which was necessary to relieve the conscience, or essential to the happiness of the Roman Catholics; and he was sure such was the intention of parliament; but the house then proceeded without knowing from the Roman Catholics what the particulars were, in which they desired relief. By which means the greater opening was left to desire further relief in the present instance. But if they then were in possession of a statement of their wishes made by themselves, they might easily draw the line by the new act of parliament so strongly, as to preclude any expectation of change, at least, for many years to come.

Those considerations (he said) had been strong inducements with him to listen to the desire of a very particular friend of his, to lay such a statement before the house. A friend who was not of the Roman Catholic persuasion; but one to whom he would not willingly refuse any thing he could ask, had desired him to present such a statement as a personal favour. Though he did

not know the petitioners, he knew the integrity of his friend, who told him they were altogether worth upwards of a million, which he mentioned to shew that they were considerable individuals, whose sentiments might be supposed to coincide with the greater part at least of the Roman Catholics.

However, though he presented the petition, he requested not to be considered as its particular patron; for he agreed to present it upon the terms only of reserving to himself the full liberty of discussing every part of it, and condemning or approving as he might think proper. If there were any thing exceptionable in the petition, it was not his; if more were desired by it than were reasonable or consistent with the establishments in church or state, he would decidedly vote against such parts.

Under these circumstances, he ventured to offer the petition to the house; and the rather, because to petition parliament was a matter of right in the subject; so much so, that a member could hardly refuse to present a petition if required by no improper description of men; but more particularly, because the petition brought information before the house, which might be useful in framing the bill; that the petitioners, after stating the particulars in which they hoped for relief, promised to acquiesce in whatever relief parliament might think proper to give them.*

The Solicitor-general said, the petition in its present state of abandonment, could be no object of notice: he therefore moved the question of adjournment. Mr. D. Brown was for receiving the petition. However, Mr. O'Hara withdrew the petition for the present, because he could not say he had seen the petitioners sign it: but that he should present it another day; and that he thought the house ought to be glad to know what relief was prayed, in order that it might give satisfaction so far as was consistent with their civil and religious establishments.

Mr. Grattan said, that he should be very sorry that any man should depart possessed with an idea that the house had refused to receive the Catholic petition, or committed an act so atrocious and unconstitutional; but an informality attending the manner of presenting it had induced the member himself to postpone the business to another day. He concurred with the mover of the bill in every thing he had said in favour of the Catholic body; it was therefore, that he could not agree with other gentlemen, who talked of their evil inclinations and seditious publications. He knew of none such that could be charged to the

* Whilst Mr. Sheridan was observing that it was a very odd way of introducing a petition, to state that it came not from any particular body of men, but from an intimate acquaintance, Mr. Burke, the gentleman alluded to by Mr. O'Hara, having incautiously ventured into the body of the house behind the speaker's chair, to speak with Mr. O'Hara, there arose a general cry of "into custody!" He however withdrew time enough to avoid it.

Roman Catholics ; nor could he see how gentlemen could assert to a bill which supposed the merits of Catholics, and insinuations that bespoke the contrary : what you give (said he) to the Roman Catholics, give it liberally : what you refuse, refuse decently : whatever you do, do it with discretion : whatever you say, let it be the language of decency and good manners.

Mr. G. Ponsonby held it to be the undoubted right of the constituent to petition parliament in a legal and respectful manner, but only in that manner ; on that subject he was remarkably attentive to rule and form, and objected on that account to the reception of the petition, as it contravened every one of the established forms.

The 4th of February, 1792, was a day of importance to the Catholic cause : the general committee anxious to act in full concert with Sir Hercules Langrishe, as he was well known to act with the privity and approbation of government, had a special meeting, at which they entered into some* unanimous resolutions,

* " *Dublin, February 4th, 1792.*

" **GENERAL COMMITTEE OF ROMAN CATHOLICS.**

" **EDWARD BYRNE, Esq. in the Chair.**

" *Resolved*, That this committee has been informed, that reports have been circulated, that the application of the Catholics for relief, extends to unlimited and total emancipation ; and that attempts have been made, wickedly and falsely, to instil into the minds of the Protestants of this kingdom an opinion, that our applications were preferred in a tone of menace.

" *Resolved*, That several Protestant gentlemen have expressed great satisfaction on being individually informed of the real extent and respectful manner of the applications for relief, have assured us, that nothing could have excited jealousy, or apparent opposition to us, from our Protestant countrymen, but the above-mentioned misapprehensions.

" *Resolved*, That we therefore deem it necessary to declare, that the whole of our late applications, whether to his majesty's ministers, to men in power, or to private members of the legislature : as well as our intended petition, neither did, nor does contain any thing, or extend further, either in substance or in principle, than the four following objects.

" 1st. Admission to the profession and practice of the law.

" 2d. Capacity to serve in county magistracies.

" 3d. A right to be summoned, and to serve on grand and petty juries.

" 4th. The right of voting in counties only for Protestant members of parliament ; in such a manner, however, as that a Roman Catholic freeholder should not vote, unless he either rented, and cultivated a farm of twenty pounds per annum, in addition to his forty shillings freehold ; or else possessed a freehold to the amount of twenty pounds a year.

" *Resolved*, That in our opinion, these applications, not extending to any other objects than the above, are moderate, and absolutely necessary for our general alleviation, and more particularly for the protection of the Catholic farmers and the peasantry of Ireland ; and that they do not in any degree, endanger either church or state, or endanger the security of the Protestant interest.

" *Resolved*, That we never had an idea or thought so extravagant, as that of menacing or intimidating our Protestant brethren, much less the legislature ; and that we disclaim the violent and turbulent intentions imputed to us in some of the public prints, and circulated in private conversation.

calculated to counteract the effects of the misrepresentations and calumnies of their enemies.

On the same day, Sir Hercules Langrishe,* in a short speech, introduced his bill for the relief of the Roman Catholics: it was read for the first time. Sir Hercules said, it was a matter of so much importance, that lest its object should be misconceived, he thought it necessary that it should be printed, and that a sufficient time should be given to have it fully understood; he trusted, when understood, it would be approved of by every man in the nation. Sir Hercules then moved, that the bill should be read on that day se'nnight. Mr. Staples objected to the shortness of the time, and called upon the secretary, who had seconded the motion for the bill, to inform the house, whether the concessions, which the bill contained, were sufficient to satisfy the Catholics; or whether these concessions were all that he intended to grant them. He wished to know the *ne plus ultra*.

Hon. Denis Browne said, the right honourable gentleman would find it difficult to answer for the future expectations of three millions of people. The Catholics offered, as a security for their attachment to the constitution, the approved loyalty of long and disturbed times. He knew it would be impossible at any time to combat bigotry, prejudice, and love of power, by argument; but that it would be impossible for any exertion of human ingenuity or sophistry, to support the absurd principle of keeping a numerous and deserving description of our fellow-subjects, in the degraded situation they then stood.

Sir Hercules Langrishe said, it would have been impossible for him to answer the gentleman, had not the declaration of an host of Roman Catholics already answered him in the public papers. That "grateful for what had already been granted, they "would with joy and humility receive whatever the wisdom and "liberality of parliament thought proper to bestow." As to the obscure and contemptible persons, whose names filled the columns of newspapers, declaring a contrary sentiment, he had no regard to them, while his opinion was supported by the wise, the good, and the respectable. Hereupon Mr. Secretary Hobart observed, he would not have the presumption to answer for so great a body

"*Resolved*, That we refer to the known disposition of the Roman Catholics of this kingdom, to our dutiful behaviour, during a long series of years, and "particularly to the whole tenor of our late proceedings for the full refutation "of every charge of sedition and disloyalty.

"*Resolved*, That for the more ample and detailed exposure of all the evil "reports and calumnies circulated against us, an address to our Protestant "fellow subjects, and to the public in general, be printed by the order, and "in the name of the general committee.

"Signed by order,"

"RICHARD M'CORMICK, Secretary."

as the Roman Catholics; their good conduct for a series of years past, was at once the best proof of their wishes and their deserts. As to the question, whether this were to be the *ne plus ultra*, he would only say, that the house would never find him disposed to take any part without their full concurrence. The bill was ordered to be printed, and to be read a second time on that day se'nnight.

On the 8th of the month, Mr. John O'Neil presented a petition, which he said had been put into his hands by a very respectable body of men at Belfast; it was signed by more than six hundred, many of whom he knew personally to be persons of great reputation: the object of the petition was, that the legislature would please to repeal all penal and restrictive laws against Catholics, and put them on the same footing with their Protestant fellow subjects.

Sir Henry Cavendish requested the right honourable gentleman to read the petition throughout. He trusted it was not in any wise similar to a petition brought into the house a few nights ago by Mr. O'Hara, if it were, he was sure it must be unknown to the right honourable gentleman who moved for its being received; as the right honourable gentleman valued too highly his own dignity, and the dignity of parliament to present such a petition.

Mr. O'Neil read the petition throughout; it began with lamenting the degraded state of the Catholics, and requested that they might have redress as above stated.

The hon. Denis Browne seconded the motion for receiving the petition.

Sir Hercules Langrishe very strongly and at large expressed his astonishment at the singularity of the union of the Dissenters with the Catholics. He would not object against the reception of a petition from so respectable a member of that house: but he had seen some treasonable productions from gentlemen of that town. Sir Boyle Roche bitterly inveighed against the Dissenters, and actually opposed his single negative against the reception of the petition.*

The 11th of February was the day to which the Catholic bill stood committed: but before the order of the day was called on, Mr. Stewart, (of Tyrone) after an able and appropriate speech, moved that "an humble address should be presented to his majesty, beseeching his majesty to take into his consideration the situation of the Presbyterian ministers of the province of Ulster, and to make such further provision for them, as in his wisdom and bounty he shall think fit; and that this house will make good the same."

* 12 Par. Debates, p. 85.

Mr. George Pensonby seconded the motion.

Sir Edward Newenham expressed his warm regard for, and bore testimony to the loyalty and virtues of the Protestant Dissenters; that they had always been steady friends to the House of Hanover: that as parliament was going to grant favours to the Roman Catholics, they could not refuse justice to the Presbyterian clergy: their principles and conduct merited every favour from a Protestant government; and he rose to give his most hearty concurrence to the measure. There certainly were no subjects more loyal or more dutiful than those in whose favour the honourable gentleman had spoken, and he therefore most heartily coincided in his intention.

The great body of the Catholics was little satisfied with the concessions contained in the bill of sir H. Langrishe: whether the form of it lately circulated were or were not according to the original ideas of the framer of it, was not so certain, as the conviction of most of the Catholics, who took an active share in the business, that this bill had been substituted for another, which probably would have been obtained, but for the arts of some designing and the credulity of some honest men. Whilst however the bill was in progress through the house, the great body of the Catholics acting through their committee, prepared a petition to parliament immediately calculated to meet the objections made against their proceeding, on a principle of indecent menace and intimidation, and wishing to abet their cause by reasoning and conduct of a most unconstitutional tendency. Accordingly on the *18th of February, Mr. Egan presented a petition signed by fifty of the most respectable Catholic commercial characters in Dublin, on behalf of themselves and their brethren throughout the kingdom.† In presenting the petition he considered himself

* On the same day Mr. John O'Neil said, he held in his hand a petition; which he received by the post of that morning, and was instructed to present to the house; it was signed by the names of 350 Protestant inhabitants, the gentlemen, clergy, and freeholders of the four lower baronies of the county of Antrim; and would, he was assured, have been signed by a thousand, had it not been for the shortness of time, since they understood the Roman Catholic bill was to have been debated on that day.

In the petition they stated, they would feel themselves happy, that the Roman Catholics should receive every liberal immunity consistent with the spirit of our glorious constitution, and with the safety and interest of the protestant religion. The petition was received, and ordered to lie on the table.

† 12 Par. Deb. p. 125.

“ To the right hon. the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, in Parliament assembled.

“ The Petition of the undersigned Roman Catholics, on behalf of themselves and the Roman Catholics of Ireland.

“ **HUMBLY SHewETH,**

“ **THAT** as the house has thought it expedient to direct their attention to the situation of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, and to a further relaxation

merely complying with his duty. He did not consider himself bounden to support its principle, nor to give any particular vote on the subject, which was to come forward that night, considering it criminal to come predetermined on a question of so much import. He then read the petition and the names of those who had signed it, (which were those of the Catholic committee) and he trusted the house would receive the petition and decide upon it with liberality. After some harsh observations of Mr. Ogle, and resented by Mr. Browne, the petition was ordered to lie on the table. On the order of the day for the house resolving itself into a committee on the Catholic bill, the general question was warmly debated. All cautiously restrained their ideas of indulgence to the points of the bill: and many of them took that opportunity of pledging themselves never to grant the elective franchise as a concession incompatible with the Protestant ascendancy. Mr. Ogle almost alone opposed the bill's going to a committee. †Mr. Grattan had been instructed so to do by a

"of the penal statutes still subsisting against them, they beg leave, with all
 "humility, to come before the house with the most heartfelt assurance of the
 "wisdom and justice of parliament, which is at all times desirous most gra-
 "ciously to attend to the petitions of the people; they therefore humbly
 "presume to submit to the house their entreaty, that they should take into
 "their consideration whether the removal of some of the civil incapacities,
 "under which they labour, and the restoration of the petitioners to some share
 "in the elective franchise, which they enjoyed long after the revolution, will
 "not tend to strengthen the Protestant state, add new vigour to industry, and
 "afford protection and happiness to the Catholics of Ireland; that the peti-
 "tioners refer with confidence to their conduct for a century past, to prove
 "their uniform loyalty and submission to the laws, and to corroborate their
 "solemn declaration, that if they obtain from the justice and benignity of
 "parliament, such relaxation from certain incapacities, and a participation in
 "that franchise, which will raise them to the rank of freemen, their gratitude
 "must be proportioned to the benefit, and that enjoying some share in the
 "happy constitution of Ireland, they will exert themselves with additional
 "zeal in its conservation."

† 12 Par. Deb. Mr. Grattan on this occasion thus alluded to a federal union of the two kingdoms.

There is another danger, to which or to the fear of which your divisions may expose the Protestant ascendancy, I mean an union; let me suppose the minister, as he has often proposed corrupt terms to the Protestant, should propose crafty ones to the Catholic, and should say, you are three-fourths of the people, excluded from the blessings of an Irish constitution; accept the advantages of an English union. Here is a proposal probably supported by the people of England, and rendered plausible to at least three-fourths of the people of Ireland: I mention an union, because I have heard it has been darkly suggested as the resort of Protestant desperation against Catholic pretensions; never think of it, the Protestant would be the first victim. There would be Catholic equality and parliamentary extinction. It would be fatal to the Catholic also; he would not be raised, but you would be depressed, and his chance of liberty blasted for ever; it would be fatal to England, beginning with a false compromise, which they might call an union, to end in eternal separation, through the progress of two civil wars. Mr. Sheridan referred the following words to the subject of union, "he should see in per-

part of his constituents, the corporation of Dublin, but could not sacrifice the rights and interests of three millions to the caprice or prejudice of some individuals. The house resolved itself into a committee on the bill after midnight, and at the suggestion of Mr. Ogle, Mr. Secretary Hobart declared he wished not to precipitate matters, and had no objection to the chairman's reporting progress, which was accordingly done, and leave was given to sit again on the Monday following, which was the 20th of February. On that day Mr. David La Touche moved, that the petition of the Roman Catholic committee, presented to the house on the preceding Saturday, should be read by the clerk: it was read, and he then moved, that it should be rejected. The motion was seconded by Mr. Ogle. The greater part of the house was very violent for the rejection of the petition. Some few, who were against the prayer of the petition, objected to the harsh measure of rejection. Several of the opposition members supported Mr. La Touche's motion. Even Mr. G. Ponsonby, on this occasion voted against his friend Mr. Grattan. The solicitor general attempted to soften the refusal to the Catholics by moving, that the prayer of the petition, as far as it related to a participation of the elective franchise should not then be complied with. The attorney general and some other staunch supporters of government had spoken similar language, that they hoped quickly to see all religious distinctions and restrictions done away, but that the fulness of time was not yet come. Mr. Forbes, the hon. F. Hutchinson, col. (now lord) Hutchinson, Mr. Smith, Mr. Hardy, and Mr. Grattan spoke strongly against the motion and in favour of admitting the Catholics to a share in the elective franchise. Much virulent abuse was heaped upon that part of the body of Roman Catholics which was supposed to be represented by the Catholic committee. At a very late hour the house divided, 208 for rejecting the petition, and 23 only against it. Then Mr. La Touche moved, that the petition from the society of the United Irishmen of Belfast, should be also rejected: and the question being put was carried with two or three negatives.

The bill went rather quietly through the committee: and on the third reading sir H. Langrishe congratulated the country on the spirit of liberality that had attended the bill in its progress, and finally brought it to so desirable a conclusion.

It was a new covenant, a new charter of amity and intercourse amongst them; and he felt a pride in observing, that what they

"specie (a paradox in expression but a certainty in event) an union produced by dissent." Sir John Parnell warned his countrymen not to suppose, that the refusal of the Catholic claims would hand over to them an union or a civil war: either of which must end in blood and bring destruction upon the country. *Ibid*, p. 180. Such then were the general ideas of union with this country.

had granted to their Catholic brethren they had granted with cordiality and good will, with a confident heart, an unreluctant hand, and an unanimous voice. Whilst their constitutional pride justly resented the rashness of a few, their justice distinguished the meritorious conduct of the many: and in the intemperance of the moment they did not forget the unimpeachable demeanour of an hundred years.

The most powerful adversaries, they who had laboured with sincerity and solicitude to serve them, had to encounter, were the rash and mischievous publications, which affected to plead their cause. And were it not for the wise and timely interposition of the great and respectable body of the Roman Catholics, to whom he had often alluded, and of whom every gentleman had spoken in terms of the highest respect, they could neither have been justified in their undertaking, nor successful in their conclusion.

The state of parties in the House of Commons was much the same that it had been in the two preceding sessions. Mr. G. Ponsonby after a very elaborate argument, moved for leave to bring in a bill to repeal every law which prohibited a trade from Ireland with the countries lying eastward of the Cape of Good Hope: which was lost by a majority of 156 against 70.* At the close of this debate, Mr. G. Ponsonby renewed his profession, that although he should lose his motion, yet he never would vote with any administration, until that and the other measures to which he and the other gentlemen with whom he acted were pledged, should be obtained. In conformity with this principle, Mr. Forbes brought forward, on the same day, his pension and place bill,† but they were both put off without a division, though not without debate, to a distant day.

Exclusive of the Catholic question, the debate, which during the session of 1792 was the most interesting, and the most heated, arose out of Mr. Browne's motion to bring in a bill to repeal an act of the last session for weighing butter, hides and tallow, and for appointing a weigh-master for the city of Cork.‡ After prefacing his motion by animadverting on the conduct of administration in pursuing that dangerous and unconstitutional system, which they had laid down and strictly adhered to, of creating influence, he particularly adverted to the appointment made by government to the office of weigh-master of Cork, which had been divided into three parts, and bestowed on members of

* 12 Par. Deb. p. 112.

† 15 Com. Journ. p. 87. The pension bill was ever most obnoxious to government. Every possessor and expectant was loud in reprobating it: and now more than ever the motives for supporting it were attributed to factious democracy, by endeavouring to clip the wings of royalty and prerogative.

‡ 12 Par. Deb. p. 270.

parliament, for the purpose of creating parliamentary influence. This office had been long enjoyed by the corporation of Cork, and they had been unjustly deprived of it for the purpose of the present administration's obtaining an undue parliamentary influence.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer opposed the motion, on the ground of its being an insult on the crown.

Colonel Hutchinson voted for the introduction of the bill; last session he had opposed the enacting of the present law as strenuously as he was able, and should have moved for its repeal now, were he not hopeless of success: he had claimed that office then, for the corporation of Cork, and he never should cease to claim it, as long as he had a seat within those walls. The corporation of Cork had a common law right to that office; in equity and in reason they had an irresistible claim; why should they be an exception to a general rule?

Mr. George Ponsonby reprobated the conduct of administration in obtaining influence. In the present instance they split the office into three, and it was bestowed on members of parliament. He observed, that before this grant, administration had already one hundred and ten placemen and pensioners, and that was sufficient to carry any measure they might want without creating the additional influence; but the carrying on of those measures which they adopted and the using instruments by which the ministers of those were governing that country, was a system which, if not resisted, must in the end overthrow the constitution. He contrasted the conduct of the House of Commons of England with the conduct of the House of Commons of Ireland; in England there was a place bill, and a pension bill, and there the servants of the crown were responsible for their conduct; but he asked, how had it been in the House of Commons in Ireland? A place bill had been proposed, it had been rejected, and the minister had multiplied places; a pension bill had been proposed, it had been rejected, and the minister granted additional pensions; a responsibility bill had been proposed, it had been rejected, and the minister of the crown lavished away the public money.

He stated that the gross revenue of the country amounted to about one million six hundred thousand pounds, and one-eighth of that was divided amongst members of parliament. He protested that he did not speak as a party man. If he spoke not truth, might God, to whom he should one day answer, punish him. An hour would come, when the country would endure any extremity, rather than endure the system of influence that had been established.

Mr. Moore made some personal observations upon Mr. Ponsonby's fondness for power, and impatience at its residing in any hands but his own: to which Mr. George Ponsonby replied with

considerable warmth, that in a former parliament there had occurred an event singular and unfortunate ; the incapacity of his majesty personally to exercise the functions of the crown. The House of Commons of that day did appear in direct opposition to the lord lieutenant: the existing government was beat by a majority of 54 ; but it pleased God to restore his majesty's health, and in exact proportion as his majesty recovered, that majority had diminished. While the ministry was incapable of controlling the members of that house, their language was becoming the representatives of the people ; they maintained the independency of the Irish crown, and of the Irish parliament, in defiance of a lord lieutenant and his secretary ; but when the languid powers of that lord lieutenant were renovated by the aid of an English minister, they courted and thanked the very lord lieutenant they had censured and defied. At the time of his majesty's recovery, ministers did intimate to the members of that house, that if they presumed to vote against the will of the lord lieutenant, they should lose their places ; and he well remembered, that as the authority of ministers received strength, the virtue of that house became weak ; so that those who formerly stood up to oppose and to censure the lord lieutenant, were then the foremost to adulate and to thank him. Was it possible there could be a more humiliating conduct ?

He was one of the persons dismissed from office at that time. He did receive a message from Lord Buckingham, by the attorney general (Earl Clare) in which he was told, " that if he would consent to support Lord Buckingham's administration, he would not only hold any office, but receive any favour government had it in their power to bestow." His answer was, " that he was ready at all times to serve the king's government, but his own consistency never would permit him to support a lord lieutenant, on whose conduct he had voted a parliamentary censure." Let that be contradicted ; and if other gentlemen thought the interests of the country were better supported by meanly fawning on a lord lieutenant, than by a manly discharge of duty, let them pursue that mode. He never would.*

* On a subsequent day Mr. George Ponsonby was called upon to make some apology for the liberty taken with the chancellor. That lord had complained, that he had divulged the confidential secrets of his best benefactor in life. To which Mr. George Ponsonby replied, that if some expressions had been conceived to be hurtful to the feelings of the noble lord, that must have been from an idea of what did not pass ; he had not stated the whole in debate, but every one knew the events which took place at that remarkable period ; and that after certain events an overture had been made by the existing government to the gentlemen, who had gone into opposition to afford them support, to return or to remain with them, call it which they might, and that all previous proceedings should be buried in perfect oblivion. In stating the transaction, he did not allude to any person treating with himself as one, but

Upon lord Buckingham's re-assumption of the government, he erected fourteen new parliamentary places; could any man shut his eyes against that? No.

to many besides him, to his connexions, and not with him only his right honourable relation behind him, Mr. W. B. Ponsonby. The proposition was, that there should be a perfect amnesty, as it was called, a cessation of all hostilities, and that all persons were to be considered, as if no such matter had taken place. The noble lord, then attorney general, reasoned with him, not as a servant of the crown, but as a private friend, upon his conduct. He represented to him how foolish it was to throw away a lucrative place; that the occasion did not call for such an act, and that it was unwise in him to act in such a manner; that if he went into opposition, he would not only lose his place, but the promotion also in the line of his profession, which his situation in the country must secure. He considered the affair as by no means confidential. The noble lord was then attorney general, and in certain instances might be directed by government. How could it be called confidential? There never was a more public political negotiation in Great Britain or that country. He believed every man in Dublin knew of it. In a room not far from them, there were fifty or sixty persons engaged in debating upon it. Though he pretended to superiority over no man, he contended with equality with any man. He was in a situation above receiving charitable donations which the language implied. And therefore if the noble lord had ever said, that he was the best benefactor of his life, he must have lessened the force of any obligations which he may have conferred. He thought with Prior:

- "To John I owed great obligation;
- "But he to pay himself, thought fit
- "To publish it to all the nation;
- "Sure John and I are more than quit!"

It had been understood, that he had said that the noble lord wanted him to sign a paper. He did not. He never went into detail. He only related that government wanted a written answer. He believed that the noble lord was as incapable of offering as he was of complying with such a request. It was told to his right honourable friend and to himself, that a written answer upon the occasion was necessary, in order to be transmitted to the British cabinet, that they might see upon what ground the government of Ireland stood. He held a letter in his hand from lord St. Helen's, (then secretary Fitzherbert) on the subject.

The transaction he conceived to be as public as could be, as an amnesty was held out to every one who would come in under it. He hoped he had said every thing satisfactory to the noble lord and his friends, and entirely acquitted his lordship of having made any direct nomination of him to any office. He was sorry to state any thing further on the transaction, but it was necessary to shew, that written answers were expected. For after the answer which terminated the negotiation, he was dismissed. It was one of the first acts of the right honourable gentleman opposite him, (Mr. Hobart) and he admitted, that he did it in terms of great personal civility. He did not blame government for dismissing him. He would do the same, if he were in government, to those who refused their support. That he assured gentlemen, that his enmities of this nature never went beyond the door of the House of Commons. He appealed to his honourable friend (Mr. M. Beresford) who filled his office, whether he had ever looked at him with envy on that account? To shew that a written answer was given, he read the following copy of that given by his relation (the right honourable W. B. Ponsonby) for himself and friends.

- "I intend to support the usual supplies and his majesty's government in this country. But I will not enter into any communication with lord Buckingham. And as some mistakes have hitherto taken place from verbal conversation, this is the reason for giving a written answer."

Ever since the same measures had been pursued, every thing had been bestowed on members of parliament: were there no other men in the country fit for office?

How differently did people feel in England? How little did they imagine the power of influence in Ireland? No sooner was it known that lord Buckingham had quarrelled with the parliament of Ireland than lord Westmoreland was named his successor. It was thought impossible for lord Buckingham to remain an hour, but he demonstrated the force of influence for some months, and consequently lord Westmoreland did not come as soon as the English cabinet had imagined it would have been necessary to send him. Their error arose from supposing it impossible for an Irish parliament to have the meanness to praise and address the man they had just censured.

He had heard a great deal about the prosperity of that country. No man denied that the country was prosperous; the people of that country enjoyed pretty nearly perfect civil freedom, and pretty nearly perfect personal freedom. (Though it had not been long since he shewed to that house, that a judge had grossly violated the latter, and they refused to censure him.) The possession of civil and personal freedom promoted industry, and by industry a country grew rich; but what was that to government? The people of a country might possess civil liberty, and personal liberty, and yet be very badly governed, because they might not have political freedom.

He recollected upon former occasions it had been said, that the people were not discontented; but the gentlemen on that side of the house were discontented. But their conduct had been the reverse of men who would wish to embarrass government. What necessary measure had they opposed? Where had they shewn the temper of discontented men? He then concluded with moving, "that it was the opinion of that house, that his majesty's ministers were endeavouring to establish a system of corrupt influence in

Mr. secretary Hobart acknowledged, that from his esteem for a noble lord, he had felt great pain on a former night. At such a distance of time it was natural that some little inaccuracies might occur. He requested him to recollect, whether that report of the statement which represented the servants of the crown insisting upon him to sign a paper for the purpose of transmitting it to the British cabinet were strictly true?

Mr. George Ponsonby explained, that he had been requested to give an answer in writing, not to sign any instrument of association.

Mr. W. B. Ponsonby rose to say, that he had received from Mr. Fitzherbert a letter, in which it was proposed, that gentlemen who had voted against administration on the question of the regency, and past censure, might if they chose, come in under an amnesty, and every thing was to be perfectly obliterated; this letter, however, required a written answer, in order to be transmitted to his majesty's ministers in England, to ascertain them how administration was to be supported in Ireland.

“ that house, incompatible with the principles of the constitution,
 “ and the independence of parliament.”

The motion was seconded by Mr. Grattan, and negatived without a division, at a quarter past two o'clock in the morning.

On the 14th of March, Mr. Grattan made one more attack on the police bill; but upon a division for adjournment in a very thin house, there appeared for the adjournment 53, against it 24. On the next day, when the money bills were carried up to the lords, the speaker made the following speech to the lord lieutenant.

* “ MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

“ THE Commons of Ireland attend with the supplies.

“ While they may look back with a conscious pride to their spirited
 “ and successful measures for preventing an increase of the national debt, as one great cause of the extension of trade, agriculture and manufactures, which has with a rapid and uninterrupted progress raised this kingdom to a state of prosperity and wealth never before experienced in it; they know that the continuance of that prosperity would soon cease, if it were not cherished and maintained by our most excellent constitution, in which liberty and order are so happily blended, that every subject equally enjoys their influence, and feels his person, his industry and property, equally effectually protected by it.

“ Its preservation, therefore, must ever be the great object of their care, and there is no principle on which it is founded so essential to its preservation, nor more justly dear to their patriotic and loyal feelings, than that which has settled the throne of these realms on his majesty's illustrious house; on it, and on the provisions for securing a Protestant parliament, depends the Protestant ascendancy, and with it the continuance of the many blessings we now enjoy.

“ The bills which I hold contain the usual grants, and I have the most sincere happiness in presenting them to your excellency, whose knowledge of the true interests of Ireland, and whose anxiety to promote its welfare, has been proved to us by the firmest vigilance, and prudence of your administration.”

When the speaker, with the members had returned to the house, Mr. secretary Hobart moved the thanks of the house to the speaker, for his speech at the bar of the House of Lords, and said, if he were capable adequately to express his feelings with regard to the right honourable person in question, or did he believe he had ability to convey the sentiments of the house, he would expatiate fully on the subject; but as he feared he could not do justice to his merit, he should content himself with saying,

that if ever that chair were filled by a person, whose talents and integrity, whose public and private character could do honor to so elevated a station, it was then so filled.

After an adjournment for about one month, the parliament was prorogued on the 18th of April; on which day his excellency, in his speech from the throne, assured both houses of parliament, "that he had his majesty's commands to express his approbation of the wisdom that had guided their proceedings during the present session, especially in the liberal indulgences they had afforded to their Roman Catholic brethren, by establishing the legality of intermarriage, by admitting them to the profession of the law, and the benefits of education, and by removing all restrictions upon their industry in trade and manufactures."

It appears from the studied allusions to the Protestant ascendancy, which in the speech of the speaker were evidently aimed against the petition of the Catholics for a participation in the elective franchise, that Mr. Foster wished to raise a strong and general opposition to that measure throughout the country: but the speech of the lord lieutenant imported, that the government, moving by the impulse of the British councils, was disposed rather to extend than contract the indulgences to the Roman Catholics. His majesty approved of their wisdom in the liberal indulgences that had been granted, but suggested no danger to the Protestant ascendancy, nor recommendation to check their liberality. Umbrage indeed had been taken, during the debate on the Catholic question, by some members, at the idea of its introduction under the sanction of the British minister.*

* On the presentation of the Catholic petition by Mr. Egan, Mr. Staples said, he thought the bill was introduced under a mandate of a British minister, and as such supported by administration here, rather than as a measure, in which the sense of parliament or the Protestant interests were consulted. He wished to know if any farther concession to Roman Catholics were intended, or if any line were to be drawn, in order to mark out the ultimate boundary of such measures; and he signified his wish of moving some strong declaratory clause in the preamble of the bill on this head; to which Mr. secretary Hobart answered, that he knew of no concessions intended to Roman Catholics but what were mentioned in the bill proposed by his right hon. friend, and to those, so far as he could collect, the general sense of the house was favourable; but with respect to the measure of drawing any line for the future conduct of parliament on this topic, it was a measure he would never presume to attempt. With respect to mandates of a British minister on the subject, he knew of none.

Mr. Staples feared it was a measure of absolute command from a British minister, and therefore hoped the spirit of the house would resist it.

Sir Thomas Osborne remarked, that the bill, being brought forward by the advice of that most able minister, should have his assent.

Mr. Sheridan should not have spoken on the subject, if an answer had been given to the question put by his hon. friend, and if an hon. baronet had not said, "the bill had his approbation, because introduced under the direction of the British minister," whom he was pleased to style "most able."

The great object of the political views of Ireland both in and out of parliament, during the whole year of 1792, was Catholic emancipation, as it was improperly called. The question had produced unprecedented divisions and subdivisions of parties throughout the kingdom. The few of the leading Protestants, who wished the Irish to become a people, and to enjoy the freedom of the British constitution, opposed the bulk of their fellow Protestants, who, under the specious cry of *Protestant ascendancy*, were determined to defend their possessions of that monopoly of civil power, which the abuse of centuries had vested in them. The Dissenters, who in Ireland are certainly as numerous as the Protestants of the establishment, had deeply imbibed the axiom of Mr. Grattan, *that the Irish Protestant should never be free, until the Irish Catholic should cease to be a slave*: they consequently urged the Catholics to unite with them in emancipating their country; and some of the Catholics for a time gave enthusiastically into that co-operation. A very respectable though not the most numerous part of the Catholic body was divided against the rest of their brethren, from their disapprobation of the principles, means, and support, upon which the latter appeared to rest the common hopes of success. Great, however, was their address in securing through their agent, the countenance and support of the father, (Mr. Burke) whose influence upon the British cabinet was now generally felt and universally admitted. The disgrace and obloquy attempted to be thrown upon the Catholic committee, served to deepen their reflection upon their situation, and to stimulate their exertions to emerge out of it. The alarm, reluctance, and tenacity of the Protestant gave energy, confidence, and perseverance to the Catholic.

Previous, therefore, to any further application, the committee, following the example of their brethren in England, which had been attended with such conciliating effects, and in pursuance of the advice of many of their best friends and ablest supporters, resolved to give to the legislature and their country the most ample satisfaction in their power, on all topics of their faith, which were, however remotely, connected with the principles of good order and government. For this purpose they anxiously attended to every objection, and every proposal, whether resulting from motives of friendship or enmity, to secure or to subvert their hopes of emancipation; they consulted those, who from their situation and pursuits were best acquainted with the difficulties and the doubts existing in the minds of their Protestant brethren; they diligently studied the modes most likely to give

Sir Thomas Osbourne, did not say direction, but advice. To which Mr. Sheridan replied, that, if he were compiling a dictionary, he should explain "advice of a minister," by the single word command.

complete satisfaction on all those points; and finally, after due and earnest deliberation, they published a declaration* of their tenets, which was signed generally by the Catholics of all descriptions through the kingdom, clergy and laity. It received the warm approbation of their supporters, and imposed silence on many of their opponents. It was circulated as widely as possible throughout the kingdom.

Having thus endeavoured to clear the way by the removal of prejudices, which had long and powerfully operated against them, and wishing to pay every possible respect and deference to the legislature, which had expressed doubts as to what were the real sentiments and wishes of the Catholic body: and being fully convinced, that in order to induce that august assembly to afford relief to three millions of loyal and peaceable subjects, it was incumbent upon them to satisfy them of the unequivocal sense of all the Catholics of Ireland, which could only be fairly collected and fully expressed by delegation;† the committee therefore devised a plan whereby the sentiments of every individual of their body in Ireland should be ascertained, by means of delegates.

Immediately on the appearance of this plan, a general outcry was raised against it; sedition, tumult, conspiracy and treason, were echoed from county to county, from grand jury to grand jury. Some legislators high in the confidence of their sovereign, and armed with the influence of station and office, presided at those meetings, and were foremost in arraiguing measures, upon the merits of which in another place and in another function they were finally to determine.

The exaggerated and alarming language of most of the grand juries imported, that the Catholics of Ireland were on the eve of a general insurrection, ready to hurl the king from his throne, and tear the whole frame of the constitution to pieces.

The Leitrim grand jury denominated the plan "An inflammatory and dangerous publication," and stated, "that they felt it necessary to come forward at that period to declare, that they were ready to support, with their lives and fortunes, their present most valuable constitution in church and state; and that they would resist, to the utmost of their power, the attempts of any body of men, however numerous, who should presume to threaten innovation in either."

The grand jury of the county of Cork denominated the plan "An unconstitutional proceeding, of the most alarming, dangerous and seditious tendency; an attempt to over-awe par-

* This declaration is to be seen in the Appendix, No. LXXXVIII.

† This plan of delegation is also to be seen in the Appendix, No. LXXXIX.

" imminent;" they stated their determination to " protect and defend, with their lives and property, the present constitution in church and state." That of Roscommon, after the usual epithets of " alarming, dangerous, and seditious," asserted that the plan called upon the whole body of the Roman Catholics of Ireland to associate themselves in the metropolis of that kingdom, upon the model of the national assembly of France, which had already plunged that devoted country into a state of anarchy and tumult unexampled in any civilized nation: they stated it to be " an attempt to over-awe parliament;" they mentioned their serious and sensible alarms for the existence of their present happy establishment in church and state; and their determination, " at the hazard of every thing dear to them, to uphold and maintain the Protestant interest of Ireland."

The grand jury of Sligo resolved, " that they would, at all times, and by every constitutional means in their power, resist and oppose every attempt then making, or thereafter to be made by the Roman Catholics, to obtain their elective franchise, or any participation in the government of the country." And that of Donegal declared, that though " they regarded the Catholics with tenderness, they would maintain, at the hazard of every thing dear to them, the Protestant interest of Ireland."

The grand jury of Fermanagh, professing also " the warmest attachment to their Roman Catholic brethren," felt it however necessary to come forward at that period to declare, that they were " ready with their lives and fortunes to support their present invaluable constitution in church and state." And that of the county of Derry, after expressing their apprehensions, lest that proceeding " might lead to the formation of an hierarchy (consisting partly of laity) which would destroy the Protestant ascendancy, the freedom of the elective franchise, and the established constitution of this country," tendered their lives and fortunes to support the happy constitution as established at the revolution of 1688. A very great majority of the leading signatures affixed to those resolutions, were those of men either high in the government of the country, or enjoying lucrative places under it, or possessing extensive borough interest.

The grand jury of the county of Louth, with the Speaker of the House of Commons at their head, declared, " that the allowing to Roman Catholics the right of voting for members to serve in parliament, or admitting them to any participation in the government of the kingdom, was incompatible with the safety of the Protestant establishment, the continuance of the succession to the crown in the illustrious House of Hanover, and finally tended to shake, if not destroy, their connexion

"with Great Britain, on the continuance and inseparability of which depended the happiness and prosperity of that kingdom; that they would oppose every attempt towards such a dangerous innovation, and that they would support with their lives and fortunes the present constitution, and the settlement of the throne on his majesty's Protestant house." The freeholders of the county of Limerick charged the Catholic committee with an intention to over-awe the legislature, to force a repeal of the penal laws, and to create a Popish democracy for their government and direction in pursuit of whatever objects might be holden out to them by turbulent and seditious men. They then instructed their representatives in parliament, "at all events, to oppose any proposition which might be made for extending to Catholics the right of elective franchise:" at this meeting the chancellor was present. The corporation of Dublin in strong terms denied the competency of parliament to extend the right of franchise to the Catholics, which they called "alienating their most valuable inheritance;" and roundly asserted against the fact, that "the last session of parliament left the Roman Catholics in no wise different from their Protestant fellow-subjects, save only in the exercise of political power."

Some of the grand juries indignantly rejected the proposals made to them of coming to any resolutions injurious to their Catholic brethren. Agents had been employed to tamper with every grand jury that met during the summer assizes. Nothing could tend more directly than this measure of pre-engaging the sentiments of the country against three millions of its inhabitants, to raise and foment discord and disunion between Protestants and Catholics. Counter-resolutions, answers and replies, addresses and protestations, were published and circulated in the public papers* from some grand jurymen, and from many different bodies of Catholics; several bold and severe publications appeared during the course of the summer, not only from individuals of the Catholic body, but from the friends of their cause amongst the Protestants. It is scarcely questionable but that the virulent and acrimonious opposition raised against the Catholic petition for a very limited participation of the elective franchise, enlivened the sense of their grievances, opened their views, and united their energies into a common effort to procure a general repeal of the whole penal code. The late earl of Clare, Mr. Foster, and some others, who were generally con-

* The columns of the daily newspapers were filled with charges, defences, and recriminations, which fatally proved the extensive influence and unwearied exertions of that part of Protestant Ireland, which was in possession of the political power and its attendant sweets, against three millions and a half at least of their countrymen. Specimens are to be seen in Appendix, No. XC.

sidered as the monopolizers of the political power of the state, were prominently conspicuous in attending the meetings, at which some of the strongest resolutions were entered into. It was the general conviction of the people, that all the grand juries throughout the nation had been packed, to extinguish even in embryo the Catholics' hope of further emancipation. Reflection aggravates oppression: and the removal of a trivial portion of an overpowering burden, so far from relieving, renders the oppressed more sensible of the remaining load.

Of all the publications which were dispersed in the course of the year, none produced a stronger impression on the public mind, than a Digest of the Popery Laws, made by Mr. Simon Butler, the chairman of the Society of the United Irishmen, which was published by order of that society. It was a very correct analysis of those laws: it consequently brought into view all the penalties and disabilities, to which the body remained still subject, after the puny relief of the pompous bill of sir Hercules Langrishe. It would be unfair, if the historian were to represent the transactions of a particular period from consequences that appeared at a distant interval of time, and the subsequent fate of many of the actors in the scenes. It is his duty faithfully to represent them as they really passed at the time. Merit and demerit can only attach from previous or co-existing circumstances; not from the posthumous issue engendered in the womb of time by future base and unavowed connexions. It was not because an individual was guilty of treason in the year 1798, that every previous act or transaction, in which that individual was concerned for the twenty, ten, or five preceding years, was affected with the venom of his latter crime. Whatever opinions may be formed of the motives, views, and conduct of particular bodies of men by others, it is first requisite to know, at least, those which they themselves profess and fairly avow. A vindication of the conduct and principles of the Roman Catholics of Ireland from the charges made against them by certain late grand juries, and other interested bodies in that country, was published by order of the committee.*

* In this work they sum up a recapitulation of the grievances by which they were still affected; and then conclude: "Such is the situation of three millions of good and faithful subjects in their native land! Excluded from every trust, power, or emolument of the state, civil or military; excluded from all the benefits of the constitution in all its parts; excluded from all corporate rights and immunities; expelled from grand juries, restrained in petit juries; excluded from every direction, from every trust, from every incorporated society, from every establishment occasional or fixed, instituted for public defence, public police, public morals, or public convenience; from the Bench, from the Bank, from the Exchange, from the University, from the College of Physicians: from what are they not excluded? There is no institution, which the wit of man has invented, or the progress of society produced, which pri-

It was matter of curious speculation to reflect upon the bold and confident assurance with which the Catholics now represent-

vate charity or public munificence has founded for the advancement of education, learning, and good arts, for the permanent relief of age, infirmity, or misfortune, for the superintendence of which, and all cases where common charity would permit, from the enjoyment of which the legislature has not taken care to exclude the Catholics of Ireland. Such is the state which the corporation of Dublin have thought proper to assert, "differs in no respect from that of the Protestants, save only in the exercise of political power;" and the host of grand juries consider "as essential to the existence of the constitution, to the permanency of the connexion with England, and the continuation of the throne in his majesty's royal house." A greater libel on the constitution, the connexion or the succession, could not be pronounced, nor one more pregnant with dangerous and destructive consequences, than this, which asserts, that they are only to be maintained and continued by the slavery and oppression of three millions of good and loyal subjects.

It is the duty of the general committee to reply to those objections made against their present proceedings which appear to have any weight:—In the first place, it is asserted, that they are "a Popish Congress, formed for the purpose of over-awing the legislature." Without descending to observe on the invidious appellation of "a Popish Congress," they consider the intention to over-awe parliament as the substantial part of the charge. Against the truth of this accusation they do most solemnly protest. They utterly abjure, disclaim, and renounce the holding such an intention; and they call upon their enemies to point out the word, action, or publication of the Catholics of Ireland, which can, before rational and dispassionate minds, be construed to bear such an absurd and wicked import. If none such can be shewn, if the conduct of the Catholics for a century past has been uniformly peaceable, dutiful, and submissive, they trust their views and motives will be fairly judged on their own merits, and not on forced constructions, unwarranted by the actions, and thus solemnly again disclaimed as the intention of the Committee.

"They are charged with exciting discontent, tumult, and sedition. After the enumeration of grievances, under which the Catholics of Ireland labour, it is attributing too much to this committee, to say that they are the cause of the present discontents. As to tumult and sedition, they challenge those who make the assertion to shew the instance. Where have there been riots, or tumults, or seditions, which can in the most remote degree be traced to the proceedings or publications of this committee? They know too well how fatal to their hopes of emancipation any thing like disturbance must be. Independent of the danger to those hopes, it is more peculiarly their interest to preserve peace and good order, than that of any body of men in the community. They have a large stake in the country, much of it vested in that kind of property which is most peculiarly exposed to danger from popular tumult. The general committee would suffer more by one week's disturbance than all the members of the two houses of parliament.

"But the most complete refutation of this unjust charge is the very measure, which is made the pretence for bringing it forward. When the humble petition already recited was in the last session presented to parliament, it was rejected with circumstances of peculiar disgrace and ignominy; and, as one reason for that rejection, it was insisted, that the petitioners did not speak the sense of the Catholic body; it therefore became necessary to ascertain what the sense of that body was, and the committee submit, whether a plan for collecting the general sentiment could be devised more quiet, peaceable, orderly, and efficacious, than summoning from each county and city of Ireland, the most respectable and intelligent gentlemen, who, from their situation and connexions, best knew the wishes of their countrymen, and from their property must be most desirous and most capable of securing tranquillity and good order. But in a case like the present, there is no argument so powerful

ed their grievances, which some few years before they had scarcely dared to mention or allude to.*

The Catholic committee became obnoxious to government in proportion to the sympathy and connexion which it was supposed existed between them and the Society of United Irishmen, and other political clubs which then existed for promoting civil freedom. In fact several of their leading members took public occasions of expressing the gratitude which the Catholics felt for the liberal and warm exertions of those societies in their favour. On the 23d of March, 1792, in a debate of the committee, Mr. Keogh said, that for a late publication, (the digest of the Popery laws) the United Irishmen and their respectable chairman, Mr. Simon

as the fact. The choice of the Catholics has been universally made without a single instance of irregularity or disorder. There is more riot and disturbance in one day at a contested election for a common potwalloping borough, than occurred in chusing delegates to the committee from the thirty two counties, and every great city of this kingdom."

* Soon after the rejection of the committee's petition to parliament, it was published with a very strong preface, little calculated to sooth the minds of those who chiefly opposed it in parliament. In that preface, this language is holden.

"The original intention was, that the petition should have been presented the first day of the session. At that time nothing had yet appeared of that strong expression of opinion which those who delight in figurative modes of speech, would call the sense of the house. The happy arts, by which the minds of men have been filled with alarm and confusion had not been extended beyond the constituent part of the Protestant commons. No advantage had been gained against the Roman Catholics in any other place. No man had yet made a forced march....to pre-occupy the ground....to seize upon the measure....in order, as it were, on the post and citadel of relief, to open a battery upon the Roman Catholics. In appearance to slubber them over with the gross and filthy slaver of a canting simulated affection, but in reality to corrode their fame with the venom of slanderous aspersion....to play fast and loose with names and things....to trick out a vain and spurious image of departed aristocracy; to call it the real Catholics; and (with a strange mixture of absurdity and impudence) to refuse their name to the people themselves....to damn the deluded few with fraudulent praise....to brand the guiltless many with false imputation....to hold out to the Protestant mind delusive securities, to refuse real fears....in one hand to carry liberality, toleration, grace and favour; and with the other, to scatter division, distraction, suspicion, and discontent. Such is the epitome of the game which has been played against the Catholics. It was a thing to be desired, that if possible, they should have anticipated by the promptitude of their movements, this complicated involution of hostile manœuvre. That not being the case, the enemies of the Catholics (and therefore the enemies of their country) have gained a momentary advantage.... but one which may end in their shame and confusion.

"To developpe this whole mystery of criminal folly, unravel the perplexed labyrinth of passion, absurdity and fraud, through which it has been thought expedient to wind the question of the Roman Catholics, will be the task of a leisure hour. Many are the paths that lead to death, and many are the ways by which a kingdom may be brought to the ground. Amongst these not the least effectual is, in a great national crisis....the substitution of a low craft, the little tricks of state, the miserable equivocation of double politics, in the room of true policy; that is to say, the generous manly decisions of honour, truth, and justice."

Butler, demanded their warmest gratitude. It was natural for persons staggering under oppression, cordially to grasp every hand that held out relief. Amidst the variety of these political societies, there were few that admitted Catholics amongst them. The Whig Club would not even permit the Catholic question to be agitated amongst them.* Had it been true, as it is fashionable with the traducers of the Irish nation, to assert that there was as much treason in Dublin in 1792, as in the year 1798, and that these political clubs or societies were the hot-beds of rebellion, it would be an high, though unintended compliment to the Catholics, who were generally excluded from them.

To such alarming excesses had the French revolution now been pushed, that every symptom of sympathizing with that cause became in the eyes of government a crime little short of treason.

* In November, 1792, at a meeting of the Whig Club, Mr. Huband observed, that in that critical period it became necessary for them to remember, that they were looked up to as the leaders of the nation, as an association in which the rank, the property, and the talents of the kingdom were concentrated. A question of superior magnitude was never agitated by the community, and was at the next session to be agitated in parliament, he meant the Catholic question; a question which ultimately was to decide whether the inhabitants of that country were ever to be worthy of the name of a people or not? He therefore hoped that the sense of the meeting would be taken as to what line of conduct they would adopt in parliament next winter.

Some gentlemen decidedly asserted, that they did not think the Catholic question ought to be mentioned or discussed in the Whig Club. They were averse to their having any concern in it, and one went so far as to say, that if it were admitted to be debated in that society, he would with his own hand strike his name out of the list of the members.

On which Mr. A. Ham. Rowen observed, that he would be as tenacious as any other gentleman, of remaining in any society where improper subjects were proposed for discussion; but that for his part, he would not hesitate to strip off his Whig Club uniform, and throw it to the waiter, if the Catholic question were deemed an unfit subject for their discussion.

Mr. W. Brown called the attention of gentlemen to the purpose of their association. They placed themselves in the front of the public cause, to further it, not to stop its further progress; the second principle of their declaration was, a solemn engagement to support the rights of the people, &c. Who, said he, are the people? I dare any gentleman to name the people of Ireland without including the Roman Catholics. What! is it a question, shall three millions of Irishmen continue slaves or obtain their freedom! Is it a question to be deserted by men professing patriotism, professing to redress the public oppression, pledged to stand together in defence of their country's liberties? No; it is not.

To desert the cause of the Catholics, would be to desert the principles of their institution, it would be to deserve the calumny thrown against them by their enemies, that they were an opposition struggling for power, not a band of patriots for the public weal; it would rob their names of honour, their rank and wealth of consequence, and it would finally sink them from a station of political importance, down to the obscurity and insignificance of an interested and impotent party.

On the question being put, whether the Catholic question should be taken into consideration or not on Wednesday fortnight, it was negatived on a division by thirteen.

Early in the spring, the intended celebration of the anniversary of the French revolution at Belfast on the 14th of July, was announced in the public prints, and all the volunteers of the province of Ulster were invited to assist at it. Mr. Tone sent down to Belfast, by order of the Society of the United Irishmen of Dublin, some resolutions they had lately entered into, the general purport of which was a complete internal union of all the people of Ireland, to resist the weight of English influence. They were to be communicated to them on the day of their meeting, in the hopes of their adopting them. The commemoration was celebrated with great pomp and splendour: several emblematic figures and representations were exhibited with inscriptions appropriate to the occasion.* As some very warm resolutions had been heretofore entered into by the northern volunteers in favour of Catholic emancipation, and the great (indeed the only ostensible) principle of the different societies of United Irishmen, was the affection and union of Irishmen of every religious denomination, the Catholics considered this general assemblage of the Protestants of the north, as a favourable opportunity of engaging them more deeply and zealously in their cause; they sent down about a dozen discreet persons to Belfast in order to keep up and encourage the union with the Protestants of the north. They valued the liberality of the present generation the more, by how much the Catholic cause had heretofore suffered from the rancour of their ancestors. When the procession was over, the volunteers, and many of the inhabitants of the town assembled in the Linenhall, and entered upon the discussion of politics. The principal subjects were parliamentary reform and Catholic emancipation: in favour of both of which questions they entered into strong resolutions. They then voted an address to the national assembly of France, and another to the people of Ireland. It was not in nature, that three millions of the people should remain passive and unmoved, whilst the fourth million, which made up the population of that kingdom, was in the height of a political fever. There is nothing in the Catholic more than in the Protestant religion, to prevent a diversity of sentiment upon lawful political opinions. And although a common cause of sufferance may be generally supposed to unite the individuals of a body, yet in truth

* On a group of figures drawn by horses was the following inscription. "The releasement of the prisoners from the Bastile." On the reverse, there was a figure of "Hibernia, with one hand and foot in shackles, and a volunteer presenting to her a figure of Liberty." The following motto was inscribed on another: "Our Gallic brethren were born July 14th, 1789: alas! we are still in embryo." On the reverse, "Superstitious jealousy, the cause of the Irish Bastile: Let us unite and destroy it." Among them appeared the portrait of Doctor Franklin, with this motto, "Where liberty is, there is my country."

there seldom has existed so large a portion of mankind less united than the Catholics of Ireland. The penal code made them indeed a body apart, but it necessarily scattered amongst them the seeds of discord and disunion, which might have been no secondary motive in the framing of the ferocious and unnatural code of laws against them. For it is a fatal truth, that the Machiavelian policy *divide et impera* was too constantly brought to bear upon that devoted kingdom, as long as it was considered a divided and subordinate country : and such would it have ever continued to be deemed unless united to the head of the empire.

The Catholic committee had in February, 1792, published, as has been before observed, an address to their Protestant brethren, and the public in general, respecting the calumnies and misrepresentations so industriously circulated with regard to their principles and conduct ; to which they added the former opinions of five Catholic universities upon certain tenets usually imputed to Roman Catholics by the Protestants of that country.* They were procured at the desire of Mr. Pitt, before the bill was passed in favour of the Roman Catholics of England.

By this publication, they conceived they had removed every reasonable objection on the score of religious opinion. Yet, after the severe summer campaign, in which they had to encounter so much obloquy and imputation from grand juries, and other meetings of Protestants, who had been packed and stimulated to this end by the chancellor, the speaker of the House of Commons, and some other sharers in the monopoly of the civil power of the state ; they found it necessary also to remove or prevent fresh prejudices, which were attempted to be raised against their civil conduct in applying for redress of grievances. On the 13th of September, 1792, at a meeting of the sub-committee of the Catholics, they came to the following resolutions : “ That having seen, “ with great concern, a variety of publications, censuring the circular letter lately issued by them, said to be signed Edward “ Byrne, and erroneously stated to be illegal and unconstitutional, “ had thought it their duty to submit that letter to the inspection “ of the Hon Simon Butler, and Beresford Burston, Esq. two “ gentlemen of the first eminence in the profession, and who had “ the honour to be of his majesty’s council.”

In the course of a very few days, the case laid before those two gentlemen, with their opinions upon it, were published and circulated with all possible industry.† Upon the strength of the opinions, the Catholics proceeded in their plan of chusing delegates for each district throughout the kingdom : the elections were

* The queries and answers are to be seen in the Appendix, No. XCI.

† They are to be seen in the Appendix, No. XCII.

completed with the utmost celerity, and without the shadow of disturbance. The first meeting of those delegates was holden in Taylor's Hall, Dublin, on the 2d of December, 1792. The confidence, with which the Catholics now looked up to their emancipation, brought them frequently together: and beside the committee of delegates, other collections of them occasionally met to consult upon the measures to be pursued towards attaining their great object of liberation. From the publication of their proceedings, their spirit and feeling on that great and critical occasion are sufficiently manifest. In the attainment of this object they naturally considered those only as their enemies, who opposed their efforts, and by the common workings of nature were cordial and grateful to every sincere co-operator with them in the work of emancipation. On the 31st of October, 1792, the Catholic inhabitants of the city of Dublin were convened by public summons in the Exhibition room, in Exchequer-street. The principal and immediate occasion of this meeting was a post meeting of the lord mayor, sheriffs, commons, and citizens of Dublin, at the Exhibition house, in William-street, on the 11th of September, pursuant to requisition, for the purpose of taking into consideration the letter circulated and signed *Edward Byrne*; at which they came to an unanimous resolution, that a letter upon the subject should be addressed to the Protestants of Ireland.* This letter was highly offensive to the Catholic inhabitants of the metropolis, who were not admitted to the post meeting: it was read from a public print, and a committee of eight gentlemen† was appointed to prepare an answer to it, which should be published as the unanimous act of that meeting. In the mean time they embraced that opportunity of repeating their thanks to the illustrious characters in both houses of parliament, who had nobly stood forward in support of their emancipation, and the right of the subject to petition for redress of grievances. They also declared, that their warmest gratitude was due, and thereby respectfully given to their countrymen the citizens of Belfast, for their uniform and manly exertions in support of their cause, and for the example of liberality and genuine public spirit, which they had thereby shewn to the kingdom at large. They also thanked the different volunteer corps lately reviewed at Belfast; the Protestant freeholders of Cork; the different gentlemen, who at grand jury and county meetings, had supported their cause; and all other amongst their Protestant brethren, who had manifested a

* This letter is to be seen in the Appendix, No. XCIII.

† Viz. Randall M'Donald, John Keogh, Hugh Hamill, Edward Byrne, Thomas Warren, Charles Ryan, and John Ball. The answer, in form of a declaration, is to be seen in the Appendix. No. XCIV.

wish for their emancipation : and their chairman (Mr. Braughall) was ordered to transmit copies of that day's proceedings to the chairman of the town-meeting at Belfast, the chairmen of the different societies of United Irishmen ; the different reviewing officers in Ulster, and the other distinguished characters, who had interested themselves in the cause of Catholic emancipation.

These expressions of gratitude, from any of the Catholics to the Protestant supporters and friends of their cause, were highly displeasing to government ; and the real enemies to the Catholics were indefatigable in attempting to identify the cause of Catholic emancipation with that of French democracy and Irish treason. Several circumstances occurred in the course of this year, which tended to affix a stigma beyond disaffection to some of the political societies and military corps. The national guard, a new military body, was this year arrayed and disciplined in Dublin. They wore green uniforms, with buttons engraved with a harp, under a cap of liberty, instead of a crown. Their leaders were A. H. Rowan and James Napper Tandy ; they affected to address each other by the appellation of citizen, in imitation of the French. This corps was in high favour with the populace, and were always cordially greeted as they appeared in the street or on parade. Government really felt alarm : a general insurrection was apprehended : they pretended to have information of the particular nights fixed for that purpose. The magistrates by orders of government patrolled the streets with bodies of horse each night. It was given out from the Castle, that the custom-house, the post-office, and the gaol, were the first places to be attacked ; and that the signal for rising was to have been the pulling down of the statue of king William in College green with ropes. Many other false rumours of conspiracies and assassinations were set afloat. In the mean while the national guards, and all the volunteer corps of Dublin were summoned, to assemble on Sunday, the 9th of December, 1792, to celebrate the victory of the French, and the triumph of universal liberty. The summons began with an affectation of Gallicism, "*Citizen Soldier*." However, the meeting itself, and whatever mischief had been intended, was prevented ; and government issued a proclamation on the 8th of December, against their assembling. The national guards did not assemble ; and the only persons who appeared on parade were, A. H. Rowan, J. N. Tandy, and Carey the printer.

Amongst other events of the year 1792, that tended to inflame the public mind, were the growth and extension of Defenderism. As the Defenders were generally Catholics, it then was and has since been the theme of the enemies to the Catholics, to connect the cause of Catholic emancipation with the cause and outrages

of those lawless miscreants. Until that time they had not appeared beyond the counties of Armagh and Louth: now they suddenly appeared in bodies in the county of Meath, particularly in those parts which adjoin to Cavan. There, and in the adjacent parts of Cavan, there resided numerous tribes of Presbyterians, called by the common people Scots. Between these, and the lower order of Catholics, there had prevailed for many years an hereditary animosity; and it is hard to say on which side ignorance and religious prejudices preponderated. The Defenders on this occasion were the aggressors: their plan was to procure arms, and to deprive all those of arms, who were not engaged in their cause. They began with the Presbyterians, and not in the most courteous manner.

The Scots took the alarm; their brethren of the county of Cavan joined; and they soon appeared in force, more formidable by their knowledge of the use of arms, than by their numbers. They were encouraged and headed by magistrates, clergymen and attorneys. Their fury against these aggressors, who were mostly Catholics, fell indiscriminately against all of that persuasion. The Defenders, who hitherto had acted only by night, now ventured to appear in open day. They assembled to the number of about an hundred and fifty men, some with fire arms, and the rest with such weapons as they could procure, near Petersville, the seat of Mr. Tucker, a moderate and humane man. Their avowed intention was to rescue some of their party who had been detained as prisoners by the Scots in the little town of Baileborough: but, on receiving intelligence that the Scots were marching into that neighbourhood, they altered their plan, and resolved to meet their old enemies. The Scots were accompanied with a party of the military, all under the direction of magistrates. On their approach the Defenders took advantage of a wall, and lay in ambush: but notwithstanding this advantage, they did no execution; some of them discharged their pieces very awkwardly; and on the first fire from the military and Scots, they fled with precipitation. Such of them as were most closely pursued sought shelter in the house of Mr. Tucker; and some of that gentleman's innocent labourers, terrified by what they were only spectators of, took refuge in the same place. The house was soon entered: innocent and guilty were dragged from their hiding places, and butchered in cold blood, with circumstances of barbarous cruelty. It is justice to say, that the military behaved on this occasion with as much humanity as gallantry. Some of the *Peep of Day Boys*, flushed with these outrageous murders, sanctioned by the presence of magistrates, on their return to Kells, most wantonly shot an innocent traveller on the road. After this exploit, they over-run the country, pillaged,

plundered, burned, without requiring any mark of guilt but religion: and their proceedings, if not encouraged, were at least connived at; until the earl of Bellamont, by his authority, restrained those of the county of Cavan; and their brethren of Meath, finding themselves abandoned by those who formed the greatest strength of the party, soon became also quiet. Thus was the progress of the Defenders effectually stopped on that side; but their cause was entirely ruined in the barony of Kells. The Catholics, though openly and avowedly pointed at during those transactions, never complained of the outrages of the Scots, lest even their complaints might seem to encourage the unprincipled wretches who had disturbed the peace of the country.

The multiplication of political societies in Ireland was an unequivocal symptom of the malignancy of the fever in which the public mind was at this time kept. Besides those already mentioned, there had been recently instituted the Society of the Friends of the Constitution, Liberty, and Peace.* The duke of Leinster, and many of the leading men of the opposition, were members.

* Of this even the great libeller of his country admits, that there were many men of principle and good fortunes, who wished for nothing but a simple reform of parliament, were members of it, but did not know the latent designs of the rebels. The spirit of this association will appear from their declaration, which every member was obliged to subscribe: and which with an impressive address to the public upon the necessity of checking the efforts of government to undermine the constitution, were agreed to, whilst the duke of Leinster was in the chair, on the 27th of December, 1792.

DECLARATION.

"I SOLEMNLY promise and declare, that I will, by all lawful means, promote a radical and effectual reform in the representation of the people in parliament, including persons of all religious persuasions; and that I will unceasingly pursue that object until it shall have been unequivocally obtained: and, seriously apprehending the dangerous consequences of certain levelling tenets, and seditious principles, which have lately been disseminated, I do further declare, that I will resist all attempts to introduce any new form of government into this country, or in any manner to subvert or impair our constitution, consisting of king, lords and commons."

They also published the following resolutions:—"That this society, conscious of its good intentions, but diffident of its ability to judge of the best means of attaining an object of such magnitude and difficulty, as that which it has been proposed, deems it essential to that object, and therefore respectfully recommends that similar associations should be formed in every county and principal town throughout the kingdom. With such associations, and with every individual friend to the constitution, liberty, and peace in these kingdoms, this society will be happy to communicate, and will thankfully receive every species of information concerning facts, or even hints, concerning plans and principles which may assist in deciding on matters either of propriety or expediency. Such materials the society will deem it a duty to arrange and digest; and as it shall be enabled to select, or to form a plan of representation, which may appear worthy the attention of the public, it will, with the utmost deference, lay such plan before the people of Ireland, for their consideration and correction, previous to its being submitted to the wisdom of the legislature."

In the mean while the Catholic convention, having been convened in Dublin, met in Tailor's-hall in Back-lane, and frequently assembled: they were called in derision the *Back-lane Parliament*. Several of the leading members of the former committee had like other of their countrymen caught the general flame of liberty, and professed themselves as anxious for carrying the great national object of parliamentary reform through all its branches, as they were for their own emancipation: and it was for a time doubted, whether they should address the parliament as Roman Catholics, or as Irishmen. In the course of the summer a reconciliation or coalition had been generally effected between the committee and several of the sixty-four addressers. Convinced that his majesty's ministers in England were disposed to favour their pretensions, it was found political in the body to act in concert; and to this accommodating disposition and desire of internal union, is to be attributed the moderation of the public acts of that convention. They framed a petition* to the king, which was a firm though modest representation of their grievances: it was signed by Dr. Troy and Dr. Moylan on behalf of themselves and the other Roman Catholic prelates and clergy of Ireland, and by the several delegates for the different districts, which they respectively represented. They then proceeded to chuse five delegates to present it to his majesty: the choice fell upon sir Thos. French, Mr. Byrne, Mr. Keogh, Mr. Devereux, and Mr. Bellew. These gentlemen went by short seas: in their road to Donaghadee they passed through Belfast in the morning, and some of the most respectable inhabitants waited upon them at the Donegal Arms, where they remained about two hours: upon their departure, the populace took their horses from their carriages and dragged them through the town amidst the liveliest shouts of joy and wishes for their success. The delegates returned these expressions of affection and sympathy, by the most grateful acknowledgments and assurances of their determination to maintain that union, which formed the strength of Ireland. On the 2d of January, 1793, the gentlemen delegated by the Catholics of Ireland attended the levee at St. James's, were introduced to his majesty by Mr. Dundas, secretary of state for the home department, and had the honour of presenting their humble petition to his majesty, who was pleased most graciously to receive it. Without loss of time they returned to Dublin the welcome heralds of the benign countenance and reception they had received from the father of his people.

* This petition is to be seen in the Appendix, No. XCV. with a list of the names of the delegates who signed it.

Since Ireland had gained a constitution, no year was so pregnant with great events to that kingdom as the year 1793. The parliament met on the 10th of January, and as the session, which lasted to the 16th of August, was most interesting and important, it will be proper to prepare the reader for the effects of that session, by submitting to him the faithful and authentic account of the state of the nation at the time of its opening. So alarming did the state of the nation appear to the lords, that very early in the session they appointed a secret committee to inquire into the causes of the disorders and disturbances, which prevailed in several parts of the kingdom, to prevent their extension, and report the result of their inquiries to that house: their report was: that the people at that time called Defenders* were

* The purport of this report seems calculated to impress the reader with an idea that the collections made by the Catholics at the desire of their committee, were, if not intended, at least in part applied to the support, encouragement, or defence of these lawless banditti. The following proceedings of that committee was published with a view to counteract that effect, and shews the actual levy as well as the application of the money.

That a committee of six be appointed to inspect and examine our accounts, and that the following gentlemen be the said committee:

Sir T. H. French, Bart.	- - -	Co. Galway
Luke Teeling, Esq.	- - -	Co. Antrim
Edward Sweetman, Esq.	- - -	Co. Wexford
Francis Arthur, Esq.	- - -	City of Limerick
John Mansfield, Esq.	- - -	Co. Waterford and
T. Fitzgerald, jun. Esq.	- - -	Co. Kildare

And the said committee having sat from day to day, and minutely examined the accounts, report as follows:

Report of the Committee of Accounts, 22d April, 1793.

We the committee of accounts, having examined the different vouchers laid before us, which we present herewith, have, for the purpose of stating them in the clearest and concisest manner, compressed them in the annexed schedule, under the different titles to which they were invariably applied.

The result of the whole is:

That on the 1st January, 1792, a balance remained in your treasurer's hands of	£.	s.	d.
	18	13	5
Together with nine government debentures, since sold for	899	14	6
That there has been collected in the city of Dublin	2022	4	6
From other cities, towns and counties	2256	11	3
	5193	3	8
That the several sums paid on account of the Catholics of Ireland, amount to	5488	5	9½
Which leaves a balance against the Catholic body of	295	2	1½

Account of Receipts and Disbursements of the General Committee of the Catholics of Ireland, April 22d, 1793.

March, 1792.	£.	s.	d.	Dr.
To paid retaining fee to Richard Burke, Esq.	56	17	6	
To paid Richard Burke, Esq.	2264	12	11	
To paid fees to counsellors Burston and hon. S. Butler, with Mr. Byrne's letter,	11	7	6	
Carried forward	2332	17	11	

very different from those who had originally assumed that appellation, and were all, as far as the committee could discover, of the Roman Catholic persuasion; in general, poor ignorant labouring men, sworn to secrecy, and impressed with an opinion, that

	£.	s.	d.
Brought forward	2332	17	11
To paid T. W. Tone, Esq. agent to the committee, in part of 1500 <i>l.</i> voted to him	206	17	6
To paid various advertisements, publications, and stationary	1486	2	4
Due to printers, per accounts	626	19	0
	2113	1	4
January, 1793.			
To paid for sundry petty disbursements, per account	98	14	11
To paid for postage, per John Keogh, Esq.	56	17	6
To paid for ditto, John Sweetman, Esq.	50	0	0
To paid counsellors Butler and Emmett, for perusing Catholic bill	45	10	0
To paid Richard M'Cormick, Esq. account of postage, and other trifling disbursements	15	18	9
To loss on light guineas	9	14	7
To paid J. M'Dermot, a clerk	7	11	8
To paid William Long for the hire of a coach to and from London, and freight of the same	51	1	7½
To paid W. T. Jones, Esq. in part of the sum of 1500 <i>l.</i> voted to him	500	0	0
	£. 5488	5	9½
January, 1792.			
		Cr.	
By cash in hands of treasurer, per account	18	13	5
By nine government debentures in the treasurer's hands, sold for	899	14	6
By collections made in the city of Dublin, per account	2022	4	6
February, 1793.			
By subscriptions paid into the treasurer from the several counties and towns.			
From co. Kildare	113	15	0
Dunboyne	5	13	9
Dungannon	53	14	1½
Kilkenny	100	0	0
Ross, co. Wexford	13	13	0
The city of Limerick	350	0	0
Drogheda	318	0	0½
Ballymahon	70	10	6½
J. Scully, co. Tipperary,	15	0	0
Co. Monaghan,	152	11	2½
Co Mayo	38	13	6½
Dingle	32	8	4½
Co. Cavan	30	1	4½
Co. Wexford	207	8	1
	1501	8	11½
Carried forward	4442	1	4½

they were assisting the Catholic cause; in other respects they did not appear to have any distinct particular object in view, but they talked of being relieved from hearth-money, tithes, county cesses, and of lowering their rents. They first appeared in the

Brought forward			4442	1	4½
	£.	s. d.			
Thomas Bennet, Esq.	34	2	6		
Co. Wicklow	27	5	5½		
Stradbally, Queen's co.	62	11	3		
Co. of Down	82	15	0		
Town of Wexford	30	0	0		
Co. of Dublin	300	0	0		
Rowland Norris, Esq.	11	7	6		
Arklow, co. Wicklow	38	8	1		
Mr. Wise	11	7	6		
Co. Roscommon	153	5	0		
			751	2	3½
Balance against the Catholics			£. 5193	3	8
			295	2	1½
			£. 5488	5	9½

That by the foregoing report of the committee, specially appointed to inspect the accounts of the expenditure of money raised by voluntary subscription, in order to defray the necessary expenses of our constitutional and legal exertions, it appears, that said monies have been invariably applied with the strictest regard to the peace and happiness of the country, and for well-known and legal purposes.

That notwithstanding the earnest endeavours and frequent exhortations of the general and sub-committees, it appears that many of the lower orders of Catholics have persisted in associating with those deluded people called "DEFENDERS." We take this opportunity again to repeat what we have so often, collectively and individually, endeavoured to impress on their minds, our utmost detestation and abhorrence of such illegal and criminal proceedings; and we once more call on those unhappy men, if such yet remain, by every thing dear to them, to us and to posterity, to desist from such unwarrantable acts of violence, which have already proved fatal to so many of themselves, and to return to their obedience to the laws, and the laudable pursuits of honest industry.

That a committee be appointed to examine, and report what honourable engagements the Catholics of Ireland lie under, for services received.

The following gentlemen were accordingly chosen of the committee:

Thomas Fitzgerald, jun. Esq. (chairman)	Co. Kildare
Morgan Kavanagh, Esq.	Queen's Co.
Patrick Mullarky, Esq.	Co. Sligo
James Edward Devereux, Esq.	Co. Wexford
Luke Teeling, Esq.	Co. Antrim
Hugh O'Reilly, Esq.	Co. Cavan
Edward Forestall, Esq.	Co. Kilkenny
Owen O'Connor, Esq.	Co. Roscommon
Christopher Nugent, Esq.	Co. Longford
Hugh Savage, Esq.	Co. Down
Thomas Richard Geraghty, Esq.	Co. Tyrone
Walter Byrne, Esq.	Co. Wicklow
Patrick Russel, Esq.	Co. Louth
Sir Thomas Ham. French, Bart.	Co. Galway

county of Louth, in considerable bodies in April last, several of them were armed, they assembled mostly in the night, and forced into the houses of Protestants, and took from them their arms. These disorders soon spread through the counties of

James Lalor, Esq.	Co. Tipperary
James Nangle, Esq.	Co. Meath
Andrew Macshane, Esq.	Co. Donegall
Dr. Reilly, Esq.	Co. Monaghan
Edmund Dillon, Esq.	Co. Mayo
Patrick Smith, Esq.	Co. Dublin
John Mansfield, Esq.	Co. Waterford
Edward Byrne, Esq.	City of Dublin

And said committee having reported,

That the sum of fifteen hundred pounds, together with a gold medal of the value of thirty guineas, bearing a suitable inscription, be presented to Theobald Wolfe Tone, Esq. agent to this committee, as a testimony of his services and our gratitude.

That the Catholics of Ireland are indebted to the hon. Simon Butler, one of his majesty's counsel at law, in the sum of five hundred pounds, for his very able digest of the Popery laws, with the introduction prefixed thereto, the notes annexed to their petition to his majesty, and a summary of the Popery laws now in force; and that the treasurer be ordered to pay the same with all convenient speed.

That the sum of five hundred pounds be presented to William Todd Jones, Esq. for his eminent services to the Catholic cause, making with the like sum heretofore presented, the sum of one thousand pounds; and that the third further sum of five hundred pounds be also presented to him, provided there shall be funds to make good the same, after the positive engagements of this committee shall have been discharged.

That the sum of two thousand pounds be applied to the erecting a statue to our most gracious sovereign, George the third, as a monument of our gratitude for the important privileges which we have obtained from parliament through his paternal recommendation.

That, as Sir T. H. French, J. E. Devereux, C. Dillon Bellew, J. Keogh, and E. Byrne, Esqrs. our delegates, who presented the petition of the Catholics of Ireland to his majesty, decline furnishing any account of their expenses on said deputation, a piece of plate of one hundred guineas value, with a suitable inscription, be presented to each of those five gentlemen, as a memorial of our gratitude for their eminent services on that occasion.

That John Comerford, Esq. be requested to continue treasurer to the Catholics of Ireland; and that every county delegate, together with several delegates resident in Dublin, to be chosen by ballot, be now appointed to superintend the collection and application of money, in pursuance of the foregoing resolutions, and for no other purpose whatsoever; and that it be an instruction to the said delegates, to transmit to each delegate an account of the money received and expended, so soon as the objects for which they are appointed shall have been accomplished, and that five be a quorum.

The following gentlemen resident in Dublin, were accordingly chosen:

Hugh Hamill	Edward Byrne,
Thomas Braughall,	R. M'Cormick,
John Sweetman,	D. T. O'Brien,
John Keogh,	Esqrs.

That it be a further instruction to the gentlemen now appointed, to consult, communicate and correspond upon the best and most effectual means of procuring an improved system of education for the Catholic youth of the kingdom of Ireland, and of forming, when practicable, such establishment as may be most conducive thereto.

Meath, Cavan, Monaghan, and all other parts adjacent; at first they took nothing but arms, but afterwards they plundered the houses of every thing they could find. Their measures appeared to have been concerted and conducted with the utmost secrecy and a degree of regularity and system, not usual in people of such mean condition, and as if directed by men of superior rank. Sums of money to a considerable amount, had been levied and still continued to be levied upon the Roman Catholics in all parts

That John Sweetman, Esq. secretary to our sub-committee, has discharged that trust with a spirit, activity and diligence equally honourable to himself and serviceable to the Catholic cause, and we embrace this opportunity to testify our sense of his candour and integrity; and the zeal for the public tranquillity which on every occasion he has manifested, qualities which have obtained him the esteem of his fellow-citizens, and more peculiarly entitle him to the gratitude and support of the Catholics of Ireland.

That our warmest thanks be, and are hereby presented to Richard M'Corrick, Esq. secretary to the general committee, for the many important services rendered to the Catholic cause, by his zeal, spirit and diligence; and for the very honourable and disinterested manner, in which he has ever discharged the functions of that office.

That it is with pleasure and gratitude we have observed the House of Commons in this session, unanimously taking into consideration that most important object, the present state of the representation of the people in parliament; and we do most earnestly exhort the Catholics of Ireland to co-operate with their Protestant brethren in all legal and constitutional means to carry into effect that great measure, recognized by the wisdom of parliament, and so essential to the freedom, happiness, and prosperity of Ireland, a reform in the representation of the people in the common's house.

That by the restoration of the elective franchise, the Catholics of Ireland are now enabled to speak, individually, the language of freemen; and as we no longer wish to be considered as a distinct body of his majesty's subjects, we render up our trust to the people, who sent us hither;—

And this committee is hereby dissolved.

The following gentlemen filled the chair in succession.

Harvey Hay, Esq.	- - -	Co. Wexford
T. Fitzgerald, jun. Esq.	- - -	Co. Kildare
James Archbold, Esq.	- - -	Co. Kildare
Owen O'Connor, Esq.	- - -	Co. Roscommon
Francis Arthur, Esq.	- - -	City of Limerick
Sir Thomas Esmond, Bart.	- - -	Co. Wexford
James Nangle, Esq.	- - -	Co. Meath
J. Jos. M'Donnell, Esq.	- - -	Co. Mayo

The general committee have voted the following sums:		£.	s.	d.
To Theobald Wolfe Tone, Esq. agent to the committee		1534	2	6
To the hon. Simon Butler, for the digest of the Popery laws, and other professional business in the service of the general committee		500	0	0
To W. Todd Jones, Esq. balance of 1500 <i>l.</i> voted to him		1000	0	0
For raising a statue to his majesty		2000	0	0
For five pieces of plate, to be given to the delegates who presented the petition of the Catholics of Ireland to his majesty		568	15	0
		5602	17	6
Balance, per schedule		289	2	1½
Total engagement of the Catholic body	£.	5891	19	7½

of the kingdom, by subscriptions and collections, at their chapels and elsewhere ; some of which levies had been made, and still continued to be made under the authority of a printed circular letter, which had been sent into all parts of the kingdom, a copy of which letter the committee thought it their duty to insert.

“ SIR,

“ BY an order of the sub-committee, dated the 15th day of January, I had the honour to forward you a plan for a general subscription, which had for its object the raising a fund for defraying the heavy and growing expenses incurred by the general committee, in conducting the affairs of the Catholics of Ireland ; as several mistakes have occurred in the transmission of these letters, owing to my ignorance of the address of many of the delegates ; I am directed to inform you that such a plan is now in forwardness throughout the kingdom. A measure so strongly enforced by necessity, and so consonant to justice, cannot fail to attract your very serious attention ; the committee having the most perfect reliance on your zeal, are therefore confident that you will use your best exertions to carry this necessary business into full effect.

“ Signed by the secretary of the sub-committee.

“ *Dublin, February 5th, 1793.*

“ P. S. It is hoped that you will acknowledge the receipt of this letter, stating at the same time whatever progress has been made in your district.”

The several seditious and inflammatory papers published in Dublin, and dispersed through the country, seemed to have countenanced and encouraged the Defenders in their proceedings, and it appeared, that letters were written by a member of the committee of the Roman Catholics at Dublin, previous to the last summer assizes, to a person resident at Dundalk, in one of which the said person in the name of the said Roman Catholic committee, directed inquiries to be made, touching the offences of which the Defenders then in confinement were accused, which inquiries will be best explained by inserting the said letter in the words following :

“ *Dublin, 9th August, 1792.*

“ DEAR SIR,

“ I RECEIVED this day your favour of the 8th instant, enclosing the different papers respecting the business I wrote you. It is with much regret that I am obliged to reply, that from the want of information on the subject matter of the indictments, no precise opinion can be formed, whether the alleged offence is or is not bailable ; the committee are conse-

"quently in the dark, as to the measures that should be adopted, nor can your exertions accelerate (as it seems) that period until the assizes, when you will be able to obtain office copies of the examinations. Mr. Nugent's brother left town this day, truly disconsolate in not being able to effect something towards the liberation of his kinsman, he however did his best in the affair.

"I am, dear Sir,

"Your obedient servant.

"JOHN SWEETMAN."

"P. S. If any new occurrences should happen, be good enough to inform me of it."

And that it appeared, that the said person, to whom the said letter was addressed at Dundalk, did employ, at a considerable expense, an agent and counsel to act for several persons who were accused of being Defenders, and were indicted for offences committed by them in the county of Lowth, one of which offenders appeared to be particularly named in the above letter. But the committee thought it their duty to state, that nothing appeared before them which could lead them to believe that the body of the Roman Catholics in that kingdom were concerned in promoting or countenancing such disturbances, or that they were privy to that application of any part of the money which had been levied upon them, however suspicious the conduct of ill-disposed individuals of their persuasion, resident in Dublin, might have been. If all the magistrates in the disturbed counties had followed the spirited example of the few, who, much to their honour, had exerted themselves with vigour and courage to support the laws, the committee were persuaded, that these disturbances might have been suppressed; but instead of doing so, much the greater part of them remained inactive. The committee were of opinion, that the best means of restoring permanent tranquillity in the disturbed counties would be to procure a sufficient number of active, resolute, and steady magistrates therein, who would exert themselves to maintain the public peace, and to cut off from these deluded people, all hope or expectation of support or defence arising from a common fund to be levied upon persons of their communion.

That an unusual ferment had for some months past disturbed several parts of the North, particularly the town of Belfast and the county of Antrim; it was kept up and encouraged by seditious papers and pamphlets of the most dangerous tendency, printed at very cheap and inconsiderable rates in Dublin and Belfast, which issued almost daily from certain societies of men or clubs in both those places, calling themselves committees under

various descriptions, and carrying on a constant correspondence with each other. These publications were circulated amongst the people with the utmost industry, and appeared to be calculated to defame the government and parliament, and to render the people dissatisfied with their condition and with their laws. The conduct of the French was shamefully extolled, and recommended to the public view as an example for imitation; hopes and expectations had been held up of their assistance by a descent upon that kingdom, and prayers had been offered up at Belfast from the pulpit, for the success of their arms, in the presence of military associations, which had been newly levied and arrayed in that town. A body of men associated themselves in Dublin, under the title of the First National Battalion: their uniform was copied from the French, green turned up with white, white waistcoats and striped trowsers, gilt buttons, impressed with a harp and letters importing "First National Battalion," no crown, but a device over the harp of a cap of liberty upon a pike; two pattern coats had been left at two shops in Dublin. Several bodies of men had been collected in different parts of the North, armed and disciplined under officers chosen by themselves, and composed mostly of the lowest classes of the people. These bodies were daily increasing in numbers and force, they had exerted their best endeavours to procure military men of experience to act as their officers, some of them having expressly stated, that there were men enough to be had; but that officers were what they wanted. Stands of arms and gunpowder to a very large amount, much above the common consumption, had been sent within the last few months to Belfast and Newry, and orders given for a much greater quantity, which it appeared could be wanted only for military operations. At Belfast, bodies of men in arms were drilled and exercised for several hours almost every night by candle-light, and attempts had been made to seduce the soldiery, which, much to the honour of the king's forces, had proved ineffectual. The declared object of these military bodies was to procure a reform of parliament; but the obvious intention of most of them appeared to be to over-awe the parliament and the government, and to dictate to both. The committee forbore mentioning the names of several persons, lest it should in any manner affect any criminal prosecution, or involve the personal safety of any man who had come forward to give them information. The result of their inquiries was, that in their opinion it was incompatible with the public safety and tranquillity of that kingdom, to permit bodies of men in arms to assemble when they pleased without any legal authority: and that the existence of a self-created representative body of any description of the king's subjects taking upon itself the government of them, and levying

taxes or subscriptions, to be applied at the discretion of such representative body, or of persons deputed by them, was also incompatible with the public safety and tranquillity.

The Roman Catholics being sensible of the calumnies attempted to be affixed to them by their enemies, and wishing to screen themselves against the mischievous imprudence of some individuals, whose close connexions with the political societies of the North most of them condemned, agreed upon the expedient of giving the most solemn publicity to their real sentiments, by circulating through the nation a form of prayer, which was composed by several of their prelates, that happened occasionally to be then in the metropolis.*

* The following admonition was read on the ensuing Sunday after mass, in all the Chapels in that city; copies of it were sent all over the kingdom, the original having been composed and signed by the Reverend Dr. Troy, Dr. O'Reilly, Dr. Bray, Dr. Bellew, and Dr. Cruise, five Catholic Bishops then in Dublin, viz.

"Dublin, January 25th, 1793.

"DEAR CHRISTIANS,

"IT has been our constant practice, as it is our indispensable duty, to exhort you to manifest on all occasions that unshaken loyalty to his majesty, and obedience to the laws, which the principles of our holy religion inspire and command. This loyalty and obedience have ever peculiarly distinguished the Roman Catholics of Ireland. We do not conceive a doubt of their being actuated at present by the same sentiments; but think it necessary to observe, that a most lively gratitude to our beloved sovereign should render their loyalty and love of order, if possible, more conspicuous. Our gracious king, the common father of all his people, has, with peculiar energy, recommended his faithful Roman Catholic subjects of this kingdom to the wisdom and liberality of our enlightened parliament. How can we, dear Christians, express our heartfelt acknowledgments for this signal and unprecedented instance of royal benevolence and condescension! Words are insufficient; but your continued and peaceable conduct will more effectually proclaim them, and in a manner equally, if not more satisfactory and pleasing to his majesty and his parliament. Avoid then, we conjure you, dearest brethren, every appearance of riot: attend to your industrious pursuits for the support and comfort of your families: fly from idle assemblies; abstain from the intemperate use of spirituous and intoxicating liquors; practise the duties of our holy religion: This conduct so pleasing to Heaven, will also prove the most powerful recommendation of your present claims to our amiable sovereign, to both houses of parliament, to the magistrates, and to all our well meaning fellow-subjects, of every description. None but the evil-minded can rejoice in your being concerned in any disturbance.

"We cannot but declare our utmost and conscientious detestation and abhorrence of the enormities lately committed by seditious and misguided wretches of every religious denomination, in some counties of this kingdom; they are enemies to God and man, the outcasts of society, and a disgrace to Christianity; We consider the Roman Catholics amongst them unworthy the appellation; whether acting from themselves, or seduced to outrage by arts of designing enemies to us, and to national prosperity, intimately connected with our emancipation.

"Offer your prayers, dearest brethren, to the Father of Mercy, that he may inspire these deluded people with sentiments becoming Christians and good subjects; supplicate the Almighty Ruler and Disposer of empires, by whom kings rule and legislators determine what is just, to direct his majesty's councils,

On the opening of the sessions, the lord lieutenant, after lamenting the spirit of discontent that had manifested itself in different parts of the kingdom, after having stated the ambitious and aggressive views of France, and observed on the usual topics of recommendation on these occasions, then continued ;* “ His majesty has the fullest confidence that you will, on all occasions, shew your firm determination to enforce due obedience to the laws, and to maintain the authority of government, in which you may depend upon his majesty’s cordial co-operation and support : and I have it in particular command from his majesty, to recommend it to you to apply yourselves to the consideration of such measures as may be most likely to strengthen and cement a general union of sentiment among all classes and descriptions of his majesty’s subjects, in support of the established constitution ; with this view his majesty trusts, that the situation of his majesty’s Catholic subjects will engage your serious attention, and in the consideration of this subject, he relies on the wisdom and liberality of his parliament.”

The earl of Tyrone moved the address, and was seconded by the honourable Mr. Wesby. Mr. John O’Neil very warmly supported the address. It gave him much pleasure to observe, that the speech recommended to the attention of parliament the situation of the Roman Catholics : the loyalty and good conduct of that people were rapidly removing the prejudices of the constituent body ; and there could be no doubt, that his majesty’s recommendation would have infinite weight, not only with parliament, but with all ranks of persons.

He concluded with exhorting all men, who loved the constitution, to rally round the throne, and now, in the moment of trial, manifest their wisdom and courage in defending all that was valuable ; and by the strongest expressions of affectionate attachment, shew their regard to that king who lived in the hearts of his people. But Mr. Grattan said, our situation is certainly alarming, but by no means surprising ; it is the necessary, natural, and obvious result of the conduct of his majesty’s ministers ; the persons who had opposed our liberty in ’82, were made our ministers ;

“ and forward his benevolent intentions to unite all his Irish subjects in bonds of common interest, and common endeavours for the preservation of peace and good order, and for every purpose tending to increase and secure national prosperity.

“ Beseech the throne of mercy also, to assist both houses of parliament in their important deliberations ; that they may be distinguished by consummate wisdom and liberality, for the advantage of the kingdom, and the relief and happiness of his majesty’s subjects.

“ Under the pleasing expectations of your cheerful compliance with these our earnest solicitations, we most sincerely wish you every blessing in this life, and everlasting happiness in the next ; through our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.”

* 13 Par. Debates, p. 3.

afterwards the country forgave them, but they never forgave the country ; they attempted to put down the constitution, and now they have put down the government. We told them so, we admonished them: we told them that their driving system would not do: we had no objection to their private characters, or their humble, natural relationships of life, but that they were absolutely, totally, radically, disqualified to govern.

Don't they remember, how in 1790, we warned them. They said we were severe. I am sure we were prophetic. In 1791, we repeated our admonition: told them that a government of clerks would not do: that a government by rank majorities would not do: that the government of the treasury would not do: that Ireland would not be long governed by the trade of parliament. We mentioned this when lord Buckingham ran away from this kingdom, and lord Westmoreland succeeded to his office. We told them, that a nation which had rescued her liberties from the giant of Old England, in '82, would not long bear to be trodden on by the violence of a few pigmies, whom the caprice of a court had appointed ministers. He concluded a very long and animated speech by suggesting an amendment to the address. That part of it which related to his majesty was cold and impolitic, his interposition to heal their religious animosities was an act of distinguished wisdom, as such it should be marked, particularly at a time when attempts had been made on the thrones of princes: at such a time he would mark to the Catholics the king as the deliverer of his people. He would distinguish him from his ministers. He would mark that monarch who had rescued his people from the hands of those ministers, that however they might abhor their proceedings, they should if necessary, unite to rally in support of the throne, keeping pure of leaning to any French politics; or any wishes in favour of that nation, now on the eve of a war with a country, with whom they were by the crown, by the law, by interest, and by every political tie, for ever to be connected.

He then moved an amendment, by inserting, after the word "constitution," the following words, "We admire the wisdom which at so critical a season has prompted your majesty to come forward to take a leading part in healing the animosities of your people, on account of religion: we shall take into our immediate consideration the subject graciously recommended from the throne; and at a time when doctrines pernicious to freedom and dangerous to monarchical government are propagated in foreign countries, we shall not fail to impress your majesty's Catholic subjects with a sense of the singular and eternal obligation they owe to the throne, and to your majesty's royal person and family."

After a very warm debate, Mr. Grattan withdrew his amendment, and the address was committed.

On the next day, Mr. Grattan again moved his amendment to the address, and was supported by Mr. Conolly, who called the attention of the house to that moment, as to the most awful and critical that had ever existed. The expenses, the debt of the country was great, and the corruption of the administration proportioned to both. He had always been attached to the British constitution; and it had been the object of his whole political life to procure for the people of Ireland the full advantages of that constitution. He adored that constitution; and while there was a drop of blood in his veins, he would stand by it, and he felt this attachment to the constitution the stronger, because he knew it carried in its vitals an antidote to any poison that could be brought against it: particularly against the poison of corruption, of which the operation had been so strong as nearly to endanger its existence. Had the constitution been worked as it ought, if he might use that phrase, there would have been no need for those apprehensions of seditious designs expressed in the speech; there would have been no need to fear either Jacobins or Levelers.

As to the address, every part of it had his most hearty concurrence, except one, and that was the paragraph which thanked his majesty for continuing the earl of Westmoreland in the government of that kingdom. During the administration of that nobleman, every salutary measure that had been proposed for the good of the people, had been contemptuously rejected; the expenses of government had increased, and the pension list had been augmented. He had very great affection for lord Westmoreland in his private capacity; but for the good of the country he must wish him out of it.

A warm debate ensued, when Mr. Grattan's amendment at length passed without a division.

The peculiar singularity of the session of 1793, was the accession of government to many of the great questions, which they had successively resisted session after session, with imperious pertinacity.

On the 14th of January, Mr. W. B. Ponsonby introduced the subject of parliamentary reform, expressing his intention of submitting, at a future day, some proposal to the house for a more equal representation of the people in parliament. Mr. Conolly avowed his warmest approbation of the measure, and pledged himself to support it, whenever brought forward. In 1782, he observed, a proposition of that kind came before the house: but it came from a body of armed men sitting in the metropolis.

Such a proposition from such a body, he would always think it right to resist, because the power of reforming the parliament resided in the parliament itself; on that account he then rejected the proposal. Since that period, public grievances had increased, remedies had been in vain attempted; he would therefore recommend it to government to turn their thoughts to that one grand reform. When the house should achieve that, as he had no doubt but they would do, they would have attained the salvation of their country.

Mr. Grattan observed, that since he had been in parliament, no words ever gave him more satisfaction. He had himself intended to have brought forth the question of the reform of parliament, but did not wish to pre-occupy such a question. Those are the gentlemen who ought to lead in that great question; the men who made the sacrifices, to them belonged the laurel.

That was not the first time, in which the right honourable gentleman had made sacrifices to the country; in 1769, that gentleman and all his connexions were deprived of all their emoluments for supporting the privileges of that house, against an altered money bill. In 1789, they were also dismissed for defending the privileges of the two houses of parliament, against an unconstitutional and condemned viceroy; and now they advanced a third time to surrender great power, all their monopolies, and to embark in the vessel of the commonwealth, and fairly or proudly to rise or fall with the fortunes of their country.

After a long speech, he moved "that a committee be appointed to inquire whether any, and what abuses had taken place in the constitution of that country, or the administration of its government, and to report such temperate remedies as might appear most likely to redress the same." Mr. W. B. Ponsonby seconded the motion; and sir John Parnel said, the motion was very wisely and temperately introduced, by denying that force should be used to extort any measure of this kind, and by asserting the exclusive right of the house to reform itself.

Mr. Corry, proposed by way of amendment, that instead of a committee to inquire into the abuses of the constitution and of the administration, a committee should be appointed to inquire into the state of the representation. Many objections were raised both against the amendment and against the original motion. But Mr. Grattan admitting the right of any member to separate the questions, added, that his original motion was to the abuses in the representation of the people, to the influence of the crown in parliament, and also, to the corruption which had taken place in the administration of its government. All ought to be reformed. But if the house wished to confine themselves to a part of his motion for the present, that is, the state of the representation, he

should rejoice, that they pledged themselves so far. The amendment was finally agreed to without a division, and referred to a committee of the whole house on that day fortnight.

After so many unsuccessful attempts to bring the question of reform under the consideration of parliament from the year 1782 to that period, this referring of it to a committee was considered, by the gentlemen of the opposition, as a matter of great triumph: it was an admission of the principle; it created confidence within, and afforded joy and satisfaction to the people without. In parliament, there appeared a most desirable, though novel disposition in the treasury bench, to accede to proposals made for the good of the nation, even from the opposite side of the house. On the other side Mr. Forbes heartily approved of the ministers bringing forth an alien bill upon the plan of the British alien act, as a wise and necessary measure, and tending to strengthen the union with Great Britain:* and Mr. Grattan thought it more necessary there than in Great Britain: it was certainly a strong measure, but at that crisis extremely necessary. On that same day (15th January) Mr. secretary Hobart gave notice, that he should at an early day move the house to take into consideration that part of the lord lieutenant's speech where he recommended the parliament to take into consideration the situation of the Roman Catholics of that kingdom: and also, that when a committee of supply should sit, he would bring forward a measure for modifying the hearth-money tax, so as to render it less burthensome to the poor. This conduct of administration brought forth the heartiest applauses from the opposition bench. Mr. Duquerry remarked, that ministers had done more in the first week of that session than ever he had read of, to tranquillize the nation and restore confidence to that house. Upon Mr. Grattan's expressing his intention of bringing forward a libel bill, like that of Great Britain, Mr. Hobart avowed, that the attorney general had it also in contemplation. Leave was given to Mr. Forbes to bring in a responsibility bill and a pension bill, and to Mr. Grattan to bring in a bill for the improvement of barren land. Thus passed one week in the Irish parliament without a symptom of opposition. Every thing proposed for the good of the country, was unanimously adopted by both sides of the house. In order to give time to digest the weight of important matter before the house, they adjourned from the 15th to the 18th of January, 1793.

On the 31st of January the house, according to order, took into consideration the lord lieutenant's and privy council's procla-

* Par. Debates, p. 63.

mation* of the 8th of December last, for dispersing all unlawful assemblies, when lord Headfort moved a resolution for an address of thanks to the lord lieutenant for the proclamation, which his excellency had issued, and for the vigilance and attention which he had manifested, to preserve the public tranquillity; and that they applauded the wisdom of his excellency, in separating those who so laudably associated for the purposes of defending that country from foreign invasion, as well as to preserve domestic tranquillity from those whose declared objects were tumult, disaffection, and sedition.

Mr. George Ponsonby approved of the address; at the same time he wished that a line of distinction should be made between the old volunteer corps and any modern corps who might make use of any disaffected emblems.

Mr. secretary Hobart then read a summons from the Goldsmiths' corps; an address from the society of United Irishmen to the volunteers of Ireland; likewise, the resolutions entered into at a meeting of delegates from several of the Dublin volunteer corps. He said, that from these resolutions, those corps came within the description and meaning of the proclamation, it was a matter of great satisfaction to him to find, that the conduct of administration in that business had met with the approbation of gentlemen on the other side of the house. It appeared to be the general sense of the house to shun a debate.

After a loud cry for the question had ceased, Mr. Grattan said he approved of the proclamation as much as he condemned the use which the minister attempted to make of it. The proclamation arraigned a certain body of men, whom it described to be an association assuming devices and emblems of disaffection. The minister applied that to the volunteers of the city and the county; and under that colour proposed to disperse them; and in order to justify that project, he produced a formal charge; viz.

* Notwithstanding the proclamation of the 8th of December, 1792, the goldsmiths' corps paraded in Ship street, on Sunday the 24th, but were dispersed by alderman Warren. Mr. Stewart (of Killymoon) said, in the debate, that they were entitled to praise for dispersing at the instance of the magistrate. At the close of this debate, lord Edward Fitzgerald, in a very vehement tone, declared, "I give my most hearty disapprobation to that address, for I do think that the lord lieutenant and the majority of this house, are the worst subjects the king has." A loud cry of "to the bar," and "take down his words," immediately echoed from every part of the house. The house was cleared in an instant, and strangers were not re-admitted for nearly three hours.

He was admitted to explain himself, and on his explaining, the house *Resolved, nem. con.* That the excuse offered by the right hon Edward Fitzgerald, commonly called lord Edward Fitzgerald, for the said words so spoken, is unsatisfactory and insufficient: and he was ordered to attend at the bar on the next day, when his apology was received, though not without a division upon its sufficiency: for receiving it 135, against it 66. (12 *Par. Deb.* p. 82.)

a summons purporting to be that of the corps of Goldsmiths, reciting, that the delegates of the corps were to assemble to celebrate the retreat of the duke of Brunswick, and the French victory in the low countries, and inciting the Goldsmiths' corps to attend. He did not ask, how far it were discreet to celebrate such an event, but he asked was it a ground for dismissing the volunteers? Neither did he consider that the imitation of French style or flippery was a sufficient ground for the minister to disperse the corps, or was it, such an offence as came within the description of the proclamation? The minister, himself, aware that his first charge was insufficient, had produced another. He had read a long address from a society called the United Irishmen, inviting the people of Ireland to assemble in a national convention, and containing an abundance of other matter; and he then produced a succession of resolutions from some of the corps of Dublin, one of which resolutions returns thanks to the society of United Irishmen. The minister was doing the very thing which he wished to prevent; he was provoking a general armament; he was doing more, he was detaching that armament from parliament. In his charge against the volunteers he had mentioned a national convention. He hoped that house would, by reforming the parliament, prevent such an assembly, the consequences of which might be very unfortunate; but if the minister wished to give such an assembly an army at its back, he was taking the method, by committing that house as well as himself, with the volunteers, and attempting to detach them from the established constitution. The object of the right honourable mover, in 1779; of resolutions of thanks to the volunteers, was to attach them to the House of Commons: he thought the object was a right one. That of the minister was to detach them from the house: he thought the object was an evil one, and the manner in which the minister proceeded convicted him of imprudence. He therefore desired, in giving his approbation to the proclamation, to be distinctly understood. He approved of it, because it did propose to disperse the national guard, and because it did not propose to disperse the volunteers. The address passed unanimously.

On the 4th of February, 1793, Mr. secretary Hobart presented to the house a petition of certain Roman Catholic bishops of Ireland and others, on behalf of themselves and their fellow subjects of the same persuasion, which was read, and ordered to lie on the table.*

* 15 Com. Journ. p. 141. The petition of John Thomas Troy, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin; Dominick Bellew, Roman Catholic Bishop of Killala; Richard O'Reilly, Roman Catholic Bishop of Ulster; Thomas Bray, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Cashel; Richard M'Cormick, Thomas Fitzgerald, Edward Byrne, Thomas Warren, Denis Thomas O'Brien, Valentine

Then Mr. Hobart said, he was aware that many of those gentlemen whom he most respected were not likely to concur in the measures he should propose ; but in that point he trusted that he differed from them for the real advantage of the country. He was also aware that in the last session of parliament a petition for the very measure he should now propose had been rejected, and that he himself had voted for that rejection ; but he declared that under the same circumstances, he would again vote for its rejection ; it was then evident to every man that the sentiments of the country on that subject had materially altered since that time ; it was well known, that at that time the opinion of the country was not ripe for such a measure. The circumstances of the present time would justify a very material alteration in the sentiments of that house. The conduct of the Roman Catholics had proved that they were perfectly attached to the constitution ; and at that particular period, every man who was attached to the constitution should receive encouragement from the house. He trusted such would ever be their conduct, and such would ever be the encouragement received by men attached to the constitution.

His first object, and what the Roman Catholics seem to have most at heart, was the right of voting at elections for members of parliament ; this he wished to have restored to them, and would recommend the unlimited extension of this franchise.

For that purpose it would be necessary to repeal a clause in the 1st of Geo. II. and that would extend to permitting Roman Catholics to vote in cities and towns corporate for magistrates.

The next proposition would be to repeal the 6th of Anne, so far as prohibits Papists from being grand jurors, unless there are not a sufficient number of Protestant freeholders to serve.

The next would be to repeal the 29th of George II. so far as allowing a challenge against any Papist on a petit jury, in causes where a Protestant and Papist were the parties.

He also would propose, that his majesty might be empowered and authorized to enable the Roman Catholics to endow a college or university, and schools.

O'Connor, Hugh Hamill, Christopher Bellew, and several others, whose names are thereunto subscribed, on behalf of themselves and the rest of the Catholics of Ireland ; setting forth, that the petitioners are subject to a variety of severe and oppressive laws, inflicting on them disabilities and disqualifications unknown to any other description of his majesty's subjects, the further continuation of which they humbly conceived their dutiful demeanour and unremitting loyalty for above one hundred years, must evince to be equally impolitic and unnecessary ; that this system of injurious exclusion had operated not less to the particular depression of the Catholics of Ireland, than to the general obstruction of the true and manifest interests of the country ; the petitioners therefore humbly prayed, that the house might be pleased to take the whole of their case into consideration, and in conformity to the benign wishes of his majesty, for the union of all his people in sentiment, affection, and interest, to restore the petitioners to the rights and privileges of the constitution of their country.

That the laws which prevented them from carrying arms should be so far repealed as to persons possessing a certain degree of property; but by no means so as to put arms into the hands of the lower order of the people.

As to the army and navy, it was, he said, in the contemplation of the government of England to admit Roman Catholics to bear commissions in these departments of the state; and that in due time measures for the same purpose would be proposed there, when a communication with the English government should have been had upon that point.

As to civil offices, he wished Roman Catholics might be enabled to hold them; but in that instance, he would suggest the propriety of necessary limitations.

He understood that Roman Catholics laboured still under some severities with respect to personal property, which appeared merely accidental, and to exist from inadvertence, and these he would propose to repeal. In thus endeavouring to bring forward such measures as were likely to carry into effect his majesty's recommendation to parliament, he hoped and trusted he was acting for the advantage of the country, and in conformity to that disposition which government had manifested to meet the wishes of the people. Government had proved it by having in that session taken up the idea of relieving the lower order of people from the hearth-money tax, and it was the determination of government, in that session, to adopt such measures as would tend to promote the happiness and prosperity of the kingdom in general.

He had almost omitted a material point in his propositions, which is, that the executive government might be enabled to grant to Roman Catholics commissions of the peace.

He then moved for leave to bring in a bill for the further relief of his majesty's subjects professing the Roman Catholic religion.

The motion was seconded by sir Hercules Langrishe: and most vehemently opposed by Dr. Duigenan, who in a very long and elaborate speech collected together whatever the acrimonious bigotry of former days had suggested against the Catholics, and retailed it with new and enthusiastic bitterness. He and Mr. Ogle were the only two upon the division who opposed the bringing in of the bill.

On the 5th of February, lord Hillsborough moved for leave, which was granted, to bring in a bill to establish a militia, which, as nearly as circumstances would permit, he would wish to form on the same plan as that of England. The whole number of men, he proposed to be 16,000, upon a rough estimate 500 for each county. Mr. Grattan made some observations on the state of the country, as apparent in the public accounts. His remarks were followed by a motion "for an address to his majesty, for the

“better securing a reform in parliament, and for manifesting the
 “loyalty of the people of Ireland.” This motion he introduced
 with a speech of considerable length; the tendency of which was
 to shew, that while parliament was giving government an extra-
 ordinary supply, greater than ever that house had granted, and a
 great addition to the army, it ought at the same time to secure
 to the people a reform of parliament. It had been stated, that
 their revenues were deficient 153,000*l.* per annum, and their ex-
 penses were to be increased 100,000*l.* per annum, for the further
 augmentation of the army; 100,000*l.* for a contingent encamp-
 ment; and perhaps, 50,000*l.* more for a militia. All those ex-
 penses to be superadded to a peace establishment, already exceed-
 ing their revenues 153,000*l.* The minister proposed a lottery,
 two loans, a vote of credit, and some new taxes, a great army and
 a militia. It was a new and a serious proposition. He wished to
 give the government every necessary support, and the people
 every constitutional redress: he considered the latter necessary
 to effectuate the former, because they were to combat French
 principles, by the superiority of their constitution as well as the
 superiority of their arms. But, for the better understanding his
 principles, he referred them to an address which he then moved:
 the reception it would receive, would be the test of their sincerity
 on the subject of reform.

“That we see with just alarm the tranquillity of these realms,
 “in danger of being disturbed by the ambition of France, con-
 “nected with the propagation of principles that lead to the sub-
 “version of peace and order.

“That we feel a deep sorrow at the atrocious consequences of
 “such criminal delusions, and an immediate interest in common
 “with the throne to defend the faith of treaties against violation,
 “and the settled principles of government against anarchy and
 “plunder. The advantages we have derived under his majesty’s
 “reign; his late gracious interposition; the passions and pride
 “of his people, as well as their duty and interest attacked in his
 “royal person and dignity, have induced us to seize the first
 “moments to assure his majesty of our unalterable attachment to
 “his royal house, and of the unanimous and cordial determina-
 “tion of his subjects of Ireland, to stand ever by the throne, and
 “to preserve at all times our connexion with Great Britain.

“That we are now directing our attention to such measures
 “as may give his majesty’s government, at this critical juncture,
 “every necessary and honourable support; and that if for such
 “an important subject we now for a short time delay, among
 “other business, the consideration of what we conceive to be the
 “general and just wish of his majesty’s subjects, a more equal
 “representation of the people, in the digesting of which much

“time may be required; we, his majesty’s faithful commons, most humbly request, that his majesty will be graciously pleased to continue the session even beyond the usual period, if necessary, in order to give his faithful commons full time, this present session, to apply their faculty and industry to mature and complete so important a business as a reform of parliament: that by giving his majesty’s subjects, pursuant to the gracious recommendation from the throne, every reason to be satisfied; and by giving his government every necessary strength, we may more effectually unite in support of the king and constitution.”

The chancellor of the exchequer objected to the address, as combining subjects not naturally connected.

The 9th of February, 1793, proved a considerable check upon the confidence which the opposition had, during the first week of the session, placed in the sincerity of administration. According to order, the house resolved itself into a committee to inquire into the state of the representation of the people in parliament. When *Mr. Grattan, who took the lead on this question, opened a very interesting speech, with the observation, that a more important question was never agitated in parliament. In 1782, the question, was, “Whether Ireland should be governed by the parliament of another country:” the present was, “Whether she should enjoy a parliament of her own.” As the subject of parliamentary reform was then posted, it was impossible for government to retreat from it. Their declaration on the 4th day of the session, the words of the lord-lieutenant’s secretary, the liberal grants of the house had established the necessity of acceding to a reform in parliament, and had sealed the doom of every rotten borough in the kingdom. Whence he collected two inferences: that the parliament would be reformed, and that the reform would take place that session. In this confidence he moved the three following resolutions:.....1st. “That the representation of the people is attended with great and heavy charges and payments, in consequence of elections and returns of members to serve in parliament, and that said abuses ought to be abolished. 2dly. “That of the three hundred members elected to serve in parliament, the counties, and counties of cities and towns, together with the university, return eighty-four members; and that the remaining two hundred and sixteen are returned by boroughs and manors. 3dly. That the state of the representation of the people in parliament requires amendment.” Upon the first of these having been moved, the chancellor of the exchequer objected to it, on account of the danger of teaching the public to

despise the present system before a better was provided. He did not mean to oppose a parliamentary reform; but to prevent premature and "unnecessary decision." The wise way would be to produce a system of reform, by it to remove the existing defects, not to libel them. He cautioned gentlemen against appealing from that house to the public; and moved, as an amendment, the following resolutions:.... "That under the present system of representation, the privileges of the people, the trade and the prosperity of the country, have greatly increased; and that if any plan be produced likely to increase those advantages, and not hazard what we already possess, it ought to be taken into the most serious consideration."

Mr. Forbes objected to the amendment, as it was unparliamentary to move as an amendment, what went entirely to supercede the original motion. A very warm debate ensued, which, on the part of government, was evidently aimed at checking and damping the progress of the great question of reform, to which they never cordially acceded. At the close of the debate, Mr. Hobart begged to be understood as having given no opinion regarding the question of reform, but was against any resolution which reflected on parliament: he therefore recommended to the chairman to report progress, and beg leave to sit again. Mr. Grattan, in reply, lamented what the right honourable gentleman had said: it damped his joy, but should not slacken his efforts.* The house divided: for the amendment 153, against it 71. Thenceforth was revived the old system of opposition, and the hope of a coalition in the great national question became evanescent.

On the next day Mr. Hobart informed the house, that he was directed by his excellency to deliver the following message:

* In a conversation on the 15th of February, about the Catholic bill's taking the precedence of the question of reform, Mr. Grattan (13 Par. Debates, p. 195) thus spoke:.... "Let me assure his majesty's ministers and this house, that if they propose to maintain in this country a particle of authority, they must accede to a redress of grievances. The nation begins to doubt the sincerity of those ministers. I know on our side every thing is sincere: I apprehend it is not so on their's. We found in the question of Monday a change in their language and their conduct; but we tell them it is in vain to trifle with the country; you are now in a situation, in which it may be necessary to call out the exertions of the nation for its defence: you never will command those exertions until you agree to redress her grievances, and to reform her representation, which is one of them. My friend has now introduced two bills, a pension bill, and a responsibility bill. He introduces his place bill I believe to-morrow. Two of those bills constitute the internal part of the reform of parliament: we will debate them the next week, and put the question to his majesty's ministers, whether they are friends or enemies to the reform, that the nation may know what she is to expect from them."

" WESTMORELAND.

" I HAVE his majesty's commands to acquaint
 " the House of Commons, that the assembly now exercising the
 " powers of government in France, have, without previous notice,
 " directed acts of hostility to be committed against the persons
 " and property of his majesty's subjects, in breach of the law
 " of nations, and of the most positive stipulations of treaty; and
 " have since, on the most groundless pretences, actually declared
 " war against his majesty and the United Provinces. Under the
 " circumstances of this wanton and unprovoked aggression, his
 " majesty has taken the necessary steps to maintain the honour of
 " his crown, and to vindicate the rights of his people: and his
 " majesty relies with confidence on the firm and effectual support
 " of the House of Commons, and on the zealous exertions of a
 " brave and loyal people, in prosecuting a just and necessary war;
 " and in endeavouring, under the blessing of Providence, to oppose
 " an effectual barrier to the further progress of a system,
 " which strikes at the security and peace of all independent nations,
 " and is pursued in open defiance of every principle of
 " moderation, good faith, humanity, and justice.

" In a cause of such general concern, his majesty has every
 " reason to hope for the cordial co-operation of those powers who
 " are united with his majesty by the ties of alliance, or who feel
 " an interest in preventing the extension of anarchy and confusion,
 " and contributing to the security and tranquillity of Europe."

Addresses for this message to his majesty and the lord-lieutenant were immediately voted. When Mr. Hobart, on the 16th of February, presented the Roman Catholic bill to the house: he made no comments upon it, but only moved, that it should be read a second time on the following Friday. Some few members opposed the motion, though it passed without a division. Sir Lawrence Parsons spoke very much at large against it; as did also Dr. Duigenan, though not so diffusely as on the presentation of the petition.

Although the house had adopted the principle of reform, by going into a committee upon the question, yet their sincerity in adopting it was highly questionable, from the opposition the majority of them gave to every preliminary measure which tended to forward it. Mr. Forbes, on the 19th of February, moved, " That the clerks of the peace, and other returning officers in the
 " several boroughs throughout the kingdom, do lay before this
 " house, on or before this day fortnight, lists of the electors in
 " their respective boroughs, with the respective qualifications on
 " which they exercised the elective franchise."

Moderate and necessary as such a step appeared to the friends of reform, it was resisted with all the force of government, and

lost by a division of 137 against 48.* The address of Mr. Grantan in this debate to the government, after a long speech, was too remarkable to be omitted. "You say to us, (addressing himself to the treasury bench) do not inquire into particular facts, but go at

* As this debate produced a warm personal altercation between Mr. Corry and Mr. G. Ponsonby; and as both these gentlemen were leading men in their respective parties, it will throw some light upon the views and motives of the government and opposition of those days, to expose to the judgment of the unbiassed reader the reciprocal attacks of such men upon each other. Mr. G. Ponsonby had observed, that the committee had been moved for by a gentleman, a friend of government; and he could not help taking notice, that from the moment he made the motion, that gentleman had never taken one step in the committee of his own appointing; never had opened his mouth; never had uttered one syllable. What then could the public think of parliamentary reform, or of that gentleman's sincerity, when they saw that the committee moved by him was merely a pit, into which it was intended parliamentary reform should fall and be smothered? But ministers will find they have deceived themselves in this, as upon other occasions, where they acted with the same art and duplicity; they may be assured they will not so easily get rid of the subject, for we will follow it up from day to day, and from year to year, and never be deterred until we have succeeded.

Mr. Corry felt himself so personally called upon, that he should think himself wanting in respect to the house were he not to state his conduct to them. A right honourable gentleman having given notice that he intended to move for leave to bring in a bill for a parliamentary reform; and the same evening a motion having been made for "a committee to inquire into the abuses in the commons representation;" that motion falling immediately upon the speech on the subject of reform, did not appear to them very well calculated to attain the end it pretended to pursue. He had always been a friend to parliamentary reform; many years ago he took it up; he liked it upon principles, and was pledged to the measure: the motion was an attack upon government; it was likely to defeat the measure, and therefore he thought it highly objectionable. Having voted both nights with the honourable gentleman, he could only say, that he was sorry he had given two votes on questions so trifling, introduced upon a subject which ought to have been taken on a greater scale.

He then asked, which acted with more sincerity, the honourable gentleman who voted for the committee against his judgment; or he who endeavoured to make the committee as much as possible effectual? Did he talk of sincerity, whose life had been one tissue of insincerity? Did he talk of sincerity? He would talk with him on that theme until the blood should rush back to his heart, affrighted from his countenance. Did he talk of sincerity? Why sir, if insincerity were to be personified, it would take the shape of the honourable gentleman.

Let not then the gentleman who had given the most unqualified and unlimited support to every measure of every administration that would trust him, pretend to character; he never would recover character in that country.

Mr. Ponsonby said, I wish the honourable gentleman had gone on as he asserted he might, to animadvert on my conduct, he had no reason to stop. I am able to defend myself against his ability, and against his malevolence. His first charge is, that I voted against a parliamentary reform: I did sir: I voted against it, when an armed convention introduced it to the House of Commons on the point of the bayonet; and would again oppose it, if brought forward in the same manner. I did so, because I had spirit enough to do what he would not venture to attempt. He says, that I was degraded: the charge is false. I spurned the despicable administration of lord Buckingham, which he supported: and though I might have returned with increased influence, I rejected

once to the great principle; that very principle, which you resisted but the other night. What are we to infer from this conduct? But that you are insincere on the subject of parliamentary reform? But I must say, in no case would your insincerity be so mischievous both to yourselves and to the nation. The credit which you took to yourselves for favouring this object early in the session, has rendered your retreat not only dangerous but impossible; by urging public expectation to the very utmost, in order to court popularity, you have become more mischievous than those whom you call insurgents."

He went into a recital of charges against administration. He was sorry to be betrayed, he said, into personality or particular accusation; he was grown too old for those things, but he must vindicate himself from the charge of embarrassing government wantonly, and he declared, that if they supported this measure warmly and decidedly, he would serve them, though he never would act with them, he would vote with them unplaced, unpensioned, and unofficed, if they conceded his favourite object to the wishes of the people.

On the 22d of February, 1793, the Catholic bill was read a second time, and produced a very warm and interesting debate. Most of the speeches on this memorable occasion were in favour of the bill. Mr. G. Ponsonby and Mr. D. La Touche spoke against it. On a question of so much importance to the nation, and concerning which, deeply rooted prejudices had grown up with most of the members from the dawn of their intellects, it was to be expected, that those who were the most sincere in their former convictions, should be the most reluctantly brought to abandon their early prejudices. The general change of opinion in the House of Commons, upon the full notification of the will of the Castle, and consequently of the British cabinet, more irrefragably than any other argument, proved the ductile quality of

them with abhorrence and contempt. So much for the truth of the honourable gentleman.

He says, I voted against a pension bill: I did so, and would do so again, if it were not coupled with a responsibility bill, and other measures which the country demands. He says, the public do not give me their confidence: Sir, I am not vain enough to say they do; but I will give them such proofs, that whatever confidence they may have in my motives, they will be convinced by my actions that I am their friend.

We, Sir, who act on this side of the house, are not afraid of the aspersions, that are thrown upon us as men combined to force ourselves into power, while we see ministers every now and then taking up one of our measures, in order to conciliate the people: they take great credit to themselves for reducing the hearth-money, which was our measure; for a barren land-bill, which was our measure. What drives them to this? Their want of character. And thus they will proceed; and when they have adopted our measures one by one, they will then vaunt their popularity, and cry, Lord, what an upright administration we are!

that house to every dictate of the power to which they had vowed unqualified obeisance. Some few independent members, beyond the reach of that didactic sway, disdained to subject their opinions to the suggestions or commands of a British minister. They spoke firmly and resolutely upon the question; they drew forth from Mr. Hobart (the oracle and index of the British cabinet) a species of apology for them, which illustrates to demonstration the tenure of submission and concurrence, by which the majority of that house held their seats and influence. It had (he said) been *truly stated, that no man had a right to argue, that a subject debated in that house was supposed to be influenced by the command of his majesty; his majesty in his good pleasure might recommend a subject to the consideration of parliament: parliament in their duty and affection would give the most respectful and attentive consideration to what his majesty recommended to their notice; but when the measure came before parliament in the shape of a bill, it then was the measure of the member, who introduced it, and his majesty's name was no longer to be used in its support; and therefore the gentleman who spoke early in the debate was not justified in saying, this bill was by his majesty's command.

He agreed also with the honourable gentleman, that his majesty had recommended to them the care of the Protestant establishment, and that it was their duty to guard it from injury; and therefore the question was, how far could they go in behalf of the Roman Catholics without shaking the security of the Protestant establishment? On that question he had consulted with some of the most experienced and best informed men in the country, and it did appear to them, that the measure now offered would give effectual relief to the Roman Catholics, without shaking the Protestant establishment; the Roman Catholics themselves felt it so; and he was convinced it would not injure the Protestant. Though he differed from some gentlemen, for whom he entertained the highest regard, he knew that what they were doing would essentially serve the country; it would conciliate the Roman Catholics, it would cement a common union of interest and affection amongst his majesty's subjects, and enable that country to repel all her enemies.

After a very interesting and warm, though not intemperate debate, the question was carried in the affirmative, against only one negative: and the bill was committed for the Monday following with three negatives. Of all the parliamentary friends to Catholic emancipation, Mr. Grattan† was the most consistent,

* 13 Par. Deb. p. 271-2.

† That gentleman seldom failed to add to the stupendous powers of his dratry much historical illustration upon every subject which he took in hand.

zealous, and persevering. His sentiments swayed many opinions in the nation; they also created discontent and opposition in another part of the community. He wished the bill under their consideration had gone further. He could wish that it had given the Roman Catholics the privileges of other Dissenters. Sure, he was, that was the only sound policy. He thought however the bill deserved thanks, because it contained much, and also because it led to much more; but the mover would have discovered more sense if he had then given to the Catholics the whole, and had settled with them for ever.

When the Catholic bill was in the committee, so far had ancient prejudices and prepossessions given way to the royal commendation of humanity and justice towards three millions of loyal subjects, that Mr. George Knox, after a most liberal and

Alluding to an objection that had been raised against the Irish brigade being constantly recruited and officered from Ireland: he said, the fact was not so. The Irish brigade was not constantly recruited and officered from Ireland, but on the contrary, few of its officers, and very few of its men, were recruited from Ireland. Gentlemen would distinguish between officers of Irish families and of Irish birth, and they would distinguish also, between a regiment bearing an Irish name, and a regiment filled with Irishmen. The first was the case of the Irish brigade, the latter was not; for the refutation of that part of the objection, he appealed to the knowledge and the candour of gentlemen, who had seen service, and who must know the charge, that the Irish brigade was constantly officered and recruited from Ireland, to be absolutely destitute of foundation. The objection proceeded and stated, that 16,000 Irish Catholics fought against Great Britain in the American war. He believed the number of those Irish to be greatly magnified, and sure he was, that description was not just; those Irish were great in numbers. Presbyterians of the North, not Catholics of the South; they emigrated in great bodies, and they continued even then to emigrate to America from the North of Ireland, not for rebellion, but for land, or a better condition. Their fellow subjects had emigrated from poverty at home, and sometimes had met war; and if they wished never to meet them in arms in other countries, their method should have been to give them a better condition at home. The objection proceeded, and stated, that great bodies of Irish fought against England at St. Eustatia and St. Lucia; here again the objection failed in point of fact; great bodies of Irishmen did not fight against England at St. Eustatia and St. Lucia. There was indeed a regiment of 1800 commanded by General Dillon, the Irish brigade, and that he supposed the objector conceived to have been those great bodies of Irishmen; but that regiment was chiefly composed of Dutch, and of the recruits of various nations, and of very few Irish; here again he appealed to the gentlemen in the service, whether that part of the objection was not, like the other parts, entirely unfounded. The objection proceeded and stated, that the Irish Catholics supplied the fleets and armies of the enemies in a much greater proportion than those of Great Britain; that he positively denied. They supplied the fleets and armies of the enemy in a very trifling proportion, and they supplied the fleets and armies of Great Britain in a very great and abundant proportion. In the last war, of 80,000 seamen, 50,000 were Irish names; in Chelsea, near one third of the pensioners were Irish names; in some of the men of war almost the whole complement of men were Irish. With respect to the recruiting service, it was a fact known to the gentlemen of the army, that since they had recruited for the foot in Ireland, the regiments had been filled in a great proportion with Irish Catholics.

able speech moved, that the committee might be empowered to receive a clause to admit Roman Catholics to sit and vote in the House of Commons. Major Doyle seconded the motion, which was strongly supported by Mr. Daly, col. Hutchinson, Mr. M. Smith, Mr. John O'Neile, Mr. Hardy and some other gentlemen friendly to Catholic emancipation; it was however rejected upon a division by 163 against 69. When the Catholic bill had passed its second reading in the lords, the bishop of Killala (dr. Law, the brother of lord Ellinborough) expressed his ready and most cheerful assent to a bill for the relief of his long oppressed and loyal Catholic brethren, and their return to that portion of the constitution to which the bill before the house went to admit them. His lordship went into an history of the origin and progress of the penal statutes, and deprecated the whole system, as founded in the prejudices of a bigotted and persecuting age, and continued for near a century with equal impolicy and injustice to a loyal body of subjects, whose conduct for that period was a full refutation of every argument that could be offered in support of that code, under which they had so long groaned with patient submission. In times like the present, when threatened by foreign enemies, and agitated by domestic dissensions, he wished to unite the great mass of the country in support of that constitution, to which they had ever been loyal, rather than turn them against it by perpetuating restrictive systems and oppressive exclusions, which no existing necessity could warrant, no policy approve.

He felt it his duty to declare fully his sentiments on these points, because he looked upon his Roman Catholic brethren as fellow subjects, and fellow Christians, believers in the same God, and partners in the same redemption. Speculative differences in some points of faith from him were of no account; they and he had but one religion—the religion of Christianity. Therefore, as children of the same father—as travellers in the same road—and seekers of the same salvation, why not love each other as brothers? It was no part of Protestantism to persecute Catholics, and without justice to the Catholic, there could be no security for the Protestant establishment; as a friend, therefore, to the permanency of that establishment, to the prosperity of the country, and the justice due to his Catholic brethren, he should cheerfully give his vote that the bill be committed.

The earl of Glandore and the marquis of Waterford spoke very warmly upon the subject. Lord Portarlington observed, much to the credit of the Catholic body, and somewhat against the tendency of certain parts of the lords' report upon the late disturbances, that he was one of the committee lately appointed by their lordships to inquire into certain alarming events of late

prevalent in that country, and if he were not fully convinced that the Catholic body had no concern whatever in the disturbances created by some of their communion in the north, he should never give to this bill the support he then meant by voting cheerfully for its committal.

The lord chancellor declared his most earnest wish was, to have made no opposition to the bill, to have let it pass without any observation, as the state of the country seemed to render it absolutely necessary; but when the general principles of anarchy, the rage of innovation, and the epidemical phrenzy seemed to have reached that house; when inflammatory declamation, and ill-advised misstatements came from the reverend bench, it attached upon the existing government, and he felt it necessary to rise in defence of the constitution. Before he alluded more particularly to the right reverend prelate, he must assume the office of his apologist, and the apology he had to offer for him was an utter and radical ignorance of the laws and constitution of the country from whence he came, and the laws and constitution of the country in which he lived. Then after having disclaimed any personal bigotry or acrimony, he entered into a wide field of justification of the whole penal code on the score of temporary necessity, and enlarged upon the pernicious tendency of Catholic tenets, as even recently defended by their primate doctor Troy. He concluded a very long and elaborate speech with a reflection, which gives strong room to believe, that the committee of the lords received that tint of crimination which is so visible in it from his lordship's influence and suggestions. He mentioned the powers assumed by the Popish convention, of levying taxes upon their community for defraying the expenses of their claims and proceedings, which, were they fair, just, and open, required no such support. He wished to resist further innovation; he foresaw, in granting more than the present bill gave, a total separation from England, or an union with her....each to be equally dreaded.

The archbishop of Cashel delivered a virulent philippic against the Catholics; and was particularly severe upon the bishop of Killala for having extended his liberality towards them, beyond what became a Protestant prelate. Several of the clauses were debated in the progress of the bill: but the debate which took place upon that clause, which enabled Catholics to accept military employments, calls most upon our attention.

Lord Farnham, in a speech of some extent, argued, that until a law similar to the present was passed in England, Catholic officers could not attend their regiments, if ordered on duty into England. His lordship was, therefore, for amending the clause, by wording it so, as that a Roman Catholic should not be eligible to a military commission in Ireland, until the principle were

adopted by a similar law of England, which would render the brave and loyal Catholic eligible to military service in any part of the British empire, wherever exigency might call him.

The lord chancellor opposed the principle of this amendment, the clause merely went to enable the Catholics to accept a military employment ; but it could not be supposed his majesty would appoint a man to such a post, until the laws of the empire should fully qualify him to act in every part of it. It was more than probable, a similar law to this would be adopted in England, before the lapse of two months, and on this ground the amendment would be wholly unnecessary. The duke of Leinster opposed the amendment as unnecessary, and wished to raise the bravery and prowess of the Irish Catholic, attached to the service of his country. Lord Bellamont supported the amendment, as tending to accelerate a law in England, similar to the present. After some further debate, the amendment was withdrawn.

Ten years have elapsed since the chancellor's supposition of a similar law being passed in England. None such has yet passed : but the incorporate union of the kingdoms must necessarily disclose, to every thinking mind, the necessity of some imperial regulation of the army and navy of Great Britain.* It is impossible to expect, that the British navy and army should be fairly and cordially recruited from that fertile nursery of sailors and sol-

* Incredible as it may appear, that during the course of the last war upwards of 270,000 men were recruited from Ireland to serve his majesty in the navy and the army, the wonder will increase, when it is known, that by 1 Geo. I. c. 13. s. 1. every person who shall receive pay, salary, fee or wages in the service or employment of his majesty, must take and subscribe the oaths of supremacy and abjuration within three months from entering into such capacity. By section viii. every such person neglecting and refusing so to do, is disabled from thenceforth to sue or use any action, bill, plaint, or information in any court of law, or to prosecute any suit in any court of equity, or to be guardian of any child, or executor or administrator of any person, or capable of any legacy or deed of gift, or to be in any office within the realm of Great Britain, or to vote at any election for members to serve in parliament, and shall forfeit the sum of 500*l.* to be recovered by him or them that shall sue for the same. And to shew, that this civil death is intended to be inflicted upon common soldiers and sailors as well as officers, section xxx. especially enables his majesty to grant commissions under the great seal to such person or persons, as to his majesty shall seem meet, to empower him and them to administer these oaths to seamen and private soldiers, and seamen and soldiers are thereby enjoined and required to take the same, upon the pains and penalties in the act mentioned, in case of refusal thereof : and section xxxi. provides, that no seaman or soldier, under the degree of a commission or warrant officer, shall be obliged to pay any fee or reward on taking the said oaths. Serious doubts must have arisen upon the operation of this act of Geo. I. in Ireland : some doubt may be entertained, whether the words of the Irish statute enabling Catholics to enjoy civil and military offices, or places of trust or profit under his majesty in that kingdom, repealed the act of Geo. I. as to seamen or common soldiers in Ireland : certainly the Irish act could not screen a seaman or soldier from the penalties of the British act, from the moment he quitted the jurisdiction of the late parliament of Ireland.

diers, whilst the British act subsists, which renders it illegal and penal even for a common soldier or sailor, professing the Roman Catholic religion, to serve his country in either of those capacities.

The passing of the Roman Catholic bill in this session was a matter of the most serious importance to the political existence of that kingdom.* It was undoubtedly a vast accession of benefit

* By this act the present state of the Roman Catholics of Ireland is settled. The vague term of Catholic emancipation was used before the passing of this act: it had survived it. Every man appears to annex his own meaning to it. I submit to the view of the reader the form of the act, that he may fairly judge of the civil freedom, which the Irish Catholic now enjoys, and that which he is deprived of.

“ 33 Geo. III. c. xxi.

“ An Act for the Relief of his Majesty's Popish or Roman Catholic Subjects of Ireland.

“ WHEREAS various acts of parliament have been passed, imposing on his majesty's subjects professing the Roman Catholic religion, many restraints and disabilities, to which other subjects of this realm are not liable; and from the peaceable and loyal demeanour of his majesty's Popish or Roman Catholic subjects, it is fit that such restraints and disabilities shall be discontinued: Be it therefore enacted, by the king's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That his majesty's subjects, being Papists, or persons professing the Popish or Roman Catholic religion; or married to Papists or persons professing the Popish or Roman Catholic religion, or educating any of their children in that religion, shall not be liable or subject to any penalties, forfeitures, disabilities, or incapacities, or to any laws for the limitation, charging, or discovering of their estates and property, real or personal, or touching the acquiring of property or securities effecting property; save such as his majesty's subjects of the Protestant religion are liable and subject to; and that such parts of all oaths as are required to be taken by persons in order to qualify themselves for voting at elections of members to serve in parliament; and also such parts of all oaths required to be taken by persons voting at elections for members to serve in parliament, as import to deny that the person taking the same is a Papist or married to a Papist, or educates his children in the Popish religion, shall not hereafter be required to be taken by any voter, but shall be omitted by the person administering the same; and that it shall not be necessary, in order to entitle a Papist, or person professing the Popish or Roman Catholic religion to vote at an election of members to serve in parliament, that he should at, or previous to his voting, take the oaths of allegiance and abjuration, any statute now in force to the contrary of any of the said matters in any wise notwithstanding.

“ II. Provided always, and be it further enacted, That all Papists or persons professing the Popish or Roman Catholic religion, who may claim to have a right of voting for members to serve in parliament, or of voting for magistrates in any city, town corporate, or borough, within this kingdom, be hereby required to perform all qualifications, registries, and other requisites, which are now required of his majesty's Protestant subjects, in like cases, by any law or laws now of force in this kingdom, save and except such oaths and parts of oaths as are herein before excepted.

“ III. And provided always, That nothing hereinbefore contained shall extend, or be construed to extend to repeal, or alter any law or act of parliament now in force, by which certain qualifications are required to be performed by per-

to that body, whether it were to be called indulgence, concession, or recognition of right. Considering the long series of oppression and bondage which they had groaned under, the happiness of their delivery was in a peculiar manner owing to the parental tender-

" sons enjoying any offices or places of trust under his majesty, his heirs and successors, other than as herein after is enacted

" IV. Provided also, That nothing herein contained, shall extend, or be construed to extend to give Papists, or persons professing the Popish religion, a right to vote at any parish vestry, for levying of money to rebuild or repair any parish church, or respecting the demising or disposal of the income of any estate belonging to any church or parish, or for the salary of the parish clerk, or at the election of any church-warden

" V. Provided always, That nothing contained in this act shall extend to, or be construed to affect any action or suit now depending, which shall have been brought or instituted previous to the commencement of this session of parliament.

" VI. Provided also, That nothing herein contained, shall extend to authorize any Papist, or person professing the Popish or Roman Catholic religion, to have or keep in his hands or possession, any arms, armour, ammunition, or any warlike stores, sword-blades, barrels, locks, or stocks of guns, or fire arms, or to exempt such person from any forfeiture, or penalty inflicted by any act respecting arms, armour, or ammunition, in the hands or possession of any Papist, or respecting Papists having or keeping such warlike stores, save and except Papists, or persons of the Roman Catholic religion, seized of a freehold estate of one hundred pounds a year, or possessed of a personal estate of one thousand pounds or upwards, who are hereby authorized to keep arms and ammunition as Protestants now by law may; and also, save and except Papists or Roman Catholics possessing a freehold estate of ten pounds yearly value, and less than one hundred pounds, or a personal estate of three hundred, and less than one thousand pounds, who shall have at the session of the peace in the county in which they reside. taken the oath of allegiance prescribed to be taken by an act passed in the thirteenth and fourteenth years of his present majesty's reign, entitled, *An act to enable his Majesty's subjects, of whatever persuasion, to testify their allegiance to him*; and also in open court, swear and subscribe an affidavit, that they are possessed of a freehold estate, yielding a clear yearly profit to the person making the same, of ten pounds, or a personal property of three hundred pounds above his just debts, specifying therein the name and nature of such freehold, and nature of such personal property, which affidavits shall be carefully preserved by the clerk of the peace, who shall have for his trouble a fee of six-pence, and no more, for every such affidavit; and the person making such affidavits, and possessing such property, may keep and use arms and ammunition as Protestants may, so long as they shall respectively possess a property of the annual value of ten pounds, and upwards, if freehold, or the value of three hundred pounds if personal, any statute to the contrary notwithstanding.

" VII. And be it enacted, That it shall and may be lawful for Papists, or persons professing the Popish or Roman Catholic religion, to hold, exercise, and enjoy all civil and military offices, or places of trust or profit under his majesty, his heirs, and successors, in this kingdom; and to hold or take degrees, or any professorship in, or be masters, or fellows of any college, to be hereafter founded in this kingdom, provided that such college shall be a member of the University of Dublin, and shall not be founded exclusively for the education of Papists, or persons professing the Popish or Roman Catholic religion, nor consist exclusively of masters, fellows, or other persons to be named or elected on the foundation of such college, being persons professing the Popish or Roman Catholic religion, or to hold any office or place of trust in, and to be a member of any lay-body corporate, except the

ness of his majesty to his Irish Catholic subjects, whom he thus relieved, as it were in defiance of the bigotry and cruelty of their own countrymen. This great act of national justice and policy was wrung from the Irish parliament by the irresistible power of

“ college of the holy and undivided Trinity of Queen Elizabeth, near Dublin, without taking and subscribing the oaths of allegiance, supremacy, or abjuration, or making or subscribing the declaration required to be taken, made, and subscribed, to enable any such person to hold and enjoy any of such places, and without receiving the sacrament of the Lord's supper, according to the rights and ceremonies of the church of Ireland, any law, statute, or by-law of any corporation to the contrary notwithstanding; provided that every such person shall take and subscribe the oath appointed by the said act passed in the thirteenth and fourteenth years of his majesty's reign, entitled, An act to enable his majesty's subjects, of whatever persuasion, to testify their allegiance to him; and also the oath and declaration following, that is to say:

“ I A. B. do hereby declare, that I do profess the Roman Catholic religion. I A. B. do swear, that I do abjure, condemn, and detest, as unchristian and impious, the principle that it is lawful to murder, destroy, or any ways injure any person whatsoever, for, or under the pretence of being an heretic; and I do declare solemnly before God, that I believe, that no act in itself unjust, immoral, or wicked, can ever be justified or excused by, or under pretence, or colour, that it was done either for the good of the church, or in obedience to any ecclesiastical power whatsoever. I also declare, that it is not an article of the Catholic faith, neither am I thereby required to believe or profess, that the Pope is infallible, or that I am bound to obey an order in its own nature immoral, though the Pope or any ecclesiastical power should issue or direct such order, but, on the contrary, I hold, that it would be sinful in me to pay any respect or obedience thereto; I further declare, that I do not believe that any sin whatsoever committed by me can be forgiven at the mere will of any Pope, or any priest, or of any person whatsoever; but that sincere sorrow for past sins, a firm and sincere resolution to avoid future guilt, and to atone to God, are previous and indispensable requisites to establish a well-founded expectation of forgiveness, and that any person, who receives absolution without these previous requisites, so far from obtaining thereby any remission of his sins incurs the additional guilt of violating a sacrament; and I do swear, that I will defend to the utmost of my power the settlement and arrangement of property in this country as established by the laws now in being; I do hereby disclaim, disavow, and solemnly abjure any intention to subvert the present church establishment for the purpose of substituting a Catholic establishment in its stead; and I do solemnly swear, that I will not exercise any privilege, to which I am or may become entitled, to disturb and weaken the Protestant religion and Protestant government in this kingdom. So help me God.

“ VIII. And be it enacted, That Papists, or persons professing the Popish, or Roman Catholic religion, may be capable of being elected professors of medicine, upon the foundation of sir Patrick Dunn, any law or statute to the contrary notwithstanding.

“ IX. Provided always, and be it enacted, That nothing herein contained shall extend, or be construed to extend to enable any person to sit or vote in either house of parliament, or to hold, exercise, or enjoy the office of lord lieutenant, lord deputy, or other chief governor or governors of this kingdom, lord high chancellor or keeper, or commissioner of the great seal of this kingdom, lord high treasurer, chancellor of the exchequer, chief justice of the court of King's Bench, or Common Pleas, lord chief baron of the court of Exchequer, justice of the court of King's Bench or Common Pleas, or baron of the court of Exchequer, judge of the High Court of Admiralty, master or

royal benevolence and liberality. Few indeed were the instances of those who dared openly to resist the recommendation of their sovereign. Upon this point, which came under the sanction of royal pupillage and government support, the majority which oc-

" keeper of the therolls, secretary of state, keeper of the privy seal, vice-treasurer, or deputy vice-treasurer, teller and cashier of the Exchequer, or auditor general, lieutenant or governor, or custos rotulorum of counties, secretary to the lord lieutenant, lord deputy, or other chief governor or governors of this kingdom, member of his majesty's most honourable privy council, prime serjeant, attorney general, solicitor general, second and third serjeants at law, or king's council, masters in chancery, provost, or fellow of the college of the holy undivided Trinity of Queen Elizabeth, near Dublin; post-master general, master, and lieutenant general of his majesty's ordnance, commander in chief of his majesty's forces, generals on the staff, and sheriffs, and sub-sheriffs of any county in this kingdom; or any office contrary to the rules, orders and directions made and established by the lord lieutenant and council in pursuance of the act passed in the seventeenth and eighteenth years of king Charles the second, entitled, An act for the explaining of some doubts arising upon an act, entitled, An act for the better execution of his majesty's gracious declaration for the settlement of this kingdom of Ireland, and satisfaction of the several interests of adventurers, soldiers, and other his subjects there, and for making some alterations of, and additions unto the said act, for the more speedy and effectual settlement of this kingdom, unless he shall have taken, made, and subscribed the oaths and declarations, and performed the several requisites, which by any law heretofore made, and now of force, are required to enable any person to sit or vote, or to hold, exercise, and enjoy the said offices respectively.

" X. Provided also, and be it enacted, That nothing in this act contained shall enable any Papist, or person professing the Popish or Roman Catholic religion, to exercise any right of presentation to any ecclesiastical benefice whatsoever.

" XI. And be it enacted, That no Papist, or person professing the Popish or Roman Catholic religion, shall be liable or subject to any penalty for not attending divine service on the Sabbath day, called Sunday, in his or her parish church.

" XII. Provided also, and be it enacted, That nothing herein contained, shall be construed to extend to authorize any Popish priest, or reputed Popish priest, to celebrate marriage between Protestant and Protestant, or between any person, who hath been or professed himself or herself to be a Protestant, at any time within twelve months before such celebration of marriage, and a Papist, unless such Protestant and Papist shall have been first married by a clergyman of the Protestant religion, and that every Popish priest, or reputed Popish priest, who shall celebrate any marriage between two Protestants, or between any such Protestant and Papist, unless such Protestant and Papist shall have been first married by a clergyman of the Protestant religion, shall forfeit the sum of five hundred pounds to his majesty, upon conviction thereof.

" XIII. And whereas it may be expedient, in case his majesty, his heirs and successors shall be pleased so to alter the statutes of the college of the holy and undivided Trinity near Dublin, and of the University of Dublin, as to enable persons professing the Roman Catholic religion to enter into or to take degrees in the said university, to remove any obstacle, which now exists by statute law; be it enacted, That from and after the first day of June, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three, it shall not be necessary for any person upon taking any of the degrees usually conferred by the said university, to make or subscribe any declaration, or to take any oath, save the oaths of allegiance and abjuration, any law or statute to the contrary notwithstanding.

cupied the treasury benches and their several dependents were all of accord; the bulk of the minority found no other fault with the Catholic bill, than that it did not go far enough. They wished to leave nothing to rancle in the hearts of three millions of the people. But upon other points, the changes in the conduct of the ministerial party of the house were singularly marked. At the opening of the session many things concurred to abate the confidence of the ministers, which tended proportionably to raise that of the opposition. They felt a humiliation in yielding more to the Catholics under the influence of royal recommendation,

"XIV. Provided always, That no Papist or Roman Catholic, or person professing the Roman Catholic or Popish religion, shall take any benefit by or under this act, unless he shall have first taken and subscribed the oath and declaration in this act contained and set forth, and also the said oath appointed by the said act passed in the thirteenth and fourteenth years of his majesty's reign, entitled, An act to enable his majesty's subjects, of whatever persuasion to testify their allegiance to him, in some one of his majesty's four courts in Dublin, or at the general sessions of the peace, or at any adjournment thereof to be holden for the county, city, or borough wherein such Papist or Roman Catholics, or person professing the Roman Catholic or Popish religion, doth inhabit or dwell; or before the going judge or judges of assize in the county wherein such Papist or Roman Catholic, or person professing the Roman Catholic or Popish religion, doth inhabit and dwell in open court.

"XV. Provided always, and be it enacted, That the names of such persons as shall so take and subscribe the said oath and declaration, with their titles and additions, shall be entered upon the rolls, for that purpose to be appointed by said respective courts; and that the said rolls once in every year shall be transmitted to, and deposited in the Rolls office in this kingdom, to remain amongst the records thereof, and the masters or keepers of the rolls in this kingdom, or their lawful deputy or deputies, are hereby empowered and required to give and deliver to such person or persons so taking and subscribing the said oaths and declaration, a certificate or certificates of such person or persons having taken and subscribed the said oaths and declaration, for each of which certificates the sum of one shilling and no more shall be paid.

"XVI. And be it further provided and enacted, That from and after the first day of April, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three, no freeholder, burgess, freeman, or inhabitant of this kingdom, being a Papist or Roman Catholic, or person professing the Roman Catholic or Popish religion, shall at any time be capable of giving his vote for the electing of any knight or knights of any shire or county within this kingdom, or citizen or burgess to serve in any parliament, until he shall have first produced and shewn to the high sheriff of the said county, or his deputy or deputies, at any election of a knight or knights of the said shire, and to the respective chief officer or officers of any city, borough, or town-corporate, to whom the return of any citizen or burgess to serve in parliament doth or shall respectively belong, at the election of any citizen or burgess to serve in parliament, such certificate of his having taken and subscribed the said oath and declaration, either from the Rolls office, or from the proper officer of the court in which the said oaths and declaration shall be taken and subscribed; and such person being a freeholder, freeman, burgess, or inhabitant so producing and shewing such certificate, shall be then permitted to vote, as amply and fully as any Protestant freeholder, freeman, burgess, or inhabitant of such county, city, borough, or town-corporate, but not otherwise."

than they had indignantly rejected from their own will and judgment; they were sensible of the weight of the power and influence which the opinions of the great landholders of the kingdom, who were at the head of the opposition, carried with them, and they dreaded the unanimous support, which, it was expected, would have been given from without to the efforts of the opposition within their walls. Hence arose that spirit of reconciliation and concession which so strongly marked the conduct of the ministers for the first week of the session. The undertaking of government to bring forward several of the popular measures, and which were actually brought forward, probably blunted the edge of the opposition, which would otherwise have been offered against the passing of some of the strong measures of government. The first of these was the gunpowder bill;* the next was the convention bill.

The gunpowder bill was designed to defeat a conspiracy, which was supposed and reported to have been then on foot; though the truth of it were never proved, nor credited by many. It is indeed doubtful (as must generally be the effects of every preventative measure) whether the conspiracy must not have failed, had it existed, unless the French had at that time succeeded in Holland; their failure rendered this cautionary measure actually inoperative; though if any understanding between the united Irishmen or other societies in the north, and the French government and their forces in the Netherlands, did exist, or were

* 33 Geo. III. c. 2. "An act to prevent the importation of arms, gunpowder and ammunition into this kingdom, and the removing and keeping of gunpowder, arms, and ammunition without license" This bill was not at all opposed in parliament; it was a temporary act to be in force only until the 1st of January 1794, and the end of the next session of parliament. Although many gentlemen of no mean reputation in Ireland have strenuously, and some of them sincerely opposed the opinions of Mr. Grattan, they have on all hands been allowed to be consistent: nor has his political character been ever represented as temporising. It is fair then to conclude, that he thought and felt upon that measure in 1793, as he expressed himself in 1798, in a petition of the Whig Club, which was transmitted to be presented by the earl of Moira and Mr. Fox to his majesty; this petition was drawn up by Mr. Grattan, and received the sanction of most of the leaders of opposition who were members of it. (p. 5.) "On the same plan of unconstitutional and scandalous influence did they sell the peerage to procure seats in the commons for the dependency and the dishonour of both houses of parliament: and having from this conduct, aggravated by a most unseemly and unbecoming intemperance of manner, and incontinence of language, lost the confidence of the country, and greatly agitated the same, they then proceeded to a system of coercion, to support their plans of corruption, and to dragoon the people, as they had bought the parliament. They began that system by an act, which tended, in a qualified manner, to disarm his majesty's subjects, under certain regulations, named a gunpowder bill, and had principally in view, to put down the Irish volunteers; and to check the discontent which grew from this measure, as well as from their other measures, further measures of violence and new causes of discontent were resorted to."

likely to exist, it was indispensable on the part of government to take every cautionary step to defeat their rebellious projects. The general and real motive, with which the minister proposed the convention bill was to prevent the prevalence of the successful example of the Catholic convention. Mr. Grattan spoke against the bill, and moved for the second reading at a distant day. His grand objection was, that it was a false declaration of law, and deprived the subject of his constitutional right of petitioning against grievances, by rendering the previous measure of consultation and deliberation criminal. The debate on this motion lasted till four o'clock in the morning; several of the opposition spoke for the bill and against the motion; which was negatived by a majority of 128 against 27.* This act (33 Geo. III. c. 29.) to prevent the election or appointment of unlawful assemblies, under pretence of preparing or presenting public petitions or other addresses to his majesty or the parliament, recites, that the election or appointment of assemblies, purporting to represent the people, or any description of the people, under pretence of preparing or presenting petitions, complaints, remonstrances, and declarations, and other addresses to the king, or to both or either houses of parliament, for alteration of matters established by law, or redress of alleged grievances in church and state may be made use of to serve the ends of factious and seditious persons, to the violation of the public peace, and the great and manifest encouragement of riot, tumult, and disorder: and it enacts, that all such assemblies, committees, or other bodies of persons elected, or otherwise constituted or appointed are unlawful assemblies, and that all persons giving or publishing notice of the election to be made of such persons or delegates, or attending, or voting or acting therein by any means are guilty of an high misdemeanour. The act concludes with a declaration, "that nothing in it shall impede the undoubted right of

* On this occasion Mr. Hobart declared, nothing gave him more pain, than that the debate on this bill should have extended to such length, or that it should, on the close of the session, create any thing like a disunion of sentiment. He declared that nothing but the very alarming state to which the country had been reduced by a spirit of popular commotion, excited by conventions, usurping the privileges of representation, and assuming to control parliament, could have induced him to consent to the introduction of this bill; and even the nobleman, who had brought it into the other house, before he had done so, had considered it over and over again, and did not bring it forward until absolute necessity called for some effectual measure to stem the torrent of sedition, at a time when writs had been issued by the society, called United Irishmen, for the purpose of assembling the convention at Athlone, and under a conviction, that if parliament should break up without adopting the bill, which in his idea never did, nor never was intended to meddle with the constitutional rights of the people, the constitution itself might be subverted before parliament could be assembled.

"his majesty's subjects, to petition the king or parliament for redress of any public or private grievance."

The convention bill was not combated by Mr. Grattan, and those who agreed with him so much, because the legislative interference was not wanted to prevent the intended convention of Athlone, or other such meetings: but because the words and tendency of the bill went directly to declare, that every convention and delegation that had existed in that kingdom, were illegal: they objected against the declaratory quality of the act, whereby it bore retrospectively upon past transactions, not upon the enacting part, which, had it been properly framed, would have operated prospectively by way of inhibition against future conventions and delegations.* Confident reports were afloat, about the beginning of the session, that there would be a change in the Irish ministry: but to effect it without a change in the British ministry, was found impracticable, unless by a reform in

* When this bill was in committee, Mr. Grattan amongst many strong things, said, (13 Par. Debates, p. 546) "This bill is said to be an expedient to restore peace: why, then, is it a reflection! Why do the preamble and the declaration pronounce every man who has been a delegate, all the volunteers, the delegates at Dungannon, the delegates of the convention, the committee of the lawyers' corps, and the corps that appointed that committee; the committee of the Catholics, their late conventions, and all the Catholics who appointed that convention; that is, the whole Catholic body, offenders; men guilty of an unlawful assembly, and this moment liable to be prosecuted! For so much has the bill in object, not the peace of the country, but reflection on great bodies, and the gratification of spleen at the expense of the constitution, by voting false doctrine into law, and the brightest passages of your history into unlawful assemblies."

"Gentlemen have conceived this bill an expedient to quell the insurgents; let them read the bill. It is not a riot act; the riot act seemed forgotten, until a friend of mine put it into his temporary statute bill; it does not go against riots that are, but conventions that are not. The title of the bill as first brought in, was to prevent riots and tumults arising from conventions: but as the bill had nothing to say to riots, and no riots appeared to have arisen from conventions, such title was in decency dropped, and the real object of the bill professed an act against conventions."

"The bill neither is, nor professes to be a bill against riots; it is only an expedient against conventions, and only an expedient for peace, as far as conventions now disturb it, there were none."

"But gentlemen said, a national convention at Athlone was intended. He did believe that such a one had been intended some time ago, and that then it was not so; or if then intended, that it would be trifling and contemptible. His objection to the bill was, that it was a trick, making a supposed national convention at Athlone in 1793, a pretext for preventing delegation for ever."

"Such a meeting as was invited to assemble at Athlone, should be understood; for such a meeting would not be an assembly to promote the reform of parliament, but to put itself in the place of parliament."

"The real object of that bill was, to prevent in future all popular effect whatsoever, particularly at that time when reform had been proposed by the house; a measure offensive to all men, who disliked the people; offensive to most of those, who disliked the Catholics; and detestable to those men who hated both."

parliament. The additional motive therefore of keeping their places, operated powerfully upon ministers in resisting reform with all their powers both within and without the walls of parliament. It was not inaptly imagined, that by government's patronizing the cause of Catholic emancipation, by bringing forward some, and by acceding to other popular questions, their resistance to the cause of reform might be the more imperceptible, and therefore the more sure. Artful means were also used to irritate the United Irishmen against the gentlemen of the opposition, for not supporting the cause of the French: every attack made by them upon the opposition, was an accumulation of strength to the ministry.

The several great objects which had been urged by the opposition ever since the last parliament with great perseverance and ability, were the responsibility bill, the place and the pension bill. There were also other measures of great consequence, but of less general importance; such as the disqualifying of revenue officers from sitting in parliament, and the repeal of the police act. By the responsibility bill, no money could be disposed of by the sole order from the king, as was before the case; for Irish officers were to sign all warrants; and every warrant and officer came before parliament. The necessary consequence of such a bill was, that the hereditary revenue was given up, and like the additional supply, voted annually. The great effect and consequence of such a measure, any man who understood government, must see at a glance.

By the pension bill all pensioners for years or during pleasure were excluded; and the sum, which then was near 120,000*l.* a year, was reduced to 80,000*l.*

By the place bill, all new places from the date of the bill were disqualified. Officers of revenue, whose duty required their absence from Dublin, were excluded: and the principle of excluding them all was carried. The question of reform certainly was not supported by the people out of doors with spirit and perseverance equal to its importance: for after Mr. Ponsonby's promise to bring in a bill of reform, and after Mr. Grattan's carrying the principle of its necessity, by his motion for a committee, which were almost at the opening of the session, except some of the northern counties and the city of Dublin, no instruction, address, or petition, came from any of the counties, cities, or great towns; and what would hardly be credited, the people, who had been crying out for the reform of parliament against the aristocracy and the government, would not ask for it when both gave it up; and did just with regard to reform, what they did before with regard to the absentee tax. "A mistress, (said Mr. Flood) which the people of Ireland sought

and impressive speech* from the throne ; the most prominent feature of which was the expression of his majesty's pleasure at the passing of the bill in favour of the Roman Catholics. It justly portrayed the gratitude which that body owes to the personal tenderness and regards of their sovereign for the great benefits of his reign.

five per cent ; a measure, which renewed and enlivened the current of commercial credit, and prevented its short suspension from being attended with any consequences prejudicial to the trade of the country. In short, the conduct of the government of Ireland during this session, was evidently calculated to restore tranquillity and defeat the designs of those who wished to raise public discontent, and to introduce the principles of French anarchy ; while these salutary laws strengthened the executive power in securing the blessings of domestic peace and public security.

* " MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

" THE wisdom and liberality, with which you attended to his majesty's recommendation in favour of his Roman Catholic subjects, are highly pleasing to the king. You must be fully sensible of his majesty's gracious condescension in committing to your judgment the application of the hereditary revenue ; and I am ordered by his majesty to signify his approbation of the provisions which have been made for the support of his civil government, and the honour and dignity of his crown ; and to express his confidence, that your liberal concessions to the Roman Catholics, and the measures for the regulation of the public expenditure, and for the limitation of offices and pensions, to which his majesty has been graciously pleased to consent, with a view to the advantage of the public, will cement a general union of sentiment among all classes of his majesty's subjects, in support of the established constitution.

" His majesty has seen with real satisfaction that friendly disposition which has been manifested by the parliaments of Great-Britain and Ireland, for strengthening the connexion of the two kingdoms by mutual acts of concession. I am authorized to acquaint you, that an act has passed the British parliament, to permit goods of Asia, Africa, or America, legally imported into Ireland, to be imported from thence into Great-Britain. This is a signal proof of her attention to your interests ; whilst the confirmation of the charter of the East-India Company by the parliament of Ireland, displays on your part a cordial zeal for the support of Great-Britain, and a judicious consideration of the great and essential interests of the empire.

" I am to make my acknowledgments for the many salutary laws you have enacted to strengthen the executive government, which will materially tend to defeat the designs of the enemies to the freedom and happiness of this kingdom.

" The apprehensions of embarrassments, which for a time hung over commercial transactions, were to me a subject of the utmost anxiety ; and I am to return you my thanks for sanctioning those measures which I took in support of credit, and which, I trust, have had the happiest effect in preventing the ill consequences of such apprehensions.

" The spirit of discontent which prevailed amongst the lower classes of the people at the beginning of the session, has since burst into acts of riot and insurrection ; and I have been under the painful necessity of employing his majesty's forces, whose steadiness and good conduct have on all occasions been manifested, and by whose exertions the civil magistrates have been enabled, in a great measure, to restore the general tranquillity.

" Under all the circumstances of the country, I thought it proper to call forth a very considerable portion of the militia of this kingdom, I am to express his majesty's approbation of a measure which affords at present mate-

Although several excellent laws were passed in the year 1793, yet the administration did not altogether gain popularity by any of them. The leading measures of grace, which affected the great bulk of the people, were attributed to the personal interference of a benign and fatherly sovereign, over the heads and against the wishes of those, who had the preceding year rejected their application for less favours with indignation and insult. The passing of the act so emphatically calculated to destroy all odious distinctions between Irishmen of different religious persuasions, altered the laws, but crushed not the spirit, which kept them up. Great difficulties at first prevailed in raising the different regiments of militia: for although Catholics were rendered capable of serving in them, no Catholic officers were appointed: this marked reprobation of all gentlemen of that communion so directly in the teeth of the act, diffused a general diffidence amidst the lower orders, and it was found necessary to appoint several Catholic officers, before the militia corps could be completed.*

"rial assistance, and lays the foundation of a permanent constitutional force, that has been found by experience in Great-Britain of great resource in public emergencies.

"His majesty feels with the greatest concern the expense brought upon his people by domestic disturbances, added to the consequences of a foreign war, into which we have been forced by the wanton and unprovoked aggression of France; but you will reflect that you are contending for the preservation of your property, and for the security of your happy constitution.

"The successes with which it has pleased the Divine Providence to bless the arms of his majesty and his allies, afford the best prospect of a happy issue to this important contest; and it is his majesty's earnest hope, that a continuance of vigorous exertions will finally obtain a secure and lasting peace.

"I have entire confidence that in your respective counties, you will exert your utmost influence in maintaining the public tranquillity, and in carrying the laws into full execution. You may be assured, that I shall on all occasions take the most speedy and effectual measures, in the exercise of those powers with which I am invested, for the repression of outrage and tumult, and the protection of his majesty's faithful and loyal subjects."

* A still stronger instance of the inefficacy of the act to overcome the virulence of bigotry and prejudice occurred at the quarterly meeting of the guild of merchants in Dublin: about 130 freemen were present, which was considered a full hall. The principal business of the day was, to take into consideration the petitions of thirty Roman Catholic merchants, praying admission into the guild: the first petition in the order being that of Mr. Edward Byrne, was read, and on the question for granting its prayer being put by the roaster a ballot was demanded by Sir Edward Newenham, seconded by Mr. Edward Druit, of the custom-house; the ballot having accordingly taken place, there appeared,

For Mr. Byrne's admission,	-	-	63
Against it,	-	-	67

Majority against admission,	4
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The next petition read was that of Mr. Valentine O'Connor, and a ballot on that being insisted upon, the admission was also rejected by nearly the same majority.

There were few or no parts of the kingdom in which attempts were not made by a certain party to traduce and vilify the Catholics, in order to defeat that confidence and consequence, which the patronizing countenance of their sovereign had given them throughout the nation. Not only the exclusive distinctions were publicly kept up in corporations, but anonymous charges and slanders were published and circulated with all the industry of envenomed acrimony. The Catholics published protestations against these anonymous attacks, with fresh resolutions and avowals of their loyalty and affection to the king and constitution.*

The petitions were supported by Mr. Joshua Pim, Mr. James Hartley, and Mr. Jeremiah D'Olier, with manly eloquence and irrefragible argument, in which they clearly demonstrated the illiberality and the impolicy, as well as the refractory insult offered to the king and the legislature of the kingdom, in opposing the operation of a bill calculated to unite the people of Ireland, by removing the unwise distinction and incapacity which so great a part of the community had laboured under.

One of the gentlemen (Mr. D'Olier) among other things remarked, that it ill became those who received the public bounty in pensions, to stand foremost in opposing franchise to the most eminent merchants of the kingdom, who so largely contributed by the enormous duties they paid, to support the fund from which these pensions were provided. It was observed on that occasion on an accurate inquiry and investigation of the business, that the majority consisted of

Plain men who really thought church and state in danger,	25
Pensioners, placemen, and hangers on, - - - - -	25
Custom-house officers, &c. &c. - - - - -	17
	<hr/>
	67

* The following resolutions of the Catholics of Wexford is given as a specimen of those charges and defences :

“ AT a meeting of the Catholics of the town and neighbourhood of Wexford, on Tuesday, the 30th of July, 1793 ;

“ James Edward Devereux, in the chair,

“ We, the Roman Catholics of the town and neighbourhood of Wexford, having acquiesced in the resolution and recommendation of our late general committee, notwithstanding the many degrading and injurious distinctions still existing against us, to act no more as a body, but as Irishmen, united by one will and interest, find ourselves most reluctantly compelled by different attacks, immediately pointed at our honour, to defend ourselves as a distinct people ; our loyalty has been traduced, our views misrepresented, and our conduct defamed ; we conceive that sinking under such infamous and audacious slander would be the ruin of our country, and bereave us of the affections of our king and our fellow subjects ; for we have learnt from the history of all nations, but particularly from our own, that unrefuted calumnies lead from the extinction of the honest fame of a nation, to the final extinction of her liberties.

“ *Resolved* therefore, That it is a base and scandalous falshood that the Catholics of Ireland ever entertained the thought or harboured the project, either in private or public, of severing the sister countries from each other, or of renouncing their loyalty and gratitude towards a sovereign, to whom, of all who ever sat upon the throne, they are the most indebted.

“ *Resolved*, That the Catholics of Ireland never sought any other boon but that of equal law and equal liberty, such as Englishmen possess, and such as is equally the right of Irishmen, and that they are satisfied for ever to abide by one common fate with Englishmen, so as they may for ever enjoy

The growth and progress of defenderism, particularly in the county of Meath, afforded fuel to the enemies of the Catholic body, which they studied to implicate in the crimes of those ferocious miscreants. Painful industry was employed to work up the imaginations of the inhabitants into the expectation of a general massacre of all the Protestants throughout that county. No arts were left untried to criminate the Catholic body: every exceptionable word or action of an individual, however contemptible, was charged on the entire body: and the object was now, not so much to suppress the Defenders, as to fasten their enormities on the Catholic body.

This state of affairs was most favourable to the cause of the Defenders. They committed depredations without control; and assembling in large bodies by night to learn the use of arms, they went through military evolutions under their captains, the most infamous individuals of the community; generally the proscribed objects of civil or martial law. Their necessities multiplied, under the specious name of Defenders, they indulged in all sorts of crimes. They talked of liberty and equality. They threatened to cut off heads, to burn and to destroy wherever enmity appeared, or opposition was made to them. The evil gained strength and vigour with the season, and raged for six or eight months without control: unprejudiced men could not suppress their astonishment, that these enormities happened under the

"the common blessings of the constitution as established in king, lords, and commons, under a separate legislature and a common king.

"*Resolved*, That the general committee of the Catholics never exercised the right of legation in any one instance, nor any other right but in absolute subordination to the laws of their country, nor can we understand how these proceedings and pursuits can be accounted criminal, unless it is proved that the British constitution, the sole object of those pursuits, is a code of iniquity and vice, which ought to be rejected with detestation, and not contended for at the hazard of every thing dear to man.

"*Resolved*, That we are unalterably attached to the peace, happiness, union, and liberty of Ireland, and therefore from our hearts abhor and reprobate any disturbances, which may endanger the possession of those invaluable objects, and that we recommend most seriously and earnestly to our Catholic brethren to join and co-operate in every loyal and constitutional measure to suppress them, *be their authors who they may*.

"*Resolved*, That we highly approve of the conduct of our late committee, who have proved us not unworthy of freedom, by evincing our loyalty to our king, our gratitude to the legislature and our friends, and our unceasing desire to fulfil his majesty's gracious wish to unite all classes and descriptions of the people, in support of our most excellent constitution.

"*Resolved*, That the silly assertion which has been publicly made, that the Catholics of the county of Wexford were induced to join the committee by the promise of ten pounds a year, freehold, to the lower classes, is equally devoid of probability and truth, and deserves nothing but our contempt.

"*Resolved*, That these resolutions be published, and that our chairman do transmit a copy to each of the gentlemen who were delegated to the late general committee."

very eyes of some right honourable gentlemen of great weight and influence, and no exertions made to protect the peaceful subject, or to punish the lawless plunderer. Subsequent events have strengthened the suspicion, that some of those gentlemen wished to see things arrive at a degree of maturity in order to serve a most base purpose.

The disturbances had now risen to such a height in certain parts of the county, that society could no longer exist in such a state. A meeting was holden in Navan for the purpose of repressing them, and a secret committee was formed. Subscriptions were entered into; and rewards offered for discovering and prosecuting to conviction the disturbers of the public peace. Through these means this most nefarious gang of villains was broken; many of them, and chiefly their ringleaders, were taken and lodged in gaol, and the rest fled the country. Of those taken, some turned approvers; the reverend Mr. Butler made so judicious an use of their and other informations, that peace and security were rapidly returning to the distracted inhabitants. This amiable gentleman was a magistrate, though not a native of the country; he was chaplain to the bishop of Meath, and a member of the secret committee; he was a man of a good and well cultivated understanding; benevolent and charitable; firm and undaunted in his pursuits; and his great efforts to restore the peace of the country, were most successful and most generally applauded, because they were well directed. His activity had effectually checked the spirit of defenderism in its progress westward: it scarcely appeared on the western side of the Boyne and Blackwater. This check had been most opportunely given; for now other disturbances arose in the neighbourhood of Athboy, which, if strengthened by the association of Defenders, would in all probability have been more permanent, more extensive, and more destructive.

The injudicious and corrupt modes of carrying the militia act into execution, and the strange misconceptions entertained of it by the common people, gave rise to these disturbances. They had conceived, that they were to be duped as the Green Boys (or Green Linnets as they were called) in the American war by false promises; and they were confirmed in their false opinion by some Protestant gentlemen, who assured them, that notwithstanding the professions of government, they were all to be sent to Botany Bay; and that they might thank their priests for it, who, in procuring their signatures to the declaration signed *Edward Byrne*, had absolutely disposed of them to government. To render the militia act more palatable, several insurance offices were opened, in which, extravagant sums were exacted from all, as well from those who did not come under the act, as from those who did.

The ignorance of the country people afforded a full scope for imposition. From those causes the common people in the neighbourhood of Athboy rose in tumult. For several days they overran the country to the number of several hundreds ; they robbed all the gentlemen and peaceable inhabitants of their arms ; swore them not to be inimical to their interest, and set all the forges to work in the fabrication of warlike weapons : but during all this time they disclaimed the very name of Defenders. For several days, the magistrates and other leading men of the country were perfectly inactive, one only excepted, who was not seconded : and on the rioters hearing that this gentleman had sent for a military force, they assembled to the number of about a thousand men, in the town of Athboy ; forced many innocent and peaceable inhabitants into their ranks, and appointed a general. This ruffian billeting his men through the town for breakfast, and promising them better fare in the evening, soon marshalled them in military array. Feeling themselves in force, they talked of attacking property and of dividing the spoils of the country ; and they awaited with impatience the approach of the military, whom they had already vanquished in their wild imaginations. The military had been summoned from Kells, Navan, and Trim. A company of foot from Kells, with the magistrate already mentioned at their head, arrived long before the rest ; and without waiting to be reinforced, instantly marched up to the mob, and very imprudently closed with them, so that they were soon surrounded. Four or five of the mob, and two of the military fell on the occasion. This engagement might be called a drawn battle ; the military and the mob retreated at the same time, and the mob as eagerly dispersed, as they had assembled in the morning ; so that the cavalry, who arrived afterward, could only pick up some stragglers, whom they lodged in the county gaol. These wretches were condemned at the ensuing assizes to be confined for three years, and to be whipped ; which latter part of their sentence was executed with exemplary severity. This popular phrenzy was consumed by its sudden violence : all symptoms of tumult or disorder instantly subsided, and no part of the kingdom has been more peaceable ever since, than the neighbourhood of Athboy.

The reverend Mr. Butler still continued his exertions with unabating vigour. Not content with having effectually checked the progress of the Defenders ; he advanced upon them into those parts, in which their chief strength lay. He seized upon several persons, against whom he had information in the baronies of Slane and Morgallion ; and now the expiring cause of Defenders was to be closed by a desperate act. Mr. Butler, it is said, was often threatened by the unprincipled miscreants, to whom he was so obnoxious, sometimes by anonymous letters, and at other times

by verbal messages. He despised those threats so far, as to go alone by night: he was way-laid on the 25th of October, 1793; and about eight o'clock in the evening, within some perches of the back gate of Ardraccan, the seat of the bishop of Meath, he was shot through the body from behind a hedge.

The indignation raised by this atrocious act soon roused a divided and inactive people. A meeting was called in Navan, to which the first men of rank, of fortune, and of consequence in the county repaired. Amongst them were the earl of Bective, the right honourable Burton Conyngham, the speaker of the House of Commons, and doctor Maxwell, bishop of Meath, his brother in law. Subscriptions were entered into to a very large amount; and a very considerable reward was offered for the conviction of the infamous wretches concerned in the murder of Mr. Butler: and in order to suppress or to prevent in future such disorders, as had, for some time past disturbed the country, that part of the act which passed the session before in favour of Roman Catholics, pointing out the conditions under which Papists might possess, or carry arms, was recited; and a reward of four guineas was offered to the informer of every gun found in the possession of any Papist not so qualified. As this measure was seemingly sanctioned by law, it met with no opposition at the first meeting, even from the Roman Catholics who were present: but it was soon found to increase rather than check the evil: the measure was eminently calculated to promote the interest of Defenders, robbers, and thieves, to whom honest men became an immediate and certain prey from the moment they were disarmed. At the second meeting the earl of Bective proposed an alteration of this measure, but was violently opposed by Mr. Foster the speaker: he insisted upon the strict execution of the law, and denounced vengeance against every magistrate that should be found slack in his duty. In pursuance of this injunctions the military for some weeks were nightly called out, and headed by a constable, (not always sober) paid domiciliary visits to the decent farmers in the neighbourhood after midnight, summoned them to deliver up their arms, and put their families in extreme terror. The outrageous attacks of the Defenders were scarcely more formidable. This system was at last found too violent to be continued.

Mr. Foster openly professed himself at all times an enemy to all Catholic indulgence, and was prominently active in his zeal against them. The earl of Bective's natural mildness prevented him from opposing the new-born influence in the county of Meath, which Mr. Foster assumed on this, for the first occasion, from the overflowing of his zeal against Popery. One of the members of the sub-committee was a Catholic, and this right

honourable gentleman undertook to new model it by excluding from it every member that was not a magistrate. After these exertions at Navan, he went to Ardracran, and thence returned to Navan, of which he seemed to take a survey. Strange rumours were immediately circulated, that the dark business of defenderism was traced to its source, and that the discovery would astonish the nation. On the next public market day, Mr. John Fay, a most respectable and amiable character of that town, was arrested in the open street: bail was refused, and he was ignominiously hurried under a military escort to the county gaol. He was charged with having conspired against the life of Mr. Butler. The town of Navan was chiefly inhabited by Catholics, and had lately been most grossly traduced; it had been termed a sink of iniquity, and the judges in their way from Trim to the county of Louth had been warned, as they tendered their personal safety, not to pass through the town of Navan. The imprisonment of Mr. Fay gave rise to serious apprehensions on one part of a general proscription of the Catholics, and on the other to the belief of a Popish conspiracy to massacre all the Protestants. Thus were the feelings of the whole district made the sport of the wicked, who were attempting to play the basest game under these fictitious plots.

There evidently was a deep plot laid by persons of political influence in the country to criminate Mr. Fay, and several other respectable persons of his persuasion as aiders and abettors of treason, murder, and every outrage that can disturb society and dissolve civil government: the immediate object of which was to stigmatize the body of Roman Catholics. But justice providentially prevailed, and opened to view the base machinations and perjuries of the wretched informer Lynch, and other miscreants, raked out of the neighbouring gaols, who had been hired and suborned to swear away the lives of innocent and meritorious men.* The

* A subsequent discovery providentially confirmed the innocence of Mr. Fay, Mr. Gibney, Mr. Byrne, and other respectable gentlemen, the intended victims of a most bigotted and malevolent junta. On the 9th of August, 1794, at Trim, the execution of Thomas Shieran, who at the last assizes was convicted of a robbery in that neighbourhood, was attended by some of the most respectable magistrates and gentlemen in the vicinity. The culprit a few moments before his being launched into eternity, declared with all the contrite solemnity becoming a dying penitent, that he and three men of the name of Lawless, all of whom lived contiguous to the bishop of Meath's demesne, had concerted and conspired the death of Mr. Butler; that they lay in wait for him some nights previous to the fatal one; that one of the Lawlesses was the person who fired the shot which killed Mr. B. and that no other person whatever was concerned in the plot. On a former day he voluntarily came forward, and made this discovery to one of the bishop of Meath's servants; after which he and the Lawlesses were lodged in the same prison, where it is feared an intercourse with some dark villain occasioned his afterwards denying his first attestation, and accusing men innocent of the fact; this of course invalidated his evidence against the Lawlesses, who were enlarged.

honourable acquittal of Mr. Fay, and the public exposure of the attempts of the junto, to criminate by the like means, Mr. Dowdal of Clown, Mr. Bird of Drogheda, and some other Catholic gentlemen of the first commercial consequence, upon whom the most ferocious severity had been exercised whilst under the control of the magistrates, cast such disgrace and infamy upon the perpetrators of this dark conspiracy, that for a time the Catholics were no longer molested* by this species of persecution. The Catholics in these parts of the country most infested by the Defenders, had from their numbers suffered more from those depredators than the Protestants, and although it evidently were a plebeian league against property, yet it is to be remarked, that in every assize for the county of Meath since the Defenders first appeared there, no Roman Catholic was admitted on juries on the crown side, although formerly those juries had generally consisted of Catholics. The malice, prejudice, falshood, and infamy, that appeared at the assizes at Trim upon the trial of Mr. Fay, were too rank for the most sanguinary bigot. The judge was shocked: every honest man cried shame: the junto were confounded at the failure of their own schemes.†

In order to counteract these attempts to calumniate and criminate the body of the Catholics by identifying the causes of Roman Catholics, United Irishmen, Defenders, French levellers, and sworn enemies to the constitution, the Catholic bishops presented an humble address to his excellency on the 17th of December, 1793, to be transmitted to his majesty, expressive of their unshaken loyalty and grateful affection to his majesty's person and government, which was most graciously received by his majesty.‡ Similar efforts, prejudicial to the body of the

* The most active instrument in harrassing and attempting by various arts and stratagems to criminate the Catholics of Navan, was a young relative of a man of consequence in the county of Louth, who wantonly jeasted about his expeditions to Navan, by saying, that he had been *buck hunting*.

† Of these trials Mr. Curran thus spoke in a debate in the Commons (17 P. D. p. 31.) "Of the trials of Mr. Fay, and of the principal Catholic merchants of Drogheda, he said he could speak as an eye witness, and he declared them to be scenes of more atrocity and horror than he had ever seen exhibited in a court of justice; it was, he said, what the Catholics might have expected when they found their avowed enemies continued in authority, and the malice of an implacable government left to indemnify itself by vengeance what it had lost by law."

‡ The humble Address of the Prelates of the Roman Catholic Communion "in Ireland, to the King's most excellent Majesty.

"MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

"WE your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects the undersigned; for ourselves, and on behalf of the other prelates of the Roman Catholic Communion in Ireland, impressed with the lively sentiments of inviolable attachment to your majesty's sacred person and government,

Catholics, were about the same time attempted in different parts of the kingdom; but neither so openly, nor so virulently, as at Navan and Drogheda. As the whole combination of that party in parliament, which had monopolized the political power of the

"which, we trust, will ever distinguish those of our order in this kingdom, are happy on this occasion, the earliest that has offered, of humbly adding the tribute of our acknowledgments to the general voice of a grateful people.

"The recollection of our past, and the contemplation of our present condition, will best illustrate the character of a patriot king, impartially attending to the wants and deserts of his people. Under your majesty's auspicious reign, and particularly through your late paternal recommendation to parliament, heavy penalties to which we are subject, have been removed. We were patient under disabilities; we are thankful for the happy change. Ministers of a gospel, which enjoins meekness in adversity, and submission to those who are constituted in authority over us, we have not at any time omitted to inculcate the lesson of obedience and loyalty. The favours we have received add private feeling to public obligation; we shall continue with unremitting zeal to discharge that indispensable duty.

"We have never ceased to admire the many eminent virtues, which adorn your royal character, and attract the applause of every lover of morality; a brilliant example in your elevated rank, and in an age too prone to neglect the impulse of truth, and the sacred injunctions of religion.

"Whilst we lament the necessity that inflicts the calamities of war upon any, even the most depraved of our fellow-creatures, we incessantly supplicate the Almighty Disposer of events, that, blessing your majesty's arms with success, he may crown you with the glory of stopping the progress of that atheistical faction, which aims at the subversion of every religious and moral principle.

"We look towards that unhappy nation, which is the object of hostility, and acknowledge with humble thanksgiving the goodness of Divine Providence, which, under the best of constitutions, has bestowed on the land we live in, freedom exempt from anarchy, protection guarded against oppression, and a prince calculated by his wisdom and virtue to preserve that happy condition of society.

"If, Sire, in our peculiar situation we presume to approach your majesty, it is, but that we may bless that royal goodness, to which we are so deeply indebted. May the God of truth and harmony, to whom your pious endeavours to unite your subjects cannot fail to be acceptable, cement and strengthen their union. May he grant to your majesty long to reign over a people, whose happiness you have effectually laboured to promote. May your wisdom long continue to give energy to the counsels, your benevolence to form the character of the kingdoms committed to your charge, and may your descendants, to the latest posterity, filling the throne of these realms, possess, like your majesty, the affections and approbation of their subjects.

"JOHN THOMAS TROY, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin.

"RICHARD O'REILLY, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Armagh.

"THOMAS BRAY, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Cashel.

"BOS. EAGAN, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Tuam.

"FRANCIS MOYLAN, Roman Catholic Bishop of Cork.

"P. J. PLUNKETT, Roman Catholic Bishop of Meath.

"JAMES CAULFIELD, Roman Catholic Bishop of Ferns.

"DOMINICK BELLEW, Roman Catholic Bishop of Killala.

"GERALD TEAHAN, Roman Catholic Bishop of Kerry."

country, was inadequate to resist the forcible recommendation of a benign sovereign to unchain three millions of his loyal subjects, so did their masked batteries fail out of parliament, from which they played upon the credulous bigotry and antiquated prejudices

"To his Excellency John Earl of Westmoreland, Lord Lieutenant General.
"and Governor General of Ireland.

"The humble Address of the Prelates of the Roman Catholic Communion
"in Ireland.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY.

"We the undersigned, for ourselves, and on behalf of
"the other prelates of the Roman Catholic Communion in Ireland, laying at
"the foot of the throne the solemn assurance of those sentiments of allegiance
"and gratitude, which are cherished in the breast of every individual of our
"order, beg leave to express our feelings to your excellency, by whom our
"gracious sovereign is represented with so much honour to yourself, and advantage to this kingdom.

"We have submitted patiently to the restrictions, which the legislature
"thought it expedient to impose, and we do now most thankfully receive the
"relaxation of these laws, the boon of a more enlightened age, and a milder
"temper. With emotions of the most lively gratitude we acknowledge the
"wisdom and benignity of your excellency's administration, by which, under
"Divine Providence, such favourable dispositions have been promoted in our
"Protestant fellow-subjects.

"We have observed, with deep regret, that your excellency's government,
"although conciliatory and conceding, has not been entirely exempt from
"some outrages of the misguided and unreflecting poor, deviating equally
"from the dictates of law, reason, and of religion. The Roman Catholic
"clergy have never ceased, though sometimes with great hazard to themselves,
"to represent the wickedness of tumult, to explain the advantages,
"which every rank derives from subordination, and to exhort their flocks to
"practise that obedience to established authority, which our religion ordains,
"and which is indispensable to the existence of society. Bound by feeling
"and inclination, as well as by a more sacred duty, we shall ever continue to
"instil into those committed to our care, every sentiment of loyalty and affection
"to our good king, every principle of submission to the laws, and of
"veneration for that happy constitution, which has produced so much good
"to these realms, and of which the benefits have been of late so liberally
"imparted to the Roman Catholics of this kingdom.

"And we earnestly beseech Almighty God, to bless your excellency, and
"prolong your days, that you may live to see that land flourish, in which the
"seeds of prosperity have been sown under your auspices.

"We humbly request, that your excellency will be pleased to transmit our
"dutiful address to our most gracious sovereign."

HIS EXCELLENCY'S ANSWER.

"I RETURN you my sincere thanks for this dutiful address.
"Your declarations of loyalty and gratitude are highly becoming and honour-
"able; and your determination to instil into the persons committed to your
"spiritual care, the principles of duty to the king, of submission to the laws,
"and veneration of the established constitution, prove your attention to their
"welfare and happiness.

"I will immediately transmit your dutiful and loyal address to be laid before his majesty."

"*Dublin Castle, 13th January, 1794.*

"SIR,

"I HAVE the honour to acquaint you, by command of the lord
"lieutenant, that his excellency has received a letter from the right honour.

of the unenlightened or self-interested part of the community. Individually, the asperities of religious rancour were daily wearing out: though it be to be lamented, that a certain party, which very soon after this time shewed itself openly under the appellation of *Orangemen*, was prominently active in renovating and extending the flame of religious feuds, discord, and animosity. The spirit and end of which combinations emphatically counteracted that union of affection and interest, so strongly recommended to the people by the parental tenderness of their sovereign. Since the passing of the act of the last session, the Catholics began to feel themselves admitted into the bosom of their country, and to busy themselves about forming settlements in it, as if they no longer looked to foreign aid or protection for the benefits of improving their minds or morals. Their prelates, on the 14th of February, 1794, presented a very impressive memorial to the earl of Westmoreland, to obtain his majesty's license to found and endow seminaries for the education of their clergy within their own native kingdom.*

"able Henry Dundas, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, dated the 8th instant, signifying, that he had laid before the king the address to his majesty from the prelates of the Roman Catholic Communion in Ireland, expressing their inviolable attachment to his majesty's person and government, and that his majesty was pleased to receive the same in the most gracious manner.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your most obedient humble servant,

"S. HAMILTON.

"Rev. Dr. Troy."

"To his Excellency John Earl of Westmoreland, Lord Lieutenant General, and General Governor of Ireland.

"The humble Memorial of the Prelates of the Roman Catholic Communion in Ireland.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

"YOUR memorialists beg leave, with the greatest deference, to represent to your excellency,

"That a great number of his majesty's subjects in this kingdom are attached to the Roman Catholic religion, insomuch that they have submitted to legal penalties rather than abandon it.

"That the duties of morality have been taught, and religious rites administered in the manner most acceptable to this portion of his majesty's subjects, by a body of clergymen educated according to the discipline of the Roman Catholic church. The conduct of these clergymen has never suffered the reproach of disaffection or irregularity; on the contrary, they have been complimented on many occasions, for assiduously instructing their respective flocks in the sacred precepts of Christianity, and for inculcating obedience to the laws, and veneration for his majesty's royal person and government. Memorialists humbly apprehend, that the labours of a body of men thus occupied are useful to the state, and that considerable detriment would ensue to the cause of religion, and to that of good order, which is connected with it, if the public were to be deprived of their services.

"Under the laws which formerly existed, your excellency's memorialists were obliged to resort to foreign countries for education, particularly to the

The confidence and boldness with which the popular societies had lately expressed their political sentiments had become very obnoxious to government, and in order to check the pruriency of civil liberty, which now was considered as a mere cloak for

" kingdom of France, where they had procured many valuable establishments ;
 " four hundred persons were constantly maintained and educated therein, for
 " the ministry of the Roman Catholic religion in Ireland. In the anarchy
 " which at present afflicts that kingdom, these establishments have been neces-
 " sarily destroyed ; and, even although lawful authority should be restored,
 " memorialists conceive the loss to be irreparable ; for the revenues would not
 " easily be recovered ; and as the profligate principles of rebellion and atheism,
 " propagated by the faction which now rules that kingdom, may not be speedily
 " effaced, they would expose their youth to the contagion of sedition and infi-
 " delity, and their country to the danger of thus introducing the pernicious
 " maxims of a licentious philosophy. Memorialists therefore are appre-
 " hensive, that it may be found difficult to supply the ministry of the Roman
 " Catholic church in Ireland with proper clergymen, unless seminaries, schools,
 " or academies be instituted, for educating the youth destined to receive holy
 " orders according to the discipline of their own church, and under ecclesiasti-
 " cal superiors of their own communion ; and they beg leave further to repre-
 " sent, with all due respect and deference to your excellency's wisdom, that
 " said institution would prove of advantage to the nation at large, and be a
 " matter of great indulgence to his majesty's subjects professing the Roman
 " Catholic religion in Ireland.

" Whilst sentiments unfavourable to the members of their communion pre-
 " vailed, your excellency's memorialists were discouraged from seeking the
 " means of education in their native country ; but conceiving that the demeanor
 " of the Roman Catholics has removed such ill opinion, they humbly hope that
 " the moral instruction of a people who have been legally authorized to acquire
 " landed property in this kingdom, and upon whom many other valuable privi-
 " leges have been conferred under your excellency's administration and auspi-
 " ces, may appear to his majesty's ministers a subject not unworthy his royal
 " consideration and bounty. Your excellency's memorialists are confirmed in this
 " hope, by the opinion often and publicly expressed by respectable individuals
 " of their Protestant fellow-subjects, that it would conduce to the public good
 " to educate the Irish ecclesiastics of the Roman Catholic religion within his
 " majesty's dominions.

" Your excellency's memorialists also beg leave humbly to represent, that
 " although the mode of education practised in the university of Dublin, may
 " be well adapted to form men for the various departments of public business,
 " yet it is not alike applicable to the ecclesiastics of a very ritual religion, and
 " by no means calculated to impress upon the mind those habits of austere dis-
 " cipline, so indispensable in the character of a Roman Catholic clergyman,
 " that without them he might become a very dangerous member of society.

" That a distinct place of education is also necessary, because the regulations
 " of the Roman Catholic church enjoin, that candidates for holy orders shall
 " be proficient in certain branches of learning which are not included in the
 " exercises of the university of Dublin

" That even where the Roman Catholic is the established religion, candidates
 " for holy orders are obliged to receive the most important part of their educa-
 " tion in seminaries, distinct from the public universities.

" That many persons who destine themselves to the ministry of the Roman
 " Catholic religion in Ireland, are not sufficiently opulent to bear the expense
 " of education in the university of Dublin, and of constant residence in the
 " metropolis : it is therefore the more necessary to provide literary instruction
 " for them on more easy conditions ; and although the liberality of the present
 " heads of the university might induce them to receive persons on the founda-

sedition or treason, the attorney general was directed to file an information *ex officio* against Mr. A. Hamilton Rowan for distributing* a seditious libel with the intent and design of exciting and diffusing amongst the subjects of that realm discon-

“tion, yet neither could a sufficient number be thus accommodated, nor would
 “it prove grateful to the feelings of the parties; and many other inconveni-
 “cies might arise, if young men should observe great temporal advantages
 “conferred upon their fellow students, whilst they were restricted to the hum-
 “ble walk of a subordinate ministry.

“From these considerations, and conceiving that piety, learning, and subor-
 “dination would be thereby essentially promoted, your excellency’s memorial-
 “ists are induced to undertake the establishment of proper places for the
 “education of the clerical youth of their communion. Being advised by counsel
 “that his majesty’s royal license is necessary, in order legally to secure the
 “funds which they may appropriate for that purpose, they humbly beg leave
 “to solicit your excellency’s recommendation to our most gracious sovereign,
 “that he will be pleased to grant his royal license for the endowment of aca-
 “demies or seminaries, for educating and preparing young persons to discharge
 “the duties of Roman Catholic clergymen in this kingdom, under ecclesiasti-
 “cal superiors of their own communion.

“JOHN THOMAS TROY, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin,
 “January 14, 1794. “For myself, and on behalf of the Prelates of the
 “Roman Catholic Communion in Ireland.”

* The libel laid in the information, was to the following effect :

“The Society of United Irishmen at Dublin to the Volunteers of Ireland.

“William Drennan, Chairman.

“Archibald Hamilton Rowan, Secretary.

“CITIZEN soldiers, you first took up arms to protect your country from
 “foreign enemies and from domestic disturbance; for the same purposes it
 “now becomes necessary, that you should resume them; a proclamation has
 “been issued in England for embodying the militia, and a proclamation has
 “been issued by the lord lieutenant and council in Ireland for repressing all
 “seditious associations; in consequence of both these proclamations, it is
 “reasonable to apprehend danger from abroad and danger at home, from
 “whence but from apprehended danger are these menacing preparations for war
 “drawn through the streets of this capital, or whence if not to create that
 “internal commotion which was not found, to shake that credit which was not
 “affected, to blast that volunteer honour which was hitherto inviolate, are
 “those terrible suggestions and rumours and whispers that meet us at every
 “corner, and agitate at least our old men, our women, and children; what-
 “ever be the motive, or from whatever quarter it arises, alarm has arisen, and
 “our volunteers of Ireland are therefore summoned to arms at the instance of
 “government as well as by the responsibility attached to your character, and
 “the permanent obligations of your constitution. We will not at this day
 “condescend to quote authorities for the right of having and of using arms,
 “but we will cry aloud, even amidst the storm raised by the witchcraft of a
 “proclamation, that to your formation was owing the peace and protection of
 “this island, to your relaxation has been owing its relapse into impotence and
 “insignificance, to your renovation must be owing its future freedom and its
 “present tranquillity: you are therefore summoned to arms, in order to pre-
 “serve your country in that guarded quiet, which may secure it from external
 “hostility, and to maintain that internal regimen throughout the land, which,
 “superseding a notorious police, or a suspected militia, may preserve the
 “blessings of peace by a vigilant preparation for war.

“Citizen soldiers, to arms, take up the shield of freedom and the pledges
 “of peace—peace; the motive and end of your virtuous institution: war, an
 “occasional duty, ought never to be made an occupation; every man should

test, jealousies, and suspicions of his majesty, and disaffection and disloyalty to his person and government, and raising dangerous seditions and tumults within the kingdom of Ireland. To this information Mr. Rowan appeared by his attorney, and

" become a soldier in the defence of his rights ; no man ought to continue a
 " soldier for offending the rights of others ; the sacrifice of life in the service
 " of our country is a duty much too honourable to be intrusted to mercenaries ;
 " and at this time, when your country has, by public authority, been
 " declared in danger, we conjure you by your interest, your duty, and your
 " glory, to stand to your arms, and in spite of a police, in spite of a fencible
 " militia, in virtue of two proclamations, to maintain good order in your
 " vicinage, and tranquillity in Ireland ; it is only by the military array of men
 " in whom they confide, whom they have been accustomed to revere as the
 " guardians of domestic peace, the protectors of their liberties and lives,
 " that the present agitation of the people can be stilled, that tumult and licen-
 " tiousness can be repressed, obedience secured to existing law, and a calm
 " confidence diffused through the public mind in the speedy resurrection of a
 " free constitution, of liberty and of equality, words which we use for an op-
 " portunity of repelling calumny, and of saying, that by liberty we never un-
 " derstood unlimited freedom, nor by equality the levelling of property, or
 " the destruction of subordination : this is a calumny invented by that faction,
 " or that gang, which misrepresents the king to the people, and the people
 " to the king, traduces one half of the nation to cajole the other, and by
 " keeping up distrust and division wishes to continue the proud arbitrators of
 " the fortune and fate of Ireland ; liberty is the exercise of all our rights,
 " natural and political, secured to us and our posterity by a real representa-
 " tion of the people ; and equality is the extension of the constituent to the
 " fullest dimensions of the constitution, of the elective franchise to the whole
 " body of the people, to the end, that government, which is collective power,
 " may be guided by collective will, and that legislation may originate from
 " public reason, keep pace with public improvement, and terminate in public
 " happiness. If our constitution be imperfect, nothing but a reform in re-
 " presentation will rectify its abuses ; if it be perfect, nothing but the same
 " reform will perpetuate its blessings. We now address you as citizens, for
 " to be citizens you become soldiers ; nor can we help wishing, that all soldiers
 " partaking the passions and interest of the people would remember, that they
 " were once citizens, that seduction made them soldiers, but nature made
 " them men. We address you without any authority, save that of reason ;
 " and if we obtain the coincidence of public opinion, it is neither by force
 " nor stratagem, for we have no power to terrify, no artifice to cajole, no
 " fund to seduce ; here we sit without mace or beadle, neither a mystery nor
 " a craft, nor a corporation ; in four words lies all our power—universal eman-
 " cipation and representative legislature ; yet we are confident, that on the
 " pivot of this principle, a convention, still less—a society, still less—a single
 " man, will be able first to move, and then to raise the world : we therefore
 " wish for Catholic emancipation without any modification, but still we con-
 " sider this necessary enfranchisement as merely the portal to the temple of
 " national freedom ; wide as this entrance is, wide enough to admit three
 " millions, it is narrow when compared to the capacity and comprehension of
 " our beloved principle, which takes in every individual of the Irish nation,
 " casts an equal eye over the whole island, embraces all that think, and feels
 " for all that suffer : the Catholic cause is subordinate to our cause, and in-
 " cluded in it ; for, as united Irishmen, we adhere to no sect, but to society ;
 " to no cause, but Christianity ; to no party, but the whole people. In the
 " sincerity of our souls do we desire Catholic emancipation ; but were it ob-
 " tained to-morrow, to-morrow would we go on as we do to-day, in the pur-
 " suit of that reform, which would still be wanting to ratify their liberties as

pleaded the general issue. The trial came on the 29th of January, 1794, though the information had been filed as far back as the 8th of the preceding June. Upon calling over the jury one of them was objected against, as holding a place under the crown, but the attorney general insisted upon the illegality of the objection, and observed, that it went against all that was honourable and respectable in the land. It was therefore overruled by the court. After a trial of about ten hours, the jury found him guilty. This was very unexpected by Mr. Rowan's party. A motion was afterwards made in court to set aside the verdict, and grant a new trial grounded on several affidavits. The motion was argued for six days, and was at last discharged. The grounds, upon which the defendant's counsel rested their case, were 1. Upon the declaration of a juror against Mr. Rowan, viz. that the country would never be quiet till he was

" well as our own. For both these purposes it appears necessary, that provincial conventions should assemble preparatory to the convention of the Protestant people; the delegates of the Catholic body are not justified in communicating with individuals, or even bodies of inferior authority, and therefore an assembly of a similar nature and organization is necessary to establish an intercourse of sentiments, an uniformity of conduct, an united cause, and an united nation; if a convention on the one part does not soon follow, and is not soon connected with that on the other, the common cause will split into the partial interest, the people will relapse into inattention and inertness, the union of affection and exertion will dissolve, and too probably some local insurrections, instigated by the malignity of our common enemy, may commit the character and risque the tranquillity of the island, which can be obviated only by the influence of an assembly arising from, assimilated with the people, and whose spirit may be, as it were, knit with the soul of the nation, unless the sense of the Protestant people be on their part as fairly collected; and as judiciously directed, unless individual exertion consolidates into collective strength, unless the parts unite into one mass; we may perhaps serve some person or some party for a little, but the public not at all; the nation is neither insolent, nor rebellious, nor seditious; while it knows its rights, it is unwilling to manifest its powers; it would rather supplicate administration to anticipate revolution by well-timed reform, and to save their country in mercy to themselves. The fifteenth of February approaches, a day ever memorable in the annals of this country as the birthday of new Ireland; let parochial meetings be held as soon as possible, let each parish return delegates, let the sense of Ulster be again declared from Dungannon on a day auspicious to union, peace and freedom, and the spirit of the North will again become the spirit of the nation. The civil assembly ought to claim the attendance of the military associations, and we have addressed you, citizen soldiers, on this subject, from the belief, that your body uniting conviction with zeal, and zeal with activity, may have much influence over your countrymen, your relations and friends. We offer only a general outline to the public, and meaning to address Ireland, presume not at present to fill up the plan, or pre-occupy the mode of its execution; we have thought it our duty to speak—answer us by actions; you have taken time for consideration; fourteen long years are elapsed since the rise of your associations; and in 1782 did you imagine, that in 1792 this nation would still remain unrepresented? How many nations, in this interval, have gotten the start of Ireland? How many of your countrymen have sunk into the grave?"

hanged or banished. 2. Upon the partiality of Mr. Giffard, the sheriff, who had so arrayed the pannel as to have him tried by an unfair jury. 3. Upon the incredibility of one Lister, the chief and only witness against him: and 4. The misdirection of the court. The sentence of the court upon Mr. Rowan was to pay to his majesty a fine of 500*l.* and be imprisoned two years, to be computed from the 29th of January, 1794, and until the fine were paid, and to find security for his good behaviour for seven years, himself in 2000*l.* and two sureties in 1000*l.* each. The verdict and judgment of the court gave great dissatisfaction to the popular party. Their disapprobation of the verdict was expressed in court by the most indecent groans and hisses.

On the 21st of January, 1794, the parliament was convened, and the lord lieutenant in his speech from the throne expressed the highest satisfaction, that by the success of his majesty's arms, and those of his allies, the hopes of France, in their unprovoked declaration of war, to impair the stability or shake the constitution of Great Britain and Ireland, had been utterly disappointed.*

* "The forces of his majesty, and his allies, were in possession of many important fortresses, which had belonged to the French, and many of their oppressive and unjust conquests had been wrested from them; and while the trade of the empire had been generally protected, the resources which their enemies derived from their wealthy settlements and extensive commerce had been almost entirely cut off. He had the further satisfaction to acquaint them, that the spirit of insurrection, which had been for some time prevalent among the lower orders of the people, was in general suppressed, and no exertion should be wanting on his part to bring them to a due sense of order and subordination, and to prevent and punish the machinations of those who might aim to seduce them from their accustomed loyalty into acts of sedition and outrage.

"The law for rendering a militia in that kingdom effectual had been carried successfully into execution; and he was happy to find, that the people were at length fully reconciled to that institution, which had already been attended by the most beneficial consequences, in producing internal tranquillity, and contributing to the general strength and force of the empire. He also had it in command to acquaint them, that his majesty had appointed a commission, under the great seal, to execute the office of lord high treasurer of that kingdom, in order that the payment of the civil list granted to his majesty, and a regular appropriation of the revenue to distinct services, might be carried into execution in a manner as conformable to the practice of Great Britain, as the relative situation of this kingdom would permit.

"His majesty had the fullest reliance upon the loyalty and attachment of his people of Ireland; they were now, by the unjust aggression of France, involved in a contest for their religion, for their constitution, and for the preservation of every principle which upheld social order, or gave security to their persons or properties. In such a cause his majesty had no doubt of being cordially supported by the efforts of all his subjects, in resisting the desperate designs of men, who were endeavouring to erect their own power and dominion on the ruins of law and order, and to involve every government of Europe in a general scene of confusion and anarchy.

"His majesty's object was peace, and he would exert himself, in conjunction with his allies, whenever an occasion should present itself, for obtaining that desirable end, without surrendering the honour of his crown, or sacrificing the present or future security of his people and the rest of Europe."

So much had been done in the late busy session, that one single point only was debated in the present. On the 4th of March, Mr. W. Brabazon Ponsonby presented his promised bill,* for amending and improving the state of the representation of the people in parliament. The bill, which towards the close of the last sessions had been presented by his right honourable relative in his absence, had been received in such a manner as induced him to hope, that its principle met the approbation of the house. He knew not whether the country or the house had changed their opinion on the subject, for himself he certainly had not changed his opinion. One capital objection which then existed against the measure, was now done away. The country was then in a state of disturbance, it was now in perfect tranquillity.

Having moved, that the bill should be read a second time on the morrow, sir Hercules Langrishe, who had always been a determined enemy to every thing in the shape of reform, opposed it in a vehement harangue upon the fatal warning of France. It was impossible they should for a moment, under the existing circumstances, engage themselves in problematical experiments, on a constitution which they knew was competent to all the ends of civil liberty and progressive happiness: that they should turn the minds of the people from the duties of a critical situation: that they should, as it were, tamper with turbulence, and favour disquisitions, which would make the people politicians instead of husbandmen, and agitators instead of defenders of their country: the objections to the bill itself, though great and numerous, were lost in the predominant objection to their agitating the question at all at that time. It was incompetent to the end proposed, and would be utterly unsatisfactory to the people it professed to gratify; it did not improve or extend the basis of representation, it rendered the representation of the people still more unequal; and on the whole it was a transfer of power, and not a reform in parliament. The House of Commons, constituted and composed as it was, had for several years past been engaged in the uniform practice, session after session, of adding some new protection to constitutional liberty, some new advancement to the prosperity of the country; and that to hazard such a condition of progressive happiness in the lottery of experiment or adventure, would at all times be rashness, and at that time infatuation. Under such impressions, he wished to put an end to the discussion, moved, "That the bill be read a second time on the 1st of August."

Mr. Grattan observed, that if France were to be a lesson, they should take the whole of that lesson; if her frantic conven-

* The form of this bill is to be seen in the Appendix, No. XCVII.

tion be a monitress against the vices of a republic, let the causes which produced that convention be an admonition against the abuses of monarchy. France would reform nothing until abuses accumulated, and government was swept away in a deluge, until an armed force redressed the state, and then, as will be generally the case, united on becoming the government. It was not a progress from reformation to innovation, but from one modification of a military government, that is, of one anarchy to another; in principle, therefore, the case of France did not apply, in policy still less; for if there were an attempt to introduce the rebellious graces of a republic into these countries, the best precaution was to discountenance them by the sober attractions of a limited monarchy, and the worst precaution was to preserve all the abuses of the latter, to pre-engage men against the vices of the former.

Several other gentlemen spoke largely and warmly upon the subject. Sir Lawrence Parsons was violent for the bill; he would not give a silent vote, though he very pertinently observed, that whatever might be said that night upon the subject, would not make the people less desirous to obtain a reform on one side, or the majority of that house more willing to adopt it on the other.* About midnight they divided upon sir Hercules Langrishe's motion for reading the bill on the 2d of August, when there appeared for it 142, against it 44. Thus ended the cause of parliamentary reform.

The 25th of March put an end to this jejune session of parliament. His excellency's speech to both houses was expressive of the cordial pleasure his majesty felt in the loyalty of his people of Ireland, and the affectionate determination they had always shewn to stand or fall with Great Britain. In the contest in which they were engaged, by the unprovoked aggression of France, measures of the most vigorous nature continued to be requisite, and his majesty would persevere in his exertions, in conjunction with his allies, against the common enemy.

He applauded their wisdom in passing an act for preserving the property within that kingdom of persons resident in France from becoming the plunder of those who had usurped the government of that unhappy country. It was particularly their duty to support the security of private property, and to maintain the principles of justice, when doctrines had been advanced, and attempts endeavoured to be carried into execution for the destruction of both.

He was sorry to inform them, that in some parts of the county of Cork, the people, deluded by the artifices of wicked and designing men, had assembled in numerous bodies, and had com-

pelled many to take unlawful oaths. The timely exertions of the magistrates, aided by the spirited conduct of his majesty's regular militia forces, had nearly suppressed those disturbances. No attention should be wanting on his part to the protection of the peaceable and industrious, and to the punishment of offenders against the law, and especially of those who had instigated the ignorant to the commission of such dangerous crimes.

In the warmth of party it has too frequently been a practice to identify their political opponents with the most degraded and wicked of the community; this practice is malevolent and mischievous in the extreme. It then was and unfortunately since has been the study of a certain description of persons in Ireland, and some of no mean pretensions, to connect the views, spirit and principles of the minority in parliament and the Whig club with the societies of United Irishmen, and other such popular institutions. A notable instance of their radical difference occurred in the course of this session. The society of United Irishmen of Dublin had amongst other publications upon the subject of parliamentary reform strongly inculcated the necessity of annual parliaments and universal suffrage; which Mr. Grattan, in his speech upon Mr. Ponsonby's bill, most severely reprobated* and exposed to derision and scorn.

* 14 Par. Deb. p. 80. "Worse even than the abuses so defended is a

"plan I have seen for their reformation—personal or individual representation.

"The principle of such a plan is a complete, avowed, and unqualified de-

"parture from the vital and fundamental article of the British constitution, in

"practice and in theory; and I must say, such an outset requires no small

"degree of mischievous and senseless temerity. With equal folly does this

"plan violate the dearest rights of man, for if there be one right of man in-

"timately indisputable, it is that which gives to the individual in particular, and

"the community in general, the fruits of his and their industry; thus the

"passenger through your field, or the labourer on your farm, has no right to

"make rules for the management of the same, nor have the aggregate of

"labourers or of non-proprietors a right to make rules or ordinances for the

"land, farms, or trade of the community.

"This reasoning applies very strongly to the case of Ireland, because it ap-

"peared on the hearth-money survey of the last year, that those who were to

"be exempted from the hearth-money for want of property were more than

"half of our inhabitants. It was besides insisted on by the objectors to re-

"form on the principle of property, that such a principle excluded the majo-

"rity; it follows, that the plan, which gives votes to all the inhabitants, and

"gives away to that majority the fruits of the industry of the community,

"gives away the estate of the landholder, the farm of the freeholder, the

"lease of the leaseholder, and the trade of the citizen, to be ordered and

"disposed of by a majority, who are confessed to have neither estate, nor

"farm, nor lease, nor trade. That is the plan that robs the individual and

"the community of the fruits of their industry, and destroys the representa-

"tion of property. Under the pretence of establishing a representation of

"existence, it destroys a principle which is real and sacred, to establish a

"concert which is affected and nonsensical.

"But is is not merely to those who have neither farm, freehold, nor trade,

"that this plan extends the right of voting,—it gives the return of members

It appears from an address of this society to the people of Ireland, which was published as widely as possible, what their avowed sentiments were of the gentlemen of the opposition, and particularly of Mr. Grattan, the leader of that party. Hitherto

“to serve in parliament to all the common soldiers, to the resident army, horse, foot and dragoons—to the police—to the scavenger. It goes farther, it gives that right to all hospitals—to almsmen—to Channel row—and every beggar-man in the kingdom of Ireland. It goes farther, it gives that right to every criminal—White Boys that break laws, and Defenders who steal arms; and would thus present you with a representation of felony as well as of paupers. To such a monstrous constitution, whose phrenzy, folly, and wickedness, must excite at once your scorn and horror, the objection is not merely that such persons would be represented, but the persons who have no property in land, lease, freehold, or trade, being confessedly the majority, it follows under such a plan that such persons alone would be represented, and that the landholder, leaseholder, farmer and tradesman, confessedly the minority with their one vote only, this plan allows them no more, would not be represented at all; it follows, that those who have nothing in land, lease, farm, or trade, would return the parliament; that is, those who had nothing in the common stock would make the laws, and the men who receive alms would vote the taxes. You held the Catholic to be a slave when his property was taxed without his consent by the Protestant; the plan of personal representation does away the franchise of the Catholic bill, and taxes both Protestant and Catholic without the consent of either, by introducing a new set of voters who shall out-number both; a body who have not with respect to you, like the Catholics in property, a common, but have a distinct and opposite interest, and are not politically the same, but essentially different; a body which puts nothing into the common stock, and is to take every thing out of it; some of them are the objects of your charity, others the objects of your justice, and all of them now invited to become instruments of mischief and members of government. A plan, which insults the beggar with a power in the state, and which robs the people of their influence in the constitution, which goes against the rights of man and the principles of the British constitution, which destroys all the counties; which takes away from every citizen and freeholder one vote by regulation, and extinguishes by the voice and votes of the multitude the effect of the other; and which by its direct and indirect operation, taken together, disfranchises all the property in the kingdom, with such electors as have none, and whose condition alone however subdivided their multitude, would make an election a riot; with such an unqualified rout the plan of personal representation becomes more alarming by doubling the number of electors and making the parliament annual; that is, by diminishing the franchise and doubling the confusion, afterward making that confusion eternal, so that instead of 150 elections once in eight years, we should have every year 300 elections.

“Suppose a potwalloping borough without even the restraint of a potwalloping qualification; suppose an election, of which Swords gives you an orderly and tranquil image, multiplied into 300 instances, and blazing out every year at the same moment in every part of the kingdom; trade, industry, government, order, liberty, external consequence and internal repose, in short, young Ireland what must be your lot, while the business of your legislation, your trade and your agriculture stand still to give way to this universal canvas and universal disorder, to this permanent intoxication and revolutionary riot?

“To destroy the influence of landed property is the object of individual representation, but its immediate effect would be to extinguish the people. The rich might for a time make a struggle; they might in some places buy

the United Irishmen were bounden by no secret oath, nor any criminal or illegal tie. Their address was published ten days after the debate on the introduction of Mr. Ponsonby's bill of reform. They first gave a specimen of their own doctrines upon the subject, they then very freely express their opinions of Mr. Grattan, and the minority in parliament. "It is said, that the lower classes of the community, being without property, have no stake in the country, and therefore ought not to vote for any part of the legislature. In consequence of the representative system, every man is supposed to be either individually or by his delegate, a party to making the laws by which he is to be bound. The elective right cannot therefore be denied, on constitutional principle, to any one: even the poorest should be allowed the exercise of that right, as they are bound by law as well as others.

"Laws operate on life, liberty, and property. Why is property represented? because it is valuable to the possessor, and may be affected by the law. Why should liberty and life not be represented? Are they not more valuable to their possessor, or, and may they not also be affected by the law? Since liberty and life are the most important objects of legislation, the poor-

"a mob, who by such a plan would be all electors; they might beset the hustings with their retainers, who by such a plan would be all electors; or they might purchase the votes of that great body of electors introduced by such a plan into the constitution, all the beggars in the neighbourhood. The minister too, for the short time such a plan suffered, king or minister, could, in the corrupt confusion of such election, preserve some influence by the application of the treasury and the command of the army, he could have all the swords and votes of all the common soldiers. But the farmer and the citizen could have none of those advantages, and indeed what farmer or citizen would go to the hustings of a medley of offenders met on a plan, where bayonets, bludgeons and whisky, elected the House of Commons? In the mean time the respect which the landlord and candidate now pay to the farmer and to the citizen would be at an end, and instead of resorting to the farmer for his vote and interest, the squire would go to the farmer's dung-yard and canvas the boys of his lawn, who would have more votes, though neither farm nor freehold; the consequence of the citizen would be at an end also, and instead of going to his shop to ask the tradesman for his vote, the candidate would apply to the beggar on the bridge, or the scavenger in the kennel, or to the hospitals or Channel-row, and those places where the poor are now wisely supplied with bread, instead of being intoxicated with hand-bills, offering, in the place of bread, the hopes of returning the parliament, and becoming a third constitutive part of the legislature.

"Such would be the state of election under this plan of personal representation, which from a revolution of power would speedily lead to a revolution of property, and become a plan of plunder as well as a scene of confusion; for if you transfer the power of the state to those who have nothing in the country; they will afterwards transfer the property, and annex it once more to the power in their own persons; give them your power and they will give themselves your property; of such a representation as this plan would provide, the first ordinance would be robbery, accompanied with the circumstance incidental to robbery—murder."

“er class have a right to some control over the legislature, and
 “it is just they should exercise it. The spirit of many of our laws
 “is aristocratic, and by no means calculated for the protection
 “of the poor.

“If the lower classes of the community had been represented
 “in parliament, when their necessities first urged them to insurrection and outrage, under the denomination of White Boys
 “and Defenders, parliament would have inquired into and redressed their grievances, instead of making laws to punish
 “them with death.

“The poorest man in the land pays taxes for his fire, his candle, for his potatoes and clothing; and the poorer he is, the
 “greater occasion he has for a vote to protect what little he has,
 “which is necessary not to his qualification merely, but to his very existence. He has a property in his labour, and in the
 “value it will bring in the market, the field, or the manufactory;
 “a property, on account of its smallness, of more real value to
 “him than thousands of pounds to the rich and luxurious; a
 “property, which must render him more interested in the honest disposal of the public money, since one additional tax may
 “crush him, than those can be who receive that public money
 “by virtue of places without employment, and pension without
 “merit.

“Property is merely the collection of labour, it possesses the
 “very same qualities before, as after it is collected into a heap;
 “and the labour of the lowest rank is as real, and ought to be
 “as really represented as the most fixed and solid property.

“Opposition seemed surprised, that the people should view
 “their debates with indifference. We will tell them the reason.
 “It is because nothing passes of a nature to animate and interest
 “that people. Nothing from which an individual can promise
 “himself more happiness, or the community more splendour;
 “it is because enthusiasm no longer lights up the countenance
 “of Grattan, and swells every heart with something great and
 “good, and with a prospect of something greater and better; it
 “is because there appears no internal spring of action, no fixture
 “of character! but good and bad qualities as it were external;
 “and neither virtues nor vices of their own. It is because once
 “in seven years the people are treated as majesty, and in the
 “interval mal-treated as mob.

“We have not in our plan of reform paled so little parks of
 “aristocracy. Our plan has not been described with a pair of
 “compasses, nor have we defaced with childish circles the system of nature, and the chart of the constitution. There is
 “no truth in any political system, in which the sun of liberty is
 “not placed in the centre, with knowledge to enlighten, and be-

“ nevolence to warm and invigorate; with the same ray to gild the palace and illuminate the cottage.

“ Sooner or later the measure must come. The eternal principle of justice will be repeated in louder and louder tones, until at length it must be heard and observed. Why not now? Why leave behind a source of new reforms, perhaps, of convulsions?

“ Contemplating this grateful prospect, we smile with much internal satisfaction, on hearing those intemperate and abusive expressions, which the members of opposition make use of against this society. We smile at their inability to conceal the vexation and disappointment they have felt on finding themselves forsaken by the people (that people whose majesty they insult, but whose forbearance they at some times solicit); on finding themselves falling, like the ostentatious balloon, from that height, to which they had arisen by a sort of inflammable levity, and there sustained by the breath of popular favour.

“ We smile at the curious coalition of political parties against our society; to see them all club their wisdom and their wit to manifest to the whole country, that we are really formidable; but we are rather inclined to pity that forced fraternity, that monstrous conjunction, which, in spite of the horror of instinct, and the antipathy of nature, can join in one common effort the highest genius with the lowest ribaldry; how great must be the panic that can unite such extremes! We can bear, as we have borne, the common-place invective against this society; but we feel some indignation, when they, who should look on themselves as the purchased property of the people; to whose fortune, every man, even the ‘beggar on the bridge,’ has contributed; whom the ‘shouts of the mob’ have raised to the height of their fame; when such men inveigh against armed beggary and shabby sedition; we cannot but remember a time, when the usual adjunct to their own names was, ‘shabby and seditious incendiaries.’ It is not manly, it is not decorous to deal out this contumelious language against the great mass of mankind. The use of contemptuous terms disposes to contemptuous treatment, and those whom we vilify as mob, we soon learn to slight as men. It is the unequal partition of rights; and what results from this? The arrogance of power, and the abasement of poverty, which make mob, instigate to tumult, and goad to insurrection.

“ If the people were respected, they would reverence the constituted authorities; but to gain this respect, they must possess those rights, which are the prerogative of their nature, and the worth of manhood.”

Whatever were the various and immediate causes of the growth and extension of that turbulent and seditious spirit which agitated the kingdom during the year 1794, certain it is, that defenderism spread rapidly, the Right Boys gained confidence, and became systematic in their outrages, and the United Irishmen assumed a tone of political language, that shocked the steady supporters of constitutional freedom, and gave but too plausible a handle to their enemies to fasten upon them intentions and views, which at that time the society actually had not, whatever may have been the ultimate suppressed designs of some few of their body. It would be unjust to stain the conduct of thousands in their efforts to attain a lawful end with the guilt of some few, who afterwards ran into excesses, the tendency to which they either totally suppressed from others, or were at the time insensible of themselves. Yet hitherto, the Defenders, the Right Boys, and United Irishmen were in principle and conduct essentially different from each other. As early as the month of February 1794, a numerous body of the Right Boys assembled near Bandon in the county of Cork, and swore several persons not to pay tithes, taxes, or hearth-money. They went so far as to threaten to attack the town of Bandon: and in the next month they dispersed a body of police men assembled by a magistrate: at another time they attacked a party of the Carlow militia, and wounded a magistrate whilst he was reading the riot act. The Defenders became daily more numerous, and extended their depredations into the counties of Dublin, Kildare, Westmeath, Longford, Cavan, Leitrim, and a part of Down. They had now laid aside their original principle of defence, and had become outrageous aggressors; still under the pretence of searching for arms in self defence. Their nocturnal visits were terrific: they not only plundered houses of their arms, but took whatever money and portable effects of value, they could find; and not unfrequently committed severe outrages upon the inhabitants. No one of any property, consequence, or character, was ever found to belong to, or to be connected with these lawless banditti: they were still of the lowest and most desperate orders of society; enemies of course to all that possessed property, character, and an interest in the preservation of the community. In the county of Longford, and elsewhere, the nobility, clergy, and freeholders united, resolved to levy money by subscription for raising and maintaining a body of horse for their defence, and obtained permission from the viceroy so to do. Meetings and resolutions of a similar tendency became frequent, and were attended with happy effects.

It was observable, that the society of United Irishmen of Dublin became more daring after the confinement of Mr. H. Rowan. They had great confidence in him, and he commanded very ex-

tensive influence upon them. From that time they rose in their tone and sentiments upon all political subjects. His escape out of prison on the 1st of May, 1794, made a very deep, though very opposite impression upon different parts of the nation. 1000*l.* reward was offered for apprehending him;* for after his committal to Newgate for the seditious libel in Hilary term, he had been charged with high treason. About the same time, viz. on the 28th of April, 1794, the reverend Mr. Jackson, a Protestant clergyman, was committed to Newgate on a charge of high treason. Popular discontent increased through the nation from a variety of causes. Notwithstanding government had in the session of 1793, passed several good and popular acts, they had thereby acquired but a small, if any, increase of popularity. Their rejection of the question of reform had produced nothing but displeasure out of doors: at that time the people at large were all for reform: some for universal suffrage, most for a qualified and temperate improvement of the representation of the people in parliament. Upon the whole, two great objects of political attainment now occupied the public mind; parliamentary reform and Catholic emancipation. Most persons out of parliament were common advocates for both objects, each tending to

* " By the Lord Lieutenant and Council of Ireland.....A Proclamation.
" WESTMORELAND.

" Whereas Archibald Hamilton Rowan, late of Rathcoffey, in the county of Kildare, Esq. was, in the last Hilary term, committed to the gaol of Newgate, in the city of Dublin, under a sentence of the court of King's Bench, of imprisonment for two years, for publishing a seditious libel.

" And whereas the said Archibald Hamilton Rowan has lately been charged with high treason; and whereas we have received information on oath, that the said Archibald Hamilton Rowan did, on the night of Thursday, the 1st day of May, make his escape from said gaol.

" Now we, the lord lieutenant and council being determined to bring the said Archibald Hamilton Rowan to condign punishment, do hereby offer a reward of one thousand pounds to any person or persons who shall discover and apprehend the said A. H. Rowan, wherever he may be found, or so discover the said A. H. Rowan, that he may be apprehended and committed to prison.

" And we do hereby strictly charge and command all justices of the peace, mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, constables, and all other his majesty's loving subjects, to use their utmost diligence in apprehending the said Archibald Hamilton Rowan.

" Given at the council chamber in Dublin, the 2d of May, 1794.

R. Dublin	Clonmell	H. Langrishe
Chas. Cashel	Ely	Theo. Jones
Clanricarde	Dillon	W. Conyngham
Shannon	G. L. Kildare	R. Cunningham
Bective	Muskerry	J. Cuff
Glandore	Carleton	J. M. Mason
Carhampton	B. Yelverton	A. Wolfe
Mount Norris	H. Cavendish	J. Fitzgerald.

" GOD SAVE THE KING."

promote and improve the other. Such for several years had been the rage for politics in Ireland, that it was rare to find an individual in the nation, who had not ranged himself on one side or the other of the contesting parties. The government party in parliament of course drew to it all persons throughout the kingdom, who in any manner received favours from them. But in as much as that interest was generally considered an English interest, it met with few independent Irishmen, who did not systematically oppose it. Of the real sense of the people upon these two important objects there could at that time be no question of doubt. Above three out of four millions essentially were for Catholic emancipation; as so many individuals would be thereby emancipated: out of the remaining million above 500,000 were Dissenters, and the great bulk of that body avowedly were for the measure: of the remainder of the population who were Protestants of the established church, the great landed interests of the country in parliament with their proportionate number of Protestant friends and dependants were also warm advocates for the measure of Catholic emancipation. As for parliamentary reform, the actual number of its advocates was certainly smaller, than for the other measure: but they were more vehement in their efforts, and less circumspect in the means of attaining their object. The accomplishment of it threatened the more sure and immediate overthrow of that system of government patronage, by which the opposers of both measures were knit together in a common cause of resistance. Some of the Catholics were as warm in the cause of reform, as their Protestant brethren, and they openly avowed their sentiments: many of them conceiving that government was against that measure, and fatally knowing the weight of government in determining their own question, either harboured opposite or disguised, or suppressed their real opinions upon that subject.

Nothing leads more directly to misrepresentation, than the confusion of times with the actions of particular persons: crimes have their dates: and though the progress to consummation be gradual and sometimes imperceptible, yet the criminal volition is generally to be traced to its source. The retention of the term or title of *United Irishmen* has been productive of much misconception and much misrepresentation concerning the principles and conduct of the individuals known at different periods under that common denomination.*

* An author, whose study seems to have been that of criminating his countrymen, speaking of this society on the 23d of May, 1794, when they were dispersed by the sheriffs from their meeting in Back lane, said, (*Mem. p. 127.*) "They continued afterwards to sit, and to carry on their nefarious machinations with secrecy, but with equal effect. It appeared afterwards, that ma-

The term *Irish Union* has been more maliciously, than artfully used to asperse the characters of the first United Irishmen of Dublin, with the guilt of the latter rebellious members of the Irish Union. They were separate and distinct societies: their principles, objects, and engagements were different. The one was extinct, before the other existed. The leading traits of the latter were separation from Great Britain, and republicanism. It now appears unquestionable, that whilst that first society existed, neither of those objects ever became a subject of discussion, debate, or even conversation amongst them. Their views and actions were simply commensurate with their test; and it is not unreasonably apprehended, that those very terms of their union rendered them so peculiarly obnoxious to the friends of Protestant ascendancy and unequal representation. The difficulty of attaining any species of parliamentary reform strengthened their conviction of the necessity of the measure, and brought them gradually to those violent expressions, and that extraordinary proposal of endeavouring at some future, though undetermined time, to procure the meeting of a convention at Athlone, which should take into consideration the best mode of effecting a reform in parliament. They conceived, that such a meeting, backed, as they presumed it would be by Catholic and Protestant, could not fail of success. Hitherto they went no farther, than parliamentary reform, though upon the broadest basis of universal suffrage and annual parliaments. To this they were driven by the increasing spirit of liberty, encouraged by the successful progress

"ny of the leaders of the Catholic Committee were members of the society
 "of United Irishmen, though they artfully concealed themselves while that
 "body openly avowed its existence, and published its proceedings; having
 "left the obnoxious and dangerous part of the Protestants, who, though few
 "in number, served as scape-goats to draw on them the vengeance of the
 "law, and the detestation of all good men and loyal subjects.

"I give the reader the names of some of the Protestant leaders, with the
 "fate which befel them.

"Theobald Wolfe Tone, convicted,
 "but cut his throat
 "Hon. S. Butler, died in extreme
 "poverty in Wales
 "James Napper Tandy, fled
 "Henry Sheares
 "Archibald Hamilton Rowan
 "Oliver Bond, convicted of high
 "treason, but died in prison
 "Beaucamp B. Harvey
 "Thomas Russel
 "Arthur O'Connor
 "Roger O'Connor
 "Samuel Neilson

"† John Chambers
 "Henry Sheares
 "John Sheares
 "† Joseph Levins
 "† William Levingston Webb
 "† Henry Jackson
 "† Matthew Dowling
 "† James Reynolds
 "† Thomas A. Emmett
 "† John Burke
 "† Hugh Wilson
 "† Robert Sims, proprietor of the
 "Northern Star
 "† Edward Hudson.

"*Were hanged.

"† Exiles."

of the French revolution, and not slightly provoked by their diffidence in the sincerity of some of the leading members of the opposition in the cause of reform. This latter motive worked particularly upon the society after Mr. Grattan's severe reprobation of their system of reform in the House of Commons. The rage for political discussion, the passing of the convention bill, and the rejection of the question of reform, coupled with the confinement of Mr. H. Rowan, his subsequent charge of high treason, the committal of Mr. Jackson for the like offence, supposed to be implicated with him in the same treason, the forcible dissolution of the society, all tended to dispose some of the most violent members to carry their thoughts beyond the words or meaning of their test or original institution. Aware of having brought upon themselves their own destruction by the openness of their discussion and publicity of their proceedings, those who had further views set their minds upon forming new societies upon the basis of secrecy, which gave rise to that *Irish Union*, whose proceedings and progress it will be our duty to detail.

Towards the end of the year 1794, the turbulent state of the country had so alarmed the government, that the British cabinet had found it necessary to remove the earl of Westmoreland, who had either brought, or permitted the kingdom to be brought to that deplorable situation. It was allowed on all hands, that the officers of the crown were unable with their utmost rigour to restore tranquillity. The premier was particularly affected with this melancholy prospect of the sister kingdom: the continuance of an expensive war rendered Ireland a peculiar object of his most serious speculations, not only for recruiting and victualling the army and navy, but also for aiding the finance. He had formed the project of calling upon the Irish parliament to raise such a sum of money, as had never been voted in that country: and he well knew the liberal and grateful disposition of the Irish, whom justice and kindness would bring to any concession or sacrifice whatever. He saw it necessary to abandon the system of coercion, and to adopt healing measures by forming a popular administration, which should by prudent concession attach the affections, that were likely to be estranged from the cause of the empire by a continuance of coercive severity. No man was ever more sensible of the importance of Ireland to the British empire than Mr. Pitt: no man was ever more intimately convinced, that justice, liberality, and kindness to the Irish, could alone insure the full energies and powers of that people, in the cordial service of the British empire.

In order to account for the change in the Irish administration, it is requisite to recur to the extraordinary movements, which had previously taken place in the administration of Great Britain.

The formal accession of a very large part of the Rockingham party to the minister, in the month of July, 1794, was an event differently viewed and differently accounted for by the several persons who undertook to consider it according to their respective sentiments at that critical period.* It was an event big with more importance than any in the modern history of the British empire. In the House of Lords, the duke of Portland, earls Fitzwilliam, Spencer, and other leaders of the Rockingham party; in the commons, Messrs. Burke, Wyndham, and many of that party, brought so much accession of strength to the minister, that those who remained staunch to all their original principles, and were neither allured, persuaded nor intimidated to change their principles or conduct, were not without some acrimonious petulance, termed by Mr. Burke the dwindled phalanx of opposition. These new supporters of the ministers, like all proselytes, shewed extraordinary fervour in the cause which had worked their conversion. In the month of July, 1794, they were admitted into a coalition of power: an arrangement of such magnitude required much time to settle, after the parties had formally ranged themselves in the ministerial ranks. The duke of Portland was graced with a blue ribband, and created a third

* So widely different are the opinions of what Mr. Burke called the Old and the New Whigs, upon this singular event, that no narrative can acquire credit, but the evidence of the parties themselves. Lord Fitzwilliam, speaking of the war with France, which had been expressly undertaken, though in his opinion too tardily, to restore order to France, and effect the destruction of the abominable system, that prevailed in that country, said (45 P. D. p. 133), "Upon this understanding it was, that he had separated from some of those with whom he had long acted in politics, and with other noble friends had lent his aid to his majesty's ministers: upon this understanding he had filled that situation, which he had some time since held in his majesty's cabinet." To the war question alone did the duke of Portland refer his motives for supporting the ministers. (39 P. D. p. 13) "He had at the beginning acknowledged his opinion of the justice and necessity of the war, and he was then (Jan. 1794) more convinced of both. He thought it the duty of every man to concur in strengthening the hand of government, as a vigorous prosecution of the war appeared to him the only means of saving the country, and bringing the war to an honourable and favourable issue. He should therefore give his support to ministers." Of this support Mr. Pelham thus expressed himself in the Irish House of Commons on the 21st of April, 1795, (15 P. D. p. 184) "As a friend of the Duke of Portland, he took the liberty of saying, that his grace and his friends after having long opposed Mr. Pitt on principle, did on principle at length support him, (and p. 190) and as like men they opposed him on principle, so now like men they supported him on principle, and they shared in office, that they might share in responsibility." I have alluded to these avowals of some out of the many of the Rockingham party, who at that time gave their support to government, merely to shew the grounds of that change, which affected the question of war exclusively. Some of them did, and all of them professed to retain their former principles upon all matters of internal regulation unconnected with the war. One prominent object, upon which they professed to maintain their old principles and feelings, was the establishment of a fair and firm government in Ireland.

secretary of state;* earl Fitzwilliam was made president of the council; lord Spencer, privy seal; Mr. Wyndham, secretary at war; and the earl of Mansfield a member extraordinary of the cabinet. The public was informed by Mr. Ponsonby in the Irish House of Commons,† that the coalition between the duke of Portland and Mr. Pitt would never have taken place, had not his grace received ample authority to reform the abuses which existed in the Irish government; but Mr. Pelham repeated twice in that debate, that they had coalesced without any stipulation whatsoever. Upon this important fact, there is however the very strong testimony of the noble lord himself, that has hitherto been uncontradicted notwithstanding the numerous debates and publications upon this delicate and important subject.‡ “When the duke of Portland and his friends were to be entered into a coalition with Mr. Pitt’s administration, it was necessary to hold out such allures as would make the coalition palatable or even possible for them to accede to. If the general management and superintendence of Ireland had not been offered to his grace, that coalition could never have taken place; the sentiments that he entertained, and the language he had held so publicly, for years back, on the subject, rendered the superintendence of Irish affairs a point that could not be dispensed with by him. It was become of absolute necessity, that it should be transferred to his management; and accordingly, it was offered from the beginning of the negociation, as was also the home department of secretary of state. Ask the duke of Portland when he accepted the management of Ireland, if he did it under any restrictions whatever. Ask him, if he pressed it upon me under any, and if he did not propose and recommend to me to lay out immediately for making such arrangements in the government, as would enable me to restore peace, tranquillity and order in the country; and as would reconcile the general mass of the people to its government.

“But the instant we had proclaimed our acceptance of office, then the scene began to open; then it was first discovered, that the object of all this mighty work was not to strengthen administration by an accession of character, but to debase, degrade, and disgrace that character. No sooner had I declared my acceptance of the lieutenancy of Ireland, than delay interposed, and soon doubts and difficulties arose. It is a matter of public

* Of a similar creation Mr. Burke once said (speech on economy bill), “it was made for the mere convenience of the arrangements of political intrigue, and not for the service of the state: it was made in order to give a colour to an exorbitant increase of the civil list, and in the same act to bring a new accession to the loaded compost heap of corrupt influence.”

† 15 Par. Deb. p. 184.

‡ Lord Fitzwilliam’s letter to lord Carlisle.

notoriety in this country, that Mr. Pitt assured lord Westmoreland, as early as August, that he should not be removed; and I know, that I could bring evidence to prove, that, in the course of the autumn, he pointed out lord Camden as the person, who he intended should succeed my predecessor.

“So fully determined was the British cabinet to bring forward the question of Catholic emancipation in the next session of parliament, that on the day of the duke of Portland’s kissing hands, which was in July, 1794, that measure was adopted.” It then was generally believed in Ireland, that the government of that country would be again committed to his grace: and all the old friends with whom he had acted, when he was lord lieutenant before, and whom it was concluded, he would again call to his councils, expressed their full conviction, that a full and complete emancipation was intended; and we have the express authority of that respectable though short-lived viceroy, that he knew his grace’s opinions at that time coincided with those of his Irish friends. In order to the settlement of these new arrangements, Mr. Ponsonby and Mr. Grattan were sent for to England; and the particular marshalling of the treasury bench was settled by sir John Parnell and Mr. Pitt. From the first idea of new modelling the government of Ireland, it had been the intention of the duke of Portland, that Mr. Ponsonby should be the attorney general, and therefore his grace desired lord Fitzwilliam would send for him to England* to consult upon the arrangement and plan of his government: and Mr. Pitt also admitted him several times to consultations upon their arrangements of measures. The convention bill, which had passed in the preceding session, had put an end to any further meetings by delegation: but several friends and supporters of particular favourite objects, such as Catholic emancipation and parliamentary reform, held frequent and very numerous meetings, to consult upon the means of effectuating their wishes: the want of delegation increased the numbers of the individuals, who took part in these consultations. The effect of them, with reference to the Catholic question, was a thorough reconciliation of the whole body, and a vigorous co-operation in the common cause of complete emancipation and equalization with their Protestant brethren.† The

* Lord Fitzwilliam’s letter to lord Carlisle.

† Lord Fitzwilliam in the letter before cited informs us, that from the 8th of January (he landed on the 4th) he unremittingly applied himself to the collecting of further information. “I had heard,” said he, “that the committee had prepared an address for me; before I should receive it, I wished to know the opinion of those whom the committee called seceders, the noble men, and principal landed gentlemen of that persuasion.

“In a letter of the 15th of January, I acquainted the secretary of state of the result of these inquiries, and of the progress of the business subsequent

universally credited report of the patronage and government of Ireland falling unto the duke of Portland and his friends, raised their confidence to conviction, that what had in the preceding session been lost by a vast majority, would, when backed by government, be carried with perfect unanimity, unless the two opposers of their bill in 1793 should still persist in their inveteracy. Under these strong prepossessions, after much deliberation it was found to be the unanimous sense of the Catholic body to commit their cause to the talents, zeal, and long-tried sincerity of Mr. Grattan: and in December, 1794, a resolution to that effect was published,* and their example was followed up by most

"to my former letters. I told him, that, in the absence of the nobleman, who was considered as the head of the seceders, I had sent for a person of the most tried and acknowledged moderation amongst them, and of the first consequence and property. I found by him (what the nobleman above alluded to afterwards confirmed) that he, and every person of his description, were in perfect unison with the committee; that they all decidedly looked to the same object; that they were determined never to lose sight of it; that provided it should be obtained, they had no objection that Mr. Byrne, or any other member of the committee, should have the honour of taking the lead in it."

* CATHOLICS OF DUBLIN.

At a numerous and respectable meeting of the Catholics of the city of Dublin, held at the Star and Garter, in Essex-street, on Tuesday, December the 23d, 1794.

EDWARD BYRNE, esq. in the chair,

Mr. Richard M'Cormick having been requested to act as secretary to the meeting, the following resolutions were unanimously agreed to, and ordered to be published:

"Resolved unanimously, That it is the opinion of this meeting, that an humble application be made to parliament, in the ensuing session, praying for a total repeal of the penal and restrictive laws, still affecting the Catholics of Ireland.

"Resolved unanimously, That a committee of nine be appointed to prepare a petition to that effect, and report the same to this meeting forthwith; and the following gentlemen were named on said committee:

"Mr. Byrne, Mr. Braughall, Mr. Sweetman, Mr. M'Cormick, Dr. Ryan, Mr. M'Neven, Mr. Hamill, Mr. Keogh. And the said gentlemen having reported, and the petition so prepared being read over, paragraph by paragraph, and agreed to, it was

"Resolved unanimously, That we do recommend said petition to be adopted, as the petition of the Catholics of the city of Dublin.

"Resolved unanimously, That we do most earnestly recommend to the Catholics of Ireland, to prepare and transmit similar petitions; and that, in order thereto, the gentlemen above named be instructed to take the most speedy and effectual steps, for circulating copies of this day's proceedings through the different counties and great cities throughout the kingdom, and also the several parishes of the city of Dublin, for the purpose of ensuring that unanimity and co-operation, which has been hitherto found so beneficial to the Catholics' interest.

"Resolved unanimously, That the right honourable Henry Grattan be requested to present the petition of the Catholics of Dublin to the House of Commons on the approaching meeting of parliament.

"Resolved unanimously, That the above committee do prepare an address of congratulation, to be presented to his excellency earl Fitzwilliam, on his arrival in this kingdom. And the gentlemen having prepared an address, and reported accordingly, it was

districts in the nation. It has been a malevolent and most lamentable practice from that time to the present with certain persons, from whom truth was to be expected, to consider the subjects of Catholic emancipation and the reform of abuses in the Irish government, as game that might be hunted down with the most impudent and wicked falsehoods :* and as the conduct

" *Resolved* unanimously, That said address do stand as the address of the Catholics of the city of Dublin, and be presented accordingly on his excellency's arrival.

" *Resolved* unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to Edward Byrne, esq. for the zeal, spirit, and activity, which on this, as on all former occasions, he has manifested in the cause of the Catholics of Ireland.

Signed, by order of the meeting,

" RICHARD M'CORMICK, Sec."

* We read in lord Clare's speech on the Union (p. 65), " That the concessions made to the Catholic demands in 1793, were then for the first time supported by the Whigs of 1789 ; but in the course of debate nothing more than obscure hints and oracular ambiguity was thrown out on the subject of unqualified emancipation, and the Catholic body remained quiet and contented with the favours conferred upon them. If they looked to further indulgence, they were satisfied to try the effects of time, temper, and negotiation, and would have continued contented and quiet, if they had not been brought forward as an engine of faction, on a change of the Irish government in 1795." One is astonished at this barefaced string of falsities. It was matter of the utmost notoriety, that Mr. Grattan and the Whig party supported the bills that were brought forward in favour of the Catholics in 1782 and 1792 : and Mr. Grattan (answer to lord Clare, p. 24) says, " In the session of 1794, the Catholic subject was not mentioned, but in summer, on a change being made in the British cabinet, being informed by some of the learned persons therein, that the administration of the Irish department was to belong to them, and that they sent for us to adopt our measures, I stated " the Catholic emancipation to be one of them." In 1793, so far were they from *only throwing out obscure hints and oracular ambiguity in debate*, that on the 22d of February, as has been before observed, when the order of the day for the second reading of the Catholic bill was called, Mr. George Knox, after a very long speech in favour of a measure, not merely to gratify, but to satisfy the Catholics in the fullest extent, by removing all disabilities, moved, that Roman Catholics should be permitted to hold seats in parliament. On the same day major Doyle said, he was the first person in that house, who declared his determination to give entire and total emancipation to the Roman Catholics of Ireland. Mr. Grattan on the same day said, " I could wish the bill under your consideration had gone further. I could have wished, that it had given the Roman Catholics the privilege of other Dissenters. I am sure that is the only sound policy. Come then, and by one great act cancel this code." (Vide Par. Deb. of this date.) As for the Catholic body, lord Kenmare, and other gentlemen of that body, assured lord Fitzwilliam, that he and every person of his description were in perfect unison with the committee. The Catholics of the city of Dublin in November, 1792, stated in their declaration, that they never should forego the hopes of emancipation. Hundreds of resolutions passed at parochial and other larger meetings of Roman Catholics after the passing of the convention bill publicly falsify that lord's assertion, that they were contented with the favours conferred upon them : and that they were not brought forward as an engine of faction. They certainly came forward upon their own sense, feeling, and principle : not instigated by Mr. Grattan or any one, who it was expected would be minister to lord Fitzwilliam, though in full confidence, that no ministers of that viceproy, would resist the peaceable cry of three millions to be released from their remaining shackles.

and character of that respectable nobleman who succeeded lord Westmoreland in the Irish government became implicated with both those subjects, he was also exposed to the aim of every one, who did not disdain the use of those disgraceful weapons. This period of Irish history is perhaps fraught with more important consequences to that kingdom, than any which has existed since the days of Henry II. The truth therefore of the facts, whatever effects may have ensued from them, it is supereminently necessary to establish.

The measure of emancipation to the Catholics, was, said lord Fitzwilliam, originally the measure of Mr. Pitt and the Westmoreland administration. His most strenuous and jealous friends claimed the credit of it for their patron in terms of the highest compliment. They had done it in the House of Commons; they had done it on the preceding day in the House of Lords. The declarations both of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas, (now lord Melville) on the occasion were well known in Ireland and often quoted. "*They would not risk a rebellion in Ireland on such a question.*" That the principle of the measure had been admitted by the British cabinet is self evident: as the whole question of the unfortunate difference between them and the lord lieutenant arose only upon the time of carrying it into effect, as will be presently noticed. That lord Fitzwilliam went over with a plenitude of power from the British cabinet to carry every measure which he proposed, amongst which was that of Catholic emancipation, stands roundly asserted by that nobleman himself, and by lord Milton, and by Mr. Ponsonby, and Mr. Grattan, who were sent for to England, and consulted upon the subject. It was contradicted by lord Westmoreland,* who said in the British House of Peers, that Mr. Pitt had assured him, "that earl Fitzwilliam had no authority whatever from ministers in this country for taking the steps which he had done on the Catholic question: nay, that they were steps taken not only without their authority, but with their positive disapprobation." Official secrecy was the reason alleged by all the servants of the crown for not giving the direct negative to the noble earl's assertions both in the British and Irish parliament. Lord Fitzwilliam was severely censured by many both in and out of parliament for a breach of official confidence.† The late lord Cläre has also ven-

* 41 Par. Deb. p. 352.

† It was observed by Mr. Jekyll, in the House of Commons, that lord Westmoreland's declarations dissolved all the regard, that had been so affectingly attached to the oath of secrecy of cabinet ministers. We must therefore rather lay discredit to the account of a displaced courtier, than perjury at the door of the premier.

tured to assert, "that *it is now ascertained, that he came to Ireland with full instructions not to encourage the agitation of any further claims, on the part of the Irish Catholics: perhaps he might be justified in stating, that his instructions were to keep it back. But his name and authority were abused to force the Catholic body to come forward as the engine of political intrigue, and in contradiction of their recent declaration by the organ of their general committee in 1792, to demand the repeal of every law, by which they were excluded from political power. Lord Fitzwilliam took possession of his government on the fourth of January, 1795." How great soever the authority of the earl of Clare may have been, historical justice demands, that the untruth of his representations of the efforts to procure Catholic emancipation should be noticed. Because the names of three persons, who afterwards were implicated in rebellion appear upon the address, which was presented by the Catholics to lord Fitzwilliam, his lordship most unaccountably criminales the whole body, by asserting against the fact, "that it was originally a pretence for rebellion; and was then, (viz. in 1800) a powerful engine of faction wielded in both countries against the peace and happiness of Ireland. An engine which had already shaken the government to its foundation, and could not fail to level it with the dust, if they were to continue in a state of separation from the British nation."

No sooner had the new viceroy landed, than he immediately set about the work he had been especially deputed to take in hand.

* Speech on union, p. 66.

† Having no document so authentic as the public averment of a most respectable nobleman, who was the actor in the important scenes under a special commission and instructions, which are at every hour open to publication to refute any misstatements, the annalist cannot dispense with submitting to the reader the genuine account of the opening of this extraordinary mission: (2 letter to lord Carlisle) "From the very beginning, as well as through the whole progress of that fatal business, for fatal I fear, I must call it, I acted in perfect conformity with the original outline settled between me and his majesty's ministry, previous to my departure from London. From a full consideration of the real merits of the case, as well as from every information I had been able to collect of the state and temper of Ireland, from the year 1790, I was decidedly of opinion, that not only sound policy, but justice, required, on the part of Great Britain, that the work, which was left imperfect at that period, ought to be completed, and the Catholics relieved from every remaining disqualification. In this opinion the Duke of Portland uniformly concurred with me, and when this question came under discussion, previous to my departure for Ireland, I found the cabinet, with Mr. Pitt at their head, strongly impressed with the same conviction. Had I found it otherwise, I never would have undertaken the government. I at first proposed, that the additional indulgences should be offered from the throne; the very best effects would be secured by this act of unsolicited

As the parliament stood prorogued to the 22d day of January, his excellency began his government by some dismissals, which created surprise and general apprehensions through all the official departments of the castle. They were represented to the British

"graciousness; and the embarrassing consequences which was natural to foresee must result from the measures being left open for any volunteer to bring forward, would be timely and happily avoided. But to this proposal objections were started, that appeared of sufficient weight to induce the adoption of another plan. I consented not to bring the question forward on the part of government, but rather to endeavour to keep it back, until a period of more general tranquillity, when so many material objects might not press upon the government, but as the principle was agreed on, and the necessity of its being brought into full effect was universally allowed, it was at the same time resolved, that if the Catholics should appear determined to stir the business, and bring it before parliament, I was to give it a handsome support on the part of government.

"I was no sooner landed, and informed of the real state of things here, than I found that question would force itself upon my immediate consideration. Faithful to the system that had been agreed on, and anxious to attain the object that had been committed to my discretion, I lost not a moment in gaining every necessary information, or in transmitting the result to the British cabinet. As early as the 8th of January, I wrote to the secretary of state on the subject; I told him that I trembled about the Roman Catholics; that I had great fears about keeping them quiet for the session; that I found the question already in agitation; that a committee was appointed to bring forward a petition to parliament, praying for a repeal of all remaining disqualifications. I mentioned my intentions of immediately using what efforts I could to stop the progress of it, and to bring the Catholics back to a confidence in government. I stated the substance of some conversations I had on the subject with some of the principal persons of the country. It was the opinion of one of these, that if the postponing of the question could be negotiated on grounds of expediency, it ought not to be resisted by government. That it should be put off for some time, was allowed by another to be a desirable thing, but the principle of extension was at the same time strongly insisted on, and forcibly inculcated, as a matter not only wise, but necessary to the public tranquillity.

"From the day of the date of this letter, I unremittingly applied myself to the collecting of further information. I received an address; in my answer, which I transmitted, I endeavoured to keep clear of all specific engagements whatever, though at the same time I had avoided every thing that could be construed into a rejection of what they were all looking to—the repeal of the remaining restrictions; and (what comes immediately to the point) I concluded by declaring, that I should not do my duty, if I did not distinctly relate it as my opinion, that not to grant cheerfully, on the part of government, all the Catholics wished for, would not only be exceedingly impolitic, but perhaps dangerous, that in doing this, no time was to be lost; that the business would be presently at hand; and that the first step I took would be of infinite importance; that if I received no very peremptory directions to the contrary, I should acquiesce,.....I meant, in the time, in the mode of proceeding, and in the extent of the demands. For as to the measure, considered generally, I could conceive no necessity to wait for any new directions, on which to decide. Of this I reminded the secretary of state..... 'Convinced,' I said, 'as we all are, of the necessity, as well as fitness, of the measure taking place, at no distant period, I was decidedly of opinion, that any attempt to defer it, would be useless, if not dangerous.' "The state of the country required this, and the position of the Catholics, among

cabinet with every degree of exaggerated cruelty: and artful pains were taken to circulate the reports of them through the nation injurious to the lord lieutenant. He began by removing two clerks from office placed in a situation of confidence, but perfectly subordinate and of no ostensibility: neither his excellency nor his chief secretary, with whom they were in hourly intercourse, felt inclined to repose confidence in them.* He made proposals to the British ministers for the removal of the attorney and solicitor general: it having been previously arranged with Mr. Pitt and the duke of Portland, that those two gentlemen were not to possess his confidence in the arduous measures he had to undertake. Whatever might be their professional merits, neither of them possessed those parliamentary abilities which his excellency required, and which were found in so eminent a degree in their intended successors, Messrs. Ponsonby and Curran. The attorney general was to have retired on a reversion of 2,300*l.* (and that daily augmenting) to himself and son, a peerage for his family, and a promise of the first vacancy of a chief seat on the bench: and it was his excellency's intentions to have done equally well by the solicitor general. But the greatest sore was the removal of Mr. Beresford, of which that nobleman's own account must prove more satisfactory and authentic than any other.

"† And now for the grand question about Mr. Beresford. In a letter of mine to Mr. Pitt on this subject, I reminded him of a conversation, in which I had expressed to him (in answer to the question put to him by me) my apprehensions, that it would be necessary to remove that gentleman, and that he did not offer the slightest objection, or say a single word in favour of Mr. Beresford. This alone would have made me suppose, that I should be exempt from every imputation of breach of agreement, if I determined to remove him; but when, on my arrival here, I found all those apprehensions of his dangerous power, which Mr. Pitt admits I had often represented to him, were fully justified; when he was filling a situation greater than that of the lord lieutenant; and when I clearly saw, that if I had connected myself with him, it would have been connecting myself with a person under universal heavy suspicions, and subjecting my government to all the

"whom the appearance of hesitation on the part of government, might produce mischief to a degree beyond all calculation." "You will not forget that all this passed within the first fortnight after my arrival, and before the meeting of parliament."

* One of these was Mr. Cooke, of whom lord Fitzwilliam thus writes to lord Carlisle, "Mr Cooke indeed, whose tone and style rendered his approach to a superior not to be supported, rejects my proposals in his favour, and thinks a retreat upon 1200*l.* a year an inadequate recompense for the magnitude and importance of his services."

† Letter to lord Carlisle.

opprobrium and unpopularity attendant upon his mal-administration. What was then to be my choice, what the decision I had to form? I could not hesitate a moment. I decided at once, not to cloud the dawn of my administration by leaving in such power and authority, so much imputed malversation: but in doing this, I determined, while I meant to curtail him of his power, and to shew to the nation, that he did not belong to my administration, to let him remain in point of income, as well, to the full, as he had ever been: I did not touch, and he knew I had determined not to touch a hair of the head of any of his family or friends; and they are still left in the full enjoyment of more emolument than ever was accumulated in any country upon any one family. To the odium of doing so I submitted, rather than incur the risque of displeasing my colleagues, by infringing the emolument of a person professing great attachment to them; though indeed, at the same time, I had no slight ground of doubting the sincerity of those professions. This, then, is the list of my dismissions.*

Great preparations having been made during the summer and autumn of 1794, by different bodies of Roman Catholics throughout the kingdom, to bring before parliament an efficient application for their total emancipation, their confidence of success first rose out of the introduction of the duke of Portland with many of his friends into the British cabinet, upon the question of the war; which being foreign from any points of internal regulation in Ireland, they gave that whole party full credit for retaining all those principles so favourable to them and their friends, which had been manifested by his grace in the glorious year of 1782. For many weeks after that memorable coalition, the public belief was, that the government of the country would have been committed to his grace in person. Their ardour, however, was not at all abated upon the report, that the vice-regency was to be committed to earl Fitzwilliam. In the beginning of September, the Northern Star, (the popular paper of Belfast) had announced the probability of this event, and that the first measure of his administration was to be the emancipation of the Roman Catholics. The inflexible integrity, honour, and liberality of this nobleman had gained by anticipation the most unlimited credit from the bulk of the Irish nation, as his tender kindness and benevolence to a numerous and happy tenantry had long ensured him the love and affectionate esteem of all who personally knew him. The steps which the different bodies of the Roman Catholics were pursuing under these confidential expectations were publicly known and alluded to in the different prints of the day, without any pretension to secrecy. It was justly observed by that nobleman, that *the jealousy and

* 1 Letter to lord C.

alarm, which at a certain period of lord Westmoreland's administration pervaded the minds of the Protestant body, then existed no longer; when not one Protestant corporation, scarcely an individual had come forward to deprecate and oppose the indulgence claimed by the higher orders of Catholics; when even some of those who were then their most violent opposers declared the indulgences now asked to be only the necessary consequences of those granted at that time, and positively to secure the well being of the two countries. The address of the Catholics of Dublin was presented to his excellency on the 7th of January, 1795:* and was followed up by similar addresses from different bodies; they were all of a similar tendency, and received from his excellency similar answers.† It was a fact publicly known to all and

* One laments to see party bias work up a person in the exalted situation of a chancellor and minister, to give so distorted a representation of the loyal and dutiful act of a respectable body of subjects, evidently calculated to throw a suspicion of treason upon the whole body of those addressers. (*Lord Clare's speech*, p. 66.) "An address to lord Fitzwilliam in the name of their body" was voted, and at the front of the committee appointed to greet the king's representative under the auspices of his self avowed minister, stand the names of Dr. William James M'Neven, Mr. John Sweetman, and Mr. Richard M'Cormick, all of them self-convicted traitors. Mr. M'Neven has very candidly acknowledged that Catholic emancipation was always a mere pretence, and that if he and the worthy gentleman with whom he acted, had been enabled to succeed in their projects, they would as soon have established the Mahometan as the Popish religion. It was originally a pretence for "rebellion, &c."

† In order to shew how little treasonable these addresses were in their origin, tendency, or expressions, I have selected one by way of sample, presented to his excellency by lord Kenmare and the titular bishop, from the Roman Catholics of the county of Kerry.

"To his Excellency, &c.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

"WE, his majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Catholics of the county of Kerry, beg leave to approach your excellency on your appointment to the government of this kingdom.

"Proud of living under a monarch, whose glory it is to cultivate the affections of his subjects, as the firmest support of his throne, we receive with the most lively gratitude as a fresh instance of his parental regards for the interest of this country, his deputing a nobleman to the important station of chief governor, from whose elated virtues we have every thing to hope, and whose gracious reply to our brethren of Dublin, is a sure earnest of the wisdom of his councils.

"Under his majesty's auspicious reign, the Catholics of this kingdom have gradually emerged from a depressed condition to the participation of valuable privileges; when penalties were annexed to the exercise of our religion, we found an asylum in his majesty's lenity, and in the recent concessions of a liberal and enlightened parliament, was recognized the influence of his majesty's example.

"Highly sensible of these favours from which we and our country have derived so many advantages, we trust our conduct will, on every occasion, merit your excellency's favourable representation of our grateful attachment to our most gracious sovereign, his august house, and our invaluable constitution.

complained of by some, that large as the concessions had been to the Catholics in the preceding session, their gratitude for them appeared less prominent in their different resolutions and addresses, than their confidence and expectation of their future extension. It was observed, that the firmly cherished hope of a total deliverance from all disqualifications was so predominant among them, that the former grants had met with a cold reception.

On the 22d of January, 1795, earl Fitzwilliam met the parliament, and in his speech* alluded to the eventful situation of

"When it shall seem good to the legislature to remove the disabilities which still affect our body, we presume to assure your excellency, that we shall rejoice more as Irishmen than as Catholics, and we humbly beg leave to express our confidence, that it will be the glory of your excellency's administration to cement unanimity amongst the people committed to your care, and thus establish an inseparable barrier against the enemies of his majesty's person and government."

* Although the vice-regency of earl Fitzwilliam were the shortest of any during the last century, yet it was pregnant with the most eventful consequences: we give therefore an exact copy of his speech.

"MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

"IN obedience to his majesty's commands, I resort to your councils, at a period which, in a peculiar manner, calls for the wisdom and energy of parliament.

"His majesty's determination is fixed. As long as he is supported by his faithful subjects, he never will be wanting to them or to himself. His majesty has no interest but that of his people, no views but for their happiness no object but their general safety.

"The uniform tenor of your conduct has demonstrated, that you will not only be desirous, but zealous to second and emulate the magnanimity of a sovereign formed to lead a nation, that has ever been as firm to assert its liberties, as affectionately devoted to a government which maintains its own authority for the sole purpose of supporting those liberties.

"As you are thus cordially attached to that sovereign, and to the constitution which it is his glory to protect, I have to announce to you, with true satisfaction, what you will hear with equal pleasure, the intended marriage of his royal highness the prince of Wales, with the princess Carolina Amelia Elizabeth, daughter of his most illustrious highness the duke of Brunswick and Lunenburgh, a princess of that illustrious house to whose mild and constitutional sway these kingdoms are highly indebted for the blessings they enjoy; this marriage promises the perpetuation of the same blessings under the same house.

"I have it also in command to inform you, that his majesty has concluded a treaty of amity, commerce and navigation with the United States of America, in which it has been his majesty's object to remove as far as possible, all grounds of jealousy and misunderstanding, and to improve an intercourse beneficial to both states. As soon as the ratification of this treaty shall have been exchanged, and I shall have received a copy of it, I will direct it to be laid before you, in order that you may consider whether it will be necessary that you should make any provisions for carrying into effect a treaty, in which the commerce of this kingdom is so materially and extensively interested.

"GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

"I have directed the estimates of the public service, and the state of the public accounts, to be laid before you.

"His majesty has that assured confidence grounded on a long and uniform experience of your loyalty and your zeal for his service, and the good of

the British empire, and called upon them to lend their aid to its support in those extraordinary circumstances. Immediately after the speech had been read, Mr. Grattan (whom not having received any place, lord Clare called, the self-avowed Minister

" your country, that I think it unnecessary to press you in any particular manner to make a provision adequate to the present awful situation of affairs.

" It is with pleasure I acquaint you, that this provision will in some degree be facilitated by the circumstance, that, during the existence of such a war as the present, the public revenue, together with the commerce of the kingdom, has kept up, and has even been augmented : advantages, which are due to the care and vigilance of our sovereign, in the general protection provided by him for his subjects.

" MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

" I earnestly recommend to you a continuance of the laudable pains you have constantly taken to cultivate all your domestic advantages in commerce, in manufactures, and in such public works as have appeared directed to promote those important objects. These are the true foundations of all public revenue and public strength. Your endeavours have had their fruit.

" The great staple manufacture of this kingdom has increased beyond the most sanguine expectations ; an advantage principally owing to the constant superintendence and wise provisions of the parliament of Ireland, and next to those, to the assured liberal and most merited encouragement, which it receives in the rich and extensive market of Great Britain ; a circumstance tending to cement the union and to perfect the harmony which happily subsists, and I trust will subsist for ever between the two kingdoms.

" Attached as you are to the general cause of religion, learning and civilization, I have to recommend to your consideration, the state of education in this kingdom, which in some parts will admit of improvement, in others may require some new arrangements ; considerable advantages have been already derived under the wise regulations of parliament from the Protestant charter-schools, and these will as usual claim your attention ; but as these advantages have been but partial, and as circumstances have made other considerations connected with this important subject highly necessary, it is hoped, that your wisdom will order every thing relating to it in the manner most beneficial, and the best adapted to the occasions of the several descriptions of men which compose his majesty's faithful subjects in Ireland.

" We are engaged in an arduous contest ; the time calls not only for great fortitude, and an unusual share of public spirit, but for much constancy and perseverance. You are engaged with a power, which, under the ancient forms of its internal arrangement, was always highly formidable to the neighbouring nations. Lately this power has assumed a new shape, but with the same ambition, with much more extensive and systematic designs, far more effective, and without comparison more dreadful in the certain consequences of its eventual success ; it threatens nothing less than the entire subversion of the liberty and independence of every state in Europe : an enemy to them all, it is actuated with a peculiar animosity against these kingdoms, not only as the natural protection of the balance of power in Europe, but also because, by the possession of a legal, humane, and rational freedom, we seem to reproach that false and spurious liberty, which in reality is an ignominious servitude, tending to extinguish all good arts, to generate nothing but impiety, crime, disorder, and ferocious manners, and to end in wretchedness and general desolation.

" To guard his people from the enterprises of this dangerous and malignant power, and for the protection of all civilized society against the inroads of anarchy, his majesty has availed himself of every rational aid, foreign and domestic ; he has called upon the skill, courage and experience of all his

of lord Fitzwilliam) rose to move the address. "The speech from the throne," said he, "goes to three great objects: the preservation of Europe, the harmony of the present generation, and the education of the future. We cannot debate the causes of the war; we deliberate the present state of it; Europe's danger, and our own. When France covered more ground in Europe, and when France took Brabant, conquered Flanders, invaded Holland, she made war on Ireland. You know enough of the levels of Europe to foresee that that great ocean, that inundation of barbarity, that desolation of infidelity, that dissolution of government, and that sea of arms, if it swell over the continent, must visit our coasts. Do not depreciate so much your danger or pre-eminence, as to imagine you are no more concerned in the evils of the times, than to read the gazette which relates them; nor forget that you have raised your head too high on the globe, not to encounter the storm. If the continent of Europe belong to France, if all the coast from Holland to Brest belong to France, this island must sink to the bottom of the ocean. You cannot divide the western empire; the continent to the French, and Ireland to herself; this is not like your other wars; this is not like the American war: in that war, the object was, tax the last colony; but no matter, many of the best friends of this country opposed that war; but when the French interposed, when the ancient enemy of these realms, the eternal rival in all shapes, monarchical or republican, of Great Britain, the same men took a decided part against France; for it has been the long habit of this country, to consider her in every new shape as the old enemy; nor is this like the seven years war; there the object was, a distant territory in another hemisphere, and with which you are not to trade; yet then you took the field, voted armies, and incurred a debt, wisely if you mean to go on with England, idly if you go back now: nor is this like the Spanish convention of 1790, and yet on the sound of that war you voted a loan.

"subjects, wheresoever dispersed. And you must be duly sensible, in such a crisis as the present, which rarely occurs in the course of human affairs, of the advantage of thus endeavouring to profit of the united strength and zeal of every description of his subjects

"I have to assure you of his majesty's most cheerful concurrence in every measure which your wisdom and comprehensive patriotism shall point out for this salutary purpose.

"On my part, you shall find me, from principle, and from inclination, thoroughly disposed to concur with his majesty's paternal wishes, and with the wise measures of his parliament. On a cordial affection to the whole of Ireland; and on a conduct suitable to that sentiment, I wish to found my own personal estimation and my reputation in the execution of the great trust committed by the most beneficent of sovereigns to my care."

“ Nootka Sound, a strip of land, a barren island, a remote and uncultivated tract ; the speculation of the produce of a waste, or the vision of a punctilio of honour, do not now, as once, kindle Europe to arms ; it is Europe herself, and her islands that are at stake ; princes, potentates, her orders and degrees, the creature and the Creator, man and the Godhead. It follows from this, that the present object of the war is not, because it cannot be, to interfere with the internal government of France, but rather prevent her interference with every realm and government, systematic or actual, by arms, by intrigues, or by money. Little does the present state of the war attack the liberty of France : I wish she had liberty : I wish there was any thing in her internal situation that promised liberty to herself, or security to Europe.

“ No nation understands liberty, perhaps better than you do. Did you in your struggles ever imagine such a species of liberty ? Her liberty is death, and her state Bedlam ; where the sceptre is broken into ten thousand scorpions in the hands of ten thousand maniacs, scourging one another for offences, that are only exceeded by the barbarity, with which they are punished : however, that is not now the question, nor is the question on the causes of the war, but the actual state of it.....the danger of Europe, the danger of Ireland ; and as formerly you struggled for the British constitution, in opposition to the claim of the British parliament, so now you contend, in conjunction with Great Britain, for that constitution against France, and for that constitution with every thing beside included, you fight for your island. To be weak at any time, is to be miserable ; but to be weak at this time, is to be nothing. You gave to the cause your troops, but you must give your heart along with them, and promote the courage of your troops by the gallant sympathy of your councils. By opposing France, you have made a determined enemy ; by leaving England, you would secure a suspicious friend : pushed as she now is for her trident, she will never forget your cordiality, or forgive your coldness. On the supposition of your coldness, she will say, that in her days of triumph you talked plausibly to her ; and she will as plausibly leave you, accordingly, to all the evils that are common to the empire, without the participation of its pride or its prosperity, she will leave you to a species of government and connexion supported by job ; when a few, affecting to monopolize the loyalty of the country, would monopolize the powers of government, and would rule you with a rod of iron ; but on the supposition of your cordiality.....on the supposition that the nation puts her own image on her own loyalty, and takes a leading part in cultivating British connexion against

" French designs.....then Britain must regard your people as 'an
 " invaluable ally, and their free constitution as an active and vital
 " principle of her empire. This cordiality is your dower....not
 " liberty : for that you would surrender; nor money, for that
 " you do not in any considerable amount possess; not your men,
 " numerous and brave as they have flocked to your standard : no,
 " it is your disposition. What is that disposition? An absolute
 " unqualified anti-gallicism of sentiment! Your hands are valu-
 " able, but that is inestimable, and in that sentiment those hard
 " hands bring a better dower than the riches of the East.....
 " No heiress Ireland, but an unadorned bride! And yet, in
 " that one marriageable sentiment, she will prove to the empire
 " the fruitful mother of invaluable blessings; the garden of the
 " empire is before her.....but touch not the plant of Gallic growth,
 " its fruit is death, though it be not the tree of knowledge.

" Accordingly you perceive his majesty thanks you for your
 " extraordinary efforts, for those exertions of generosity and
 " courage which animated the allegiance, and now constitute
 " the character of your country; but above all, he thanks you
 " for that inestimable disposition to exercise those free and in-
 " dependent constitutional powers so illustriously obtained, in
 " support of the throne; in cultivating the connexion, and in
 " maintaining the high station you now possess in Europe, in
 " opposition to the natural enemy of these kingdoms, and to
 " principles incompatible with any form or system of liberty or
 " government; but to be attached to one another, external energy
 " must arise from internal union, and without that, your attach-
 " ment to England, and your allegiance to the king, though ex-
 " tremely honourable, would be entirely useless.

" His majesty therefore, in the second part of his speech re-
 " commends national harmony; he bids perpetual peace to all
 " your animosities; he touches with the sceptre those troubled
 " waters, which have long shattered the weary bark of your
 " country, under her various and false pilots, for ages of insane
 " persecution and impious theology; it is a pious and profound
 " recommendation, which enlightened the speech of 1793, when
 " the olive descended from the throne: on the experiment of
 " that advice, he congratulated the liberality of parliament—he
 " spreads his parental wings over all his children—discerning
 " with parental affection and a father's eye, in the variety of
 " their features, the fidelity of their resemblance.

" The union of all the property of the country in support of
 " the laws, and all the talents in support of the property, with
 " measures to redress and to unite, accompanied with a graci-
 " ousness of manner to the subject, that he may feel not only a
 " privilege under the government, but a pride in the condition

of being a subject: another pledge of his allegiance, is an experiment worthy of a wise government, whose primary object is your prosperity, and whose secondary object is your love; a government, looking in its arrangement of measures for the constitution, a solid strength, and for itself an honest power, to administer the country according to its confidence in pursuit of its advantages, with a spirit too high for resentment, and alike superior to plunder or proscription.

From the union of the present generation, the public care of the speech proceeds to the education of the rising generation.

On this subject it is intended, that a plan should be submitted for colleges for the education of Catholic clergy, who are now excluded from the continent; and also two or more colleges, where the children of the Protestant clergy shall be in a great proportion on the foundation, and where the patronage of the minister will be less considered than that of the University.

Of the disturbances in Meath and the borders, the speech is silent; wisely, lest it should magnify a banditti into a rebellion, implicate the lower orders in the crime of a gang of robbers, and bespeak on the part of his majesty, any thing less than a complete satisfaction in the loyalty of all his people.

But though the mischief has not been stated, the thing has not been neglected; on the contrary, means have been taken already, and further means will be resorted to: and if the laws, when put in full execution, are not sufficient, parliament will be resorted to for power to extinguish a banditti, which cannot be tolerated by any government, and must now prepare to forfeit either their lives or their practices.

There is a part of the speech, on which no subject and no Irishman can speak without emotions of joy and affection—the marriage of his royal highness the prince of Wales, an event the most auspicious; whether we consider the mild government of his family, the blessings this country has derived under his father, or the qualities of the august personage himself, a blessing to these countries; but I should think him doubly a blessing, if he shall communicate to posterity the graciousness of his manners, or the perfections of his mind.

This speech of Mr. Grattan's explicitly pledged the principles of the new lieutenant's government to the Irish nation; and it becomes essentially necessary to weigh them maturely, in order to bring within their bearing the particular measures, which were afterwards brought forward by his excellency. Mr. Duquerry was the only person in the house who did not consent to wave the original cause of the war, which he reprobated with

pointed severity : to him Mr. George Ponsonby very fully replied ; and the motion for the address was carried without a division : as was also the motion of Mr. Conolly for an address* to the lord lieutenant : and a committee was appointed to prepare them.

* The unanimous sentiments of the House of Commons towards earl Fitzwilliam, who was so soon recalled, and whose recall produced such a change of measures in government and disposition in the people as will be hereafter noticed, are given for the satisfaction of the reader.

" To his excellency WILLIAM, earl FITZWILLIAM, lord lieutenant general
" and general governor of Ireland.

" The humble address of the knights, citizens, and burgesses, in parliament
" assembled.

" MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

" WE, his majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the commons of Ireland, in parliament assembled, beg leave to return your excellency our sincere thanks for your most excellent speech from the throne. We assure your excellency, that we consider his majesty's appointment of your excellency to be our chief governor, as a signal instance of his majesty's attention to the interests, and condescension to the wishes of his people of Ireland ; that we are convinced, that in your excellency we shall always find a ready concurrence with his majesty's paternal wishes, and with the wise measures of his parliament, for the happiness of his subjects. That on a cordial affection to the whole of Ireland, and on a conduct suitable to that sentiment, your excellency wishes to found your own personal estimation and your reputation, in the execution of the great trust committed by the most beneficent sovereign to your care. On our part, your excellency may depend upon a firm and affectionate support, prompted by inclination as much as by duty. We shall second, with peculiar pleasure, the measures of a chief governor, no less remarkable for his unshaken loyalty to his sovereign than for his invincible attachment to the rights and liberties of the people, and whose possessions in this country, however ample, afford a pledge much less valuable than his character for his attention to its interests. We return your excellency our sincere acknowledgments for the kind opinion you have expressed of our conduct ; and we assure your excellency, we shall not only be desirous, but zealous to emulate the magnanimity of a sovereign, formed to lead a nation that has ever been as firm to assert its liberties, as affectionately devoted to a government which maintains its own authority for the sole purpose of supporting those liberties.

" Cordially attached as we are to that sovereign, and to that constitution which it is his glory to protect, we warmly participate in the joy your excellency feels in communicating to us the marriage of his royal highness the prince of Wales with the princess Carolina Amelia Elizabeth, daughter of his most illustrious highness the duke of Brunswick and Lunenburg ; a princess of that illustrious house to whose mild and constitutional sway these kingdoms are highly indebted for the blessings they enjoy ; and which we trust will, by this marriage, be perpetuated under the same house.

" The communication which your excellency has made to us by his majesty's commands, of his majesty's having concluded a treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation with the United States of America, we receive with the highest pleasure ; and we entertain a perfect conviction, that it has been his majesty's object to remove, as far as possible, all grounds of jealousy and misunderstanding, and to improve an intercourse beneficial to both states : and your excellency may be assured, that so soon as your excellency shall direct a copy of it to be laid before us, we will consider what provisions may on our part be necessary for carrying into effect a treaty in which the commerce of this kingdom is so materially and extensively interested.

In the mean time the Catholics, buoyed up with the firmest confidence of success, were preparing to back their intended application to parliament with all the weight, that time and circumstances could produce in their favour. Their sanguine unanimi-

" We learn from your excellency with the truest satisfaction the confidence of our gracious sovereign in our loyalty and zeal for his service and the good of our country; and we assure your excellency, that we shall not delay to make a provision for the public exigencies, adequate to the present awful situation of affairs. It is a great consolation to us to learn from your excellency, that the revenue and commerce of the kingdom have not only kept up, but even augmented, notwithstanding the war in which we are engaged; advantages which, under the Divine Providence, we thankfully acknowledge to be due to the care and vigilance of our sovereign, in the general protection provided by him for all his subjects.

" We are sensible of your excellency's wisdom in recommending to us to cultivate all our domestic advantages in commerce, in manufactures, and such public works as have appeared directed to promote these important objects, which your excellency justly considers as the true foundation of public revenue and of public strength; and we assure your excellency, that while we reflect with peculiar satisfaction on the success of our efforts for the prosperity of the linen manufacture, we do also gratefully acknowledge, that its rapid and unexampled increase has been materially promoted by the liberal encouragement it receives in the rich and extensive market of Great Britain, a circumstance tending to cement the union, and perfect the harmony which subsists, and we trust will ever subsist, between the two kingdoms.

" Attached as we are to the general cause of religion, learning and civilization, we feel ourselves bound to return your excellency our warmest thanks, for recommending to our care the state of education in this kingdom; we feel that considerable advantage have been already derived from the Protestant charter schools, which shall as usual receive our attention; but as these advantages have been but partial, and as circumstances have made other considerations connected with this important subject highly necessary, your excellency may be assured, that we shall endeavour to order every thing relating to it in the manner which shall, upon the most mature deliberation, seem most beneficial and the best adapted to the occasions of the several descriptions of men which compose his majesty's faithful subjects of Ireland.

" Engaged in a contest which calls not only for great fortitude and an unusual share of public spirit, but for much constancy and perseverance, to oppose the arms and machinations of a power which, under the ancient forms of its internal government, was always highly formidable to the neighbouring nations, but which at present, in a new shape, but with the same ambition, with more extensive and systematic designs, and with means far more effective, threatens nothing less than the entire subversion of the liberty and independence of every state in Europe, we thank your excellency for communicating to us his majesty's gracious intention of calling upon the skill, courage and experience of all his subjects, wherever dispersed, and of availing himself of the united strength and zeal of all his people; and your excellency may rest assured of our cordial co-operation in all such measures as are calculated to carry into execution this wise and salutary purpose.

" We request your excellency to represent to his majesty our unshaken loyalty to his royal person, family and government, and our fixed and unalterable determination to support to the utmost of our power our sister country against the rancorous animosity and dangerous rivalry of her ancient enemy, Great Britain, assailed by France, may rely with confidence on the firm and affectionate support of Ireland; and we intreat your excellency to believe, that we esteem it a signal happiness to this nation to be governed, in such a crisis as the present, by a nobleman whose manners are formed to concili-

ty was too formidable to be damped or disappointed, and lord Fitzwilliam judged, that to defer the consideration of their demands could not be attempted without danger. Mr. Grattan possessed the unlimited confidence of the Catholics, and of the lord lieutenant.* On the 24th of January, Mr. Grattan presented a petition of the Catholics of the city of Dublin, whose names are thereunto subscribed, on behalf of themselves and others his

"ate, and whose councils, we trust, will be directed to unite the whole body
"of his majesty's faithful subjects in the support of the honour of his crown,
"and the safety and prosperity of all his dominions."

To this Address his Excellency was pleased to return the following answer :

"THIS cordial address, justifying with such promptitude
"and alacrity the confidence which his majesty reposes in the spirit and loyalty
"of his faithful commons of Ireland, is of so salutary and animating a tenden-
"cy, reflects such high honour on the national character, and gives so happy
"an earnest of the cheerfulness, vigour, and extent of the national exertion
"at this arduous and trying crisis, that it calls for more than ordinary ex-
"pressions of satisfaction and acknowledgment.

"Such sentiments, communicating themselves from one kingdom to the other;
"such conformity in attachment to the constitution, and in affection for the best
"and most beloved of sovereigns, a spirit so firm and persevering in the support
"of a cause which they consider as common to both; and a determination so
"fixed and unshaken, to stand or fall together, must be as encouraging to
"the friends as formidable to the enemies of the British name and empire.
"Standing on this ground, we have nothing to dread. The disturbers of the
"peace of Europe will see that, bound indissolubly together in interests, in
"principles, and in affection, Great Britain and Ireland disregard their
"menaces, and are determined, under Providence, to check the course of
"their exterminating ambition.

"If any thing could be wanting to complete my satisfaction at this happy
"and auspicious commencement of my administration, I should find it in the
"flattering terms in which you express your approbation of my principles and
"past conduct, and in the generous confidence, with which you anticipate
"future benefits to be derived to this kingdom from my loyalty to my sove-
"reign, and my inviolable attachment to the rights and liberties of the people.

"The stake which I have in your country you naturally conclude ought to
"bind me in a peculiar manner to its interests; but such considerations are
"languid and cold indeed, when compared with the ardent desire I feel to
"recommend myself in this new connexion which I have formed with you, to
"the approbation, the esteem, and the affection of the whole of Ireland."

* Of this matter, lord Fitzwilliam gave the following account:—"When I
"had fully satisfied myself, by every information that I could gain, that this
"was the real state of the affair; and when I found that any attempt of mine
"to stop it for the present would be useless, it gave me great satisfaction to
"find that the business had been put into the hands of my friend, Mr. Grattan,
"by the Catholics, as it gave me an opportunity of knowing every thing that
"was intended, and of consulting upon it with the cabinet in London, previous
"to its being publicly known. When once the Catholics had positively de-
"cided to bring forward this question, even if I had not had previous consul-
"tation with my colleagues on the business, under such circumstances I
"should have thought it right and expedient to gain credit and strength to the
"administration, by yielding to the general wish; but the fact is, that while
"I was following my own opinions and inclinations, I was following their di-
"rections, and I strictly complied with them; when finding that the general
"disposition was not to be resisted, I resolved to give the measure a handsome
"and cordial support on the part of government. The happy effects of this
"determination I fully experienced."

majesty's Catholic subjects; that in pursuance of his majesty's most gracious and paternal recommendation of the situation of his Catholic subjects of that kingdom to the wisdom and liberality of his parliament, which was, in the course of the session of 1793, pleased to remove many of the disabilities, pains and penalties under which the Catholics of Ireland had so long laboured, by a repeal of divers severe and oppressive laws peculiarly affecting that body; that while the petitioners felt the deepest and most lively sense of the wisdom and goodness of parliament, manifested in the repeal of the said penal and restrictive statutes, they could not, in justice to themselves, refrain from most humbly submitting, that the Catholics of Ireland had been, and still were, in a number and variety of instances, prevented from enjoying the full benefits of the constitution of their country, by the existence of certain disabilities and restraints which the petitioners then did, with all humility and deference, presume to hope, on every principle, as well of expediency as of justice, it would no longer be thought necessary to retain; that the petitioners did most humbly presume to suggest to the wisdom of the house, that the most effectual mode to unite in sentiment all his majesty's subjects of Ireland in support of their most excellent constitution, agreeably to his gracious and paternal wish, would be to extend to them its blessings, by the abolition of those incapacities and disqualifications, of which the petitioners presumed most humbly to complain; and therefore praying the house to take the situation of the petitioners into consideration, their loyalty to their sovereign, their respect to the legislature, and dutiful and obedient submission to the laws, they would be pleased to restore them to a full enjoyment of the blessings of their most excellent constitution, by a repeal of all the penal and restrictive laws then affecting the Catholics of Ireland. The petition was ordered to lie on the table.

On the same day Mr. Vandeleur presented a petition much to the same effect, from the Catholics of the county of Clare; and soon after the table was laden with similar petitions from every distinct body of Catholics throughout the realm. Of the intermediate proceedings between the presentation of the first Catholic petition, and the motion for bringing in the Catholic bill, we have the following authentic account from the only source from which it could be procured.* On the 12th of February 1794, Mr. Grattan moved for leave to bring in the bill, which was given with only the three dissentient voices of Dr. Duigenan, Mr. Ogle, and colonel Blaquier.† That nobleman observing that

* 15 Par. Debates, p. 98. † 1st letter to lord Carlisle.

it had been objected to him, that the bill had been brought in precipitately, assured his noble correspondent that that was not the fact. "Leave to bring in a bill has certainly been moved for by Mr. Grattan, but not a line of the bill itself ever produced. There appeared a rising impatience among the Catholics after the delivery of their petitions, which made me apprehend that the measure might be transferred from the hands of Mr. Grattan to those of another, with whom I might have no connexion, and consequently, over whom I could have no hopes of control, or to have communication, however much I might wish it. There was no want of candidates for this honour: there were enough greedy to seize upon it. I therefore desired Mr. Grattan to take possession of the business, that I might be sure of myself having control over the management of the bill. By this means, the plan and extent of the measure is now known only to the British cabinet, to whom I have submitted it, and it remains a profound secret to every Roman Catholic and to every Protestant, except to the very few of the latter description, to whom I have thought proper to confide it. Of these the primate was the first; and ministers are already possessed of his opinions on the subject; they are equally in possession of every information respecting men's minds and tempers, which I am able to give: with respect to the merits of the case, abstracted from the local circumstances, surely it would be presumption in me to dictate to them: I have represented clearly and distinctly my own opinions, but they are capable of deciding and judging for themselves: in the way I have managed, they have an opportunity of doing it before the bill is introduced; so that if they do not agree with Mr. Grattan's, (in which I heartily concur) and if they do not come up to the extent claimed and expected by the Catholics, they have had time, previous to the introduction of the bill, to suggest any expedients, modifications, or limitations, they may think proper to introduce; thus, by my management, government will do this without incurring the odium of narrowing an original proposition, and defeating hopes once realized. Thus, then, I made myself master, as well of the time of bringing the measure forward, as for consulting on the points to be conceded: for, as to resisting altogether, I should have belied my own conviction, and betrayed my situation, if I did not represent, as I have repeatedly done, that it would not only defeat every hope I had formed for the general security and defence of the country, but be attended with the certainty of the most alarming and fatal consequences."

On the 14th of February, lord Milton informed the house that he was commanded by his excellency to communicate to

them his majesty's gracious answer to their address. The only material paragraph of it noticed, that the favourable sentiments which they had expressed of the earl Fitzwilliam, could not but be pleasing to his majesty, as they confirmed those impressions which recommended him to his majesty's choice for the chief government of Ireland. This confirmation of the royal choice of the viceroy, was singularly received and commented upon in Dublin, having been communicated to the House of Commons on the very day which brought tidings that the British minister was adverse to the important measure which the lord lieutenant was thus publicly pursuing. The joy and exultation expressed by the Catholics on the occasion of leave for bringing in their bill, exceeded any similar instance in that country ; but it was suddenly damped by this inexplicable intelligence, and their high mounted expectations fell into desponding gloom.

It has generally been the bane of Ireland, that its government has been seldom carried on upon those open principles of the constitution which never fail to insure the happiness of the governed. Nothing could more emphatically demonstrate the apprehensions of earl Fitzwilliam, that *Mr. Beresford was filling a situation greater than that of the lord lieutenant*, than the issue of this contest for power. A regular correspondence was carried on, as was natural between the lord lieutenant and the British cabinet upon the subject of the delicate, arduous, and important matters, which were to be carried on in Ireland. Not only had earl Fitzwilliam been permitted to quit this country with a plenitude of power and discretion over the Catholic question, but he had acted for above a month upon it in Ireland without even an oblique reference to any difference of opinion in the British cabinet from him upon the subject of the Catholic question. The dismissal of Mr. Beresford had, indeed, been productive of very alarming effects in that quarter. It appears, however, from a letter of Mr. Wyndham's to lord Milton, written on the 2d of February, that the duke of Portland was at that time unacquainted with the alarm, which the intelligence of that transaction, conveyed indirectly to Mr. Pitt by Mr. Beresford himself, had occasioned. On the 9th of February, and not before, Mr. Pitt wrote to earl Fitzwilliam to expostulate on the dismissal of Mr. Beresford : and also on the negotiation with Messrs. Wolfe and Toler : that formed the whole matter of his letter, and to that alone he confined his remonstrances : so far was he from finding any fault with the measures hitherto pursued, and which he well knew, that he concluded his letter by apologizing for *interrupting his attention from the many important considerations of a different nature, to which all their minds ought to be directed*. On the preceding day, the duke of Portland, for the first time,

in a letter to earl Fitzwilliam, touched on the subject of Catholic emancipation, and then bringing it into play as a question of any doubt or difficulty in the British cabinet: and in that letter, as if it had never been the subject of any former consultation, plan, or arrangement whatever, he wrote of enabling the king's ministers to form their judgment as to the *policy, expediency, safety and necessity* of that measure. Then, as if he had never heard from his excellency upon the subject, he cautioned him against committing himself by engagements, or even by encouraging language, (so minute was his grace) to give any countenance to the immediate adoption of the measure. Then, for the first time it appeared to have been discovered, that the deferring would not be an expediency, or a thing to be desired for the present; "but the means of doing a greater service to the British empire, than it had been capable of receiving since the revolution, or at least since the union." The duke of Portland, in consequence of the discussion of the question in the cabinet on the 7th of February, then felt it his duty to exhort the lord lieutenant to use those efforts which he had on the 8th of January expressed his intention of trying, though doubtful of success: but every hope of which, he had expressly assured his grace in a letter of the 15th of January, he had relinquished, when he warned them of the necessity of giving way, and earnestly called upon them for peremptory directions, which, if he should not receive, he would acquiesce. Efforts, which they knew, from the whole series of his correspondence, it was impossible even to attempt without evident and certain danger. Advanced as matters were in Ireland, it appears mysterious that Mr. Pitt, had he been averse from that prominent measure of Catholic emancipation, should have written to earl Fitzwilliam two days after the discussion of it in the cabinet without any allusion to it whatever, excepting such as rather imported his and his colleagues' co-operation in the measure, than their reprobation of it.

On the 14th of February, that is, two days after Mr. Grattan had obtained leave to bring in the Catholic bill, earl Fitzwilliam received Mr. Pitt's letter of the 9th, and the duke of Portland's of the 8th, and on that same day his excellency wrote answers to each of them. That to Mr. Pitt contained a full discussion and justification of his dismissals. But that to the duke of Portland was calculated to bring the business to the real point at issue between them, and to leave him no subterfuge. It testified his excellency's surprise, that after such an interval of time, and after the various details, transmitted to him, advising him of the hourly increasing necessity of bringing forward the Catholic question, and the impolicy and dangers of resisting, or even hesitating about it, he then should be pressed for the first time, to defer the question

till some future occasion. He refused to be the person to run the risque of such a determination; he refused to be the person to raise a flame in the country, that nothing short of arms would be able to keep down. He then alluded to Mr. Pitt's letter; appealed to his knowledge of the situation of a lord lieutenant in that kingdom; and left him to determine, whether, if he were not to be supported, he ought not to be removed. Shortly after came two official letters from the duke of Portland, dated the 16th, in which he entered into a long detail of the various points of view in which the cabinet wished to have the question of the Catholics considered; on the same day with these came a private letter of his own dated the 18th. In this his grace dwells most particularly on the necessity of the cabinet having information submitted to them on all these points of view and a detailed plan of all the additional advantages intended to be conceded to the Catholics. He observed, that if the consideration of that great question could be deferred till peace was re-established, he should not have a doubt but that it would be attended with advantages, which, perhaps, are not to be hoped for in any other supposable case: but he added, "that it was surely going too far, to infer
 " from any thing he had said, that he was desired to undertake
 " the task of deferring it to that period. If the cabinet were to
 " accede, what they desired was, to be justified in that accession
 " by a free and impartial investigation of facts, of circumstances
 " and of opinions, in which, as of reason, his lordship's would
 " have the most decisive weight; and as he had expressed a wish
 " to have the mode considered in England whilst it was still within
 " his reach, to have it limited or modified before the bill was in-
 " troduced, and before the plan was known to the Catholics, he
 " wished to have that plan and the heads of the bill transmitted
 " for consideration."

At the moment of his grace's writing this letter, there was not
 " a fact, a circumstance," or an "opinion" that could have been
 transmitted to him, of which he was not in possession. He
 acknowledged, and often referred to lord Fitzwilliam's letter of
 the 10th of February, in which he had the plan, the oath, on
 which the whole depended, on which every thing that regarded
 the constitution, the ecclesiastical establishment, and the settle-
 ment of property rested. He had the primate's opinion, and
 some ideas that his grace had suggested. The very day after
 he had written that letter, which pressed for more information,
 his grace assisted at the cabinet meeting, that unanimously con-
 curred in the necessity of recalling the lord lieutenant: and in a
 letter of the 21st he summed up all the reasons, why that measure
 was deemed necessary, without one dissenting voice, for the very
 preservation of the empire. "Can any thing be more self-evi-

dent, or, in order to account for the real causes of my recall, did it require that this letter should be accompanied, as it was, by one from Mr. Pitt of the same date, accepting in fact, the alternative I proposed to him, and declaring himself fully prepared for the event, however he might lament it. It is true indeed, that, for the very first time, he mentions the Catholic business, and declares his concurrence in the general desire of the cabinet to prevent any further progress being made in Mr. Grattan's bill, till they should receive and consider the information, which they thought it their duty to call for. Would you not have supposed from this, that to decide on my government, Mr. Pitt meant to wait till he received farther information from me, respecting the important question of the Catholics? No such thing. By the dereliction of all my friends, and by the prospect of my falling alone, he was prepared to throw out this as a matter, on which to amuse his colleagues at the moment, and the public at a future period: while to myself, without allowing a moment's farther deliberation, he boldly and peremptorily pronounces on what I had determined to be the point to decide on my government. "On the subject of arrangements, he felt bound to adhere to his sentiments, not only with respect to Mr. Beresford, but to the line of conduct adopted in so many instances towards the former supporters of government. By these sentiments, he must at all events be guided, from a regard to the king's service and to his own honour, however sincerely he might lament the consequences which must arise from the present situation."

"Need I add any comment on this letter? Need I observe to you, that the measure of the Roman Catholics, on which it is now asserted my administration was determined, is here reserved for future consideration, whilst the subject of arrangements is finally and peremptorily decided. At all events, and independent of every other consideration, his own honour obliges him not to give way on that subject, and however he laments it, he acquiesces in what I had stated to him must be the consequences of such a decision on his part.

"Let my friends therefore, my dear Carlisle, no longer suffer the Catholic question to be mentioned, as entering, in the most distant degree, into the causes of my recall."

That letter of the duke of Portland's was accompanied by one also from Mr. Pitt, which accepted, in fact, of the alternative proposed by lord Fitzwilliam, and declared he was fully prepared for the event, however he might lament it. In that letter he mentioned, for the first time, the subject of the Catholic business, and declared his concurrence in the general desire of the cabinet to prevent any further progress being made in Mr. Grattan's bill, till they should receive and consider the informa-

tion, which they thought it their duty to call for. This language upon the Catholic question seems to purport that Mr. Pitt rather adopted the sentiments of others, than spoke his own. But his language upon the dismissals imported directly the reverse. From the purport of this letter and other circumstances, earl Fitzwilliam was induced to believe, and he published his conviction, that the Catholic question entered for nothing into the real cause of his recall, but that it was solely owing to the dismissal of Mr. Beresford.* Notwithstanding the facts and letters, by

* In confirmation of these conclusions of lord Fitzwilliam, a very strong chain of facts leads every unbiassed man to attribute the extraordinary recall of that viceroy from his government to the preponderancy of Mr. Beresford's interest with the premier, not indeed immediate and personal, but indirect and relative through those who were well known to possess the strongest influence upon the mind of that minister. Mr. Beresford had been, as his friends termed him, *the faithful servant* (as his enemies denominated him, *the servile tool*) of every successive chief governor from lord Townsend to that period. The nature of that gentleman's situation in Ireland did not require any personal communications with the head of the British ministry: consequently his merits could only have been known through the organs of those to whom he so closely adhered. These were the persons, through whom, according to lord Fitzwilliam, the intelligence of Mr. Beresford's dismissal was indirectly conveyed to Mr. Pitt by Mr. Beresford himself; through them those later favourable impressions were worked into the minister's mind, which at last brought it to such peremptory decision against the dismissals, whilst it remained open to information and consultation upon the Catholic question. "Therefore," said lord Fitzwilliam, "let my friends no longer suffer the Catholic question to be mentioned, as entering in the most distant degree into the causes of my recall. Let them listen no longer to that terrifying enumeration of evils and miseries to result to the empire from a measure, which my enemies assert to have considered either as originating with myself exclusively, or as hurried on by me rashly and precipitately, or without consent or consultation. You have seen when the dread of these miseries was first conceived, and when the complaint of this want of consultation was first brought forward. Had Mr. Beresford never been dismissed, we never should have heard of them, and I should have remained. But so remaining, I should have been disgraced. Indeed, disgraced by the failure of all the measures which I had planned for the public welfare, and loaded with all the odium which that gentleman, and his connexions have entailed upon government, to which I had succeeded." Thus in the British House of Peers, lord Westmoreland first set out in praise of Mr. Beresford, whose influence was that of an active and able man, who was zealous in the service of his king and the preservation of the peace and tranquillity of his country: faithful, vigilant and indefatigable in his services: a man of unblemished reputation, who had conducted himself in his high office with so much honour and fidelity. The marquis Townsend wished for nothing more earnestly than an opportunity of meeting any invidious charges against Mr. Beresford. The marquis of Buckingham bore the strongest testimony to the loyalty and attachment of Mr. Beresford to his majesty, and felt himself called upon by justice and gratitude to declare, that during his administration of that country he found him a man of high honour and correct integrity. Lord Auckland concurred in that testimony to the character of Mr. Beresford, who had been twenty-five years in the service of the public. It was evident from the forward and strained eulogies which these noble lords delivered of Mr. Beresford's worth and virtue, that they made a common cause with him, that they considered his disgrace as the condemnation of their administration, and his dismissal as the immediate and exclusive cause of earl Fitzwilliam's

which that transaction has been supported and denied by men of the first respectability, the public mind has never been decided upon the subject. The solemn assertions of a nobleman of the most distinguished probity and veracity are in one scale: the contradictions of a whole set of cabinet ministers, backed by a majority in both houses of parliament, are in the other: the reader will give the preponderancy. Thus properly ended the short-lived administration of earl Fitzwilliam: from which commenced a government of rigour and coercion, the consequences of which will appear in the series of future detail.

The professed plan of the new administration was little calculated to gratify the feelings of those, who had so long concurred in the support of systems diametrically the reverse. On the 17th of February, Mr. Graydon recapitulated the duty of the house in watching with scrupulous vigilance the expenditure of the public money, and the adoption of every practical measure of retrenchment, at a crisis so arduous as the present, when the country was called on for a greater supply than ever was known at any former period.

He professed his determination to bring forward, with permission of the house, a strict inquiry into every branch of the public expense. For the present, he should begin by moving, that a committee be appointed to inquire into the expenditures of the revenue established for twenty years past, the number of additional officers appointed in each year, with the names of the persons, and salary annexed to each office.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, he should not resist the motion, unless it had for its object the censure of the revenue board.

recall. The following part of lord Fitzwilliam's speech in the House of Lords develops much of this mysterious transaction: it was not then replied to, and has never since been answered. "If he had before conceived that the Catholic question was not the genuine cause of his recall, he was now convinced of the fact. The noble earl had returned from Ireland according to his own account, only with the intention to govern it more securely. He had declared that he had, even before his return, Mr. Pitt's promise, that his friends should not be removed from their situations, and he had no sooner set his foot in England, than he had procured these promises to be renewed, and had taken care to embarrass the new arrangement of the administration. To this in so many words, did his own account of the conference with ministers tend. And it certainly was most perfectly true, that the noble earl had taken all the measures in his power to embarrass the future administration in Ireland; for what other purpose could the granting a reversion for two lives of a place of 2300*l.* a year to lord Fitzgibbon serve? He had not been two days in Ireland before he discovered what the noble earl now owned to be the case, before he was convinced of his intention to embarrass the king's government, and that a very perfect system had been formed with the ministers at home for accomplishing that end. That which he had sensibly felt in Ireland was now avowed in England, and it seemed there was no hesitation in acknowledging the course which had been previously arranged."

Mr. Grattan avowed vigilance over the public expenditures, and retrenchment of expenses, as principal objects of the present administration, more especially in the revenue department, where, he was convinced, great abuses had existed. As the honourable member had moved the inquiry, he should have his concurrence and support, and every aid consistent with the variety of his avocations.

Sir Lawrence Parsons wished the measure had been suffered to come from administration, as most likely, in that case, to be efficient.

Mr. Mason professed himself ready to contribute his aid most cheerfully to the inquiry proposed by the honourable member, and he could answer to the same purpose for the commissioners of the revenue.

Mr. Graydon's motion was carried (being only opposed by the single negative of colonel Blaquiere, and the committee was appointed to sit on the morrow.

The resolutions of the cabinet were not instantly followed up by a recall: the fact was confidentially known to many, though publicly avowed by none. The same parliamentary conduct was pursued, as if no such change were in agitation. On the 17th of February* Mr. Grattan, after a few observations on the inadequacy of the police establishment to the protection of the citizens, and the enormity of its expenses, moved the house to come to the following resolution, "that the present police is an experiment found to be inadequate for the protection of the citizens, and exorbitant in its expense; and it is therefore expedient that it be put down by act of parliament, and an institution for the establishment of a parochial watch instituted in its stead."

Mr. Marcus Beresford dissented from this resolution, as going to contradict what the house had so often resolved to be otherwise, and in as much as the police had proved infinitely superior to any establishment for the same purpose.

The question was put and carried in the affirmative without a division. Petitions continued to flow in daily from different bodies of the Catholics: but nothing worthy of particular notice occurred till the 26th of the month, at which time the recall of the viceroy was spoken of as a certainty. On that day sir Lawrence Parsons, who with Mr. Duquerry had hitherto stood alone in opposition to the government upon the question of war, rose and said,† that with the deepest concern he noticed a prevailing rumour, that their viceroy was about to retire from the high station which he filled. He hoped it was false: for that nobleman's public and private virtues not only endeared him to all

* 15 Par. Deb. 121.

† 15 Par. Deb. 133.

ranks of people, under whose auspicious administration, and the talents and integrity of those gentlemen who aided his councils, the people of Ireland were taught to expect the adoption of measures the most salutary for their happiness, conciliation, and prosperity. He trusted that if it were, the right honourable and honourable members opposite to him, who possessed the confidence of government, would say so candidly, and that they would go still further, and state also the cause.

Pausing a minute and receiving no immediate answer, sir Lawrence added, he was sorry to be obliged to construe the silence of the right honourable and honourable gentlemen into a confirmation of this rumour; and he deplored most deeply the event, which, at the present time, must tend to throw alarming doubts on the promises, which had been held out to the people, of measures to be adopted for the promotion of their happiness, the conciliation of their minds, and the common attachment of every class of his majesty's faithful subjects of Ireland, in support of the same happy constitution. If those measures were now to be relinquished, which gentlemen had promised with so much confidence to the country, and on the faith of which, the house had been called on to vote the enormous sum of one million seven hundred thousand pounds, he must consider his country as brought to the most awful and alarming crisis she had ever known in any period of her history.

If the rumoured resignation of earl Fitzwilliam arose from any new restriction on his wishes to realize the professions of his administration, or to fill his high station with honour, his resignation reflected the highest lustre on the dignity of his nature and the purity of his principles; but as he still hoped measures had not proceeded to that length, which must deprive this country at so awful, so interesting, and so critical a period, of the auspices of a nobleman, who came the harbinger and the hostage of her political salvation, he thought the best measure to be adopted was to move for an address to his excellency to implore his continuance amongst them. He had on the spur of the occasion drawn heads of an address for the purpose; to the form or wording of which he had no partial attachment, but should submit it to such alteration and amendment as the house should think proper to adopt.

Mr. Duquerry seconded the motion, and entered on a striking but gloomy picture of the situation of his country, under circumstances so truly to be deprecated as the departure of earl Fitzwilliam, and the defeat of those measures which were to have been the pride and glory of his administration, and most likely the salvation of the country. The rumour had already thrown a gloom over the public countenance, and cast a despondency in-

to the popular bosom, and he could not reflect, but with sorrow and alarm, on the consequence which might follow the going forth of those circumstances to the country.

He justified himself and the honourable baronet from the idea (which he disdained) of a peevish opposition. He confessed he and the honourable baronet differed from gentlemen on the other side of the house respecting a ruinous war, and in some points of taxation, which bore heavily on the poor; but they had, however, agreed in all that they conceived necessary to the prosperity and happiness of the country, and the exigencies of the government; but if after voting the enormous supply of 1,700,000*l.* to save, if possible, the empire from destruction, they were to be deprived of the administration of the nobleman, to whom the people looked up with confidence, he feared the great and salutary measures of reform, retrenchment, and responsibility, would vanish, and the Catholics of Ireland, instead of the accomplishment of their hopes, would have the gate of the castle slapped in their faces, and be refused the blessings of the constitution.

He made severe observations on Mr. Pitt's conduct, who, not satisfied with having involved the empire in a disastrous war, intended to complete the mischief by risking the internal peace of Ireland, making the friends of that country the dupes of his fraud and artifice, in order to swindle the nation out of 1,700,000*l.* to support the war, on the faith of measures which it now seemed were to be refused.

Mr. George Ponsonby hoped it would not be imputed to any idea of disrespect, if he declined to answer the question touching an alleged rumour, and hoped he should be excused for moving the order of the day; the subject was delicate; no man in that house was authorised to admit or contradict the rumour; the house had not any cognizance on the matter to warrant parliamentary proceeding; a day would come, and was not far distant, when he, for one, should have no objection to answer any questions; he suggested the prudence of withdrawing the motion for the present, to which

Sir Lawrence Parsons acceded.

On the 2d of March, sir Lawrence Parsons made a very violent speech, in which he severely reprobated the conduct of the British cabinet, with reference to earl Fitzwilliam. But the great object of the motion he meant to make, was to calm the public mind, to give the people an assurance, that the measures which were proposed, would not be abandoned; that the parliament would keep the means in their hands until they were accomplished; and that they would not be prorogued until they were fairly and fully discussed. He did not pretend to say specifically what these measures were. The first he believed to be the Catholic

bill; and if a resistance to any one measure more than another was likely to promote dreadful consequences it was this. He said nothing as to the original propriety of the measure; but this much he would say, that if the Irish administration had countenanced the Catholics in this expectation, without the concurrence of the British cabinet, they had much to answer for. On the other hand, if the British cabinet had held out an assent, and had afterwards retracted; if the dæmon of darkness should come from the infernal regions upon earth, and throw a fire-brand amongst the people, he could not do more to promote mischief. The hopes of the public were raised, and in one instant they were blasted. If the house did not resent that insult to the nation and to themselves, they would in his mind be most contemptible; for although a majority of the people might submit to have their rights withheld, they would never submit to be mocked in so barefaced a manner. The case was not as formerly, when all the parliament of Ireland was against the Catholics; and to back them, the force of England. Now, although the claim of the Catholics was well known and understood, not one petition controverting it had been presented from Protestants in any part of Ireland. No remonstrance appeared, no county meeting had been held. What was to be inferred from all this, but that the sentiments of the Protestants were for the emancipation of the Catholics? A meeting was held on Saturday last at the Royal Exchange of the merchants and traders of the metropolis, which was as numerous as the limits of that building would admit. The governor of the bank of Ireland was in the chair. An address was resolved on to his excellency lord Fitzwilliam, full of affection, and resolutions strong as they could be in countenance of the Catholic claim. He would ask them, was the British minister to control all the interests, talents, and inclinations in that country? He protested to God, that in all the history he had read, he had never met with a parallel of such ominous infatuation as that by which he appeared to be led. "Let him persevere," said he, "and you must increase your army to myriads; every man must have five or six dragoons in his house." He moved, "that the words in 'the money bill (then before the house) the 25th of March, 1796, should be expunged, and the words 25th of May inserted in their room."

Mr. Tighe, junior, in a few words approved of the sentiments delivered by the honourable baronet, and seconded his motion.

Mr. Conolly complimented the honourable baronet upon the able manner in which he had brought forward the question. If he should not hear something very satisfactory, he would certainly vote for the motion.

The chancellor of the exchequer and Mr. Monk Mason most severely reprobated the motion, as contravening the principles of the very gentlemen who supported it. It was a motion fraught with inconsistency, mischief, and danger. Several gentlemen spoke with great warmth upon the subject on both sides. Mr. Duquerry was very pointed on the conduct of the British cabinet. He intreated the treasury bench not to interfere, but to leave gentlemen to the impulse of their honest feelings. He had long watched the British cabinet, and had ever discerned in it a strong propensity to treat Ireland with insult and contempt. It had done so in 1779, and 1783, and was brought to reason by a short money bill. He pledged himself, that if tried a third time it would succeed. Lord Milton called upon the house to go along with him in the delicate situation in which he stood, and in consideration of the painful sensations of his mind. It was not for him to go into the motives of gentlemen in their actions, as had been done in the course of the debate; it was sufficient for him, to hear their arguments and reasoning, and upon these grounds to form his opinion. But he must say at once, that it was impossible for him to assent to a motion so fraught with danger to the whole empire. What inducement could be so tempting to the Frenchmen to endeavour to land on our coasts as a short money bill? What greater damp could be thrown upon their military arrangements than to find them two months hence as backward as they then were, which must be a consequence if the motion should pass, by retarding the recruiting service. What stronger encouragement could be given to incendiaries, if incendiaries there were in the country, than for the House of Commons to withhold the supplies from government? Seeing so much loyalty, so much spirit, so much attachment to the crown on the commencement of the session, at every part of the house, he was surely safe in relying upon the feelings of gentlemen, and trusting to their moderation. However high the character of the nobleman at the head of the government, however respected, and justly respected, and elevated his rank, if that consideration should weigh against the public cause, he should be very sorry, he should be very much mortified and utterly disappointed.

Towards the close of a long debate Mr. Conolly proposed a mediation or composition: not but that he considered a three months money bill, and one for nine months afterwards, as good security as one for a year. He insisted, that the strength of Ireland lay in its confidence in the present administration. The speaker wished Mr. Conolly not to press his compromise, and the house divided, 24 for and 146 against sir Lawrence Parson's motion. Mr. Conolly then proposed three resolutions: "1. That

"his excellency earl Fitzwilliam, had, by his conduct since his arrival in that kingdom, merited the thanks of that house and the confidence of the people. 2. That to prorogue the parliament before the grievances of which the people complained were redressed, would be highly inexpedient. 3. That the foregoing resolutions be laid before his majesty." The first of these resolutions was carried unanimously; the two other, at the instance of lord Milton and Mr. Grattan,* were withdrawn. On the next day the speaker reported to the house his excellency's answer to the resolution of the preceding day: viz. "that it gave him infinite satisfaction to find by that unanimous resolution, that his public conduct since his arrival in that kingdom, had appeared to them to be deserving of their thanks, and to entitle him to the confidence of the people." On the 10th of March, the house adjourned to the 24th, when the money bills were carried up to the lords,† and the house then further ad-

* 15 Par. Deb. p. 142. It was an unprecedented singularity, that Mr. Grattan should have assisted at a debate of so much importance, and so interesting to his feelings, without joining in it. Although it must be presumed, that the bent of his opinion was for a short money bill, yet the sympathizing respect for the lord lieutenant held him back, lest it should be objected, that the objects they contended for, were men, not measures; and that rather than fail, they were ready to obstruct the business and counteract the welfare of the nation. Mr. Barrington, who opposed the motion, not inaptly represented the government in an unexampled situation: officers without offices, and ministers without place or responsibility; with particular allusion to Mr. Grattan.

† The following was the speech on delivering the money bills: "The commons attend your excellency with their supplies, which go to the utmost extent of every estimate and desire laid before them by his majesty's ministers, and are much larger than have been ever granted in any one session; but it is their determined resolution at all times to stand or fall with Great Britain; and that resolution is now, if possible, still more strengthened by every circumstance of foreign and internal consideration in these eventful times, they therefore feel it their duty, their interest, and their anxious wish, to support the empire through the present unprovoked and destructive war, with all that is most dear to them, their lives and fortunes.

"In their appropriation of these supplies, they have shewn their early attention to the sure and national strength of the British empire, her navy, by granting 200,000*l.* for procuring seamen; and they have provided for augmenting the militia, an institution which, by the indefatigable exertions both of men and officers, is the admiration, and will be the salvation of this kingdom.

"It is owing to the unexampled prosperity and growing resources of the nation, that they now offer to his majesty, without laying much additional burthen on the people, or lessening those bounties and pecuniary encouragements under which trade and manufactures have increased and are increasing, and the same causes have allowed them, amidst these liberal supplies, to gratify his majesty's paternal benevolence, and their own anxious feelings, by relieving all the poorer classes from the tax of hearth-money.

"Satisfied, however, that those resources and that prosperity cannot be permanent without an effectual attention to the sobriety of the people, to their morals, and peaceable subordination to the laws, they have, by an ar-

journed to the 13th of April, in order to allow time for the new arrangements.

The report of earl Fitzwilliam's intended removal was no sooner credited, than an universal despondency, in some instances bordering on desperation, seized the whole nation. Meetings were formed throughout the kingdom, in order to convey to their beloved and respected governor, their high sense of his virtue and patriotism, and their just indignation at his and their country's enemies. The deep and settled spirit of discontent which at this time pervaded all ranks of people, was not confined to the Catholics. The Dissenters and as many of the Protestants of the establishment, as had not an interest in that monopoly of power and influence, which earl Fitzwilliam had so openly attacked and so fearfully alarmed, felt the irresistible effect: all good Irishmen beheld with sorrow and indignation, the reconciliation of all parties, interests, and religions defeated, the cup of national union dashed from their eager lips, and the spirit of discord let loose upon the kingdom with an enlarged commission to inflame, aggravate, and destroy. Such were the feelings, and such the language of those, who deplored the removal of that nobleman, in the critical moment of giving peace, strength, and prosperity to their country. And how large a part of the Irish nation lamented the loss of their truly patriotic governor, may be read in the numberless addresses and resolutions, that poured in upon him both before and after his actual departure, expressive of their grief, despair, and indignation at that ominous event. They came from every description of persons, but from Right Boys, Defenders, and the old dependants upon the castle. The Catholics of Dublin took the lead, and the most effectual means they could devise for preventing the removal of lord Fitzwilliam from his government: * they deputed three of their body to pre-

" rangement of duties, which promises also an increase of revenue, relieved
 " the brewery from all restriction of taxes, so as to give it a decided advan-
 " tage over the distillery, and thereby discourage the too frequent or immo-
 " derate use of spirituous liquors, a measure which must conduce to sobriety,
 " tranquillity and content, and under which the people, encouraged to regular
 " industry, and the consequent acquisition of wealth, must feel the blessings
 " of the happy constitution under which they live, and cherish and preserve it
 " from all change or innovation."

* At a most numerous and respectable meeting of the Catholics of the city of Dublin, convened by public notice, at the chapel, Francis street, on Friday the 27th of February, 1793.

EDWARD BYRNE, in the chair.

The gentlemen who summoned this meeting, viz. Mr. Byrne, Mr. Hamill, Mr. M'Donnel, Dr. Ryan, Dr. M'Nevin, Mr. Keogh, Mr. Braughall, Mr. Sweetman, Mr. M'Cormick, having stated that a report was circulated, with great confidence, that the bill for the total emancipation of the Catholics of Ireland was, under the influence of the British cabinet, to be resisted in-par-

sent a petition to the king at the levee, praying on behalf of their body, that his majesty would be graciously pleased to continue his excellency in the government of Ireland.

liament; and consequently that this country was soon to be deprived of our present valuable and most respected viceroy.

"*Resolved* unanimously, that the said gentlemen do forthwith frame an address to his majesty, expressive of our feelings in the present momentous and alarming crisis."

And the said address having been accordingly prepared and read, paragraph by paragraph,

"*Resolved*, with one dissentient to one paragraph only, that the said address do stand as the address of the Catholics of Dublin.

"*Resolved* unanimously, that Edward Byrne, esq. John Keogh, esq. and Baron Hussey, of Galtrim, be and are hereby requested to present the said address to his majesty in person.

"*Resolved* unanimously, that the above gentlemen be directed to frame and deliver proper instructions to our deputation, now appointed to present our address to his majesty.

"*Resolved* unanimously, that it appears to this meeting, that his excellency earl Fitzwilliam is about to depart from this country a singular and splendid instance of a viceroy: sacrificing power and situation to the interest of Ireland; in consequence as we apprehend, of a negative put upon his virtuous attempts to reform inveterate abuses in the government; to call to his councils men possessing the confidence of the nation, and to receive to the bosom of the constitution a whole people.

"*Resolved* therefore, unanimously, that an address expressive of our esteem, veneration, and affection for our present viceroy, and of our sincere anxiety at the reports of his speedy departure, be forthwith prepared."

And the same having been accordingly prepared and read, paragraph by paragraph,

"*Resolved* unanimously, that the said address do stand as the address of the Catholics of Dublin, and that it be presented to his excellency in the most respectful manner.

"*Resolved* unanimously, that the above gentlemen be, and are hereby intrusted in our name, and on our behalf, to address the right honourable Henry Grattan, the mover of our bill, and the other noblemen and gentlemen, who engaged to second and support it, and to testify to them the grateful sense we entertain of their liberality, patriotism and justice.

"*Resolved* unanimously, that the sincere thanks of this meeting be, and are hereby presented to the inhabitants of Belfast, for their early, steady, and uniform support of Catholic emancipation; a conduct which at once evinces their love of liberty, their loyalty to their sovereign, and their attachment to the principles of the constitution.

"*Resolved* unanimously, that the thanks of the Catholics of Dublin, being justly due, are hereby most respectfully offered to the gentlemen who summoned this meeting, for their very proper conduct and spirited exertions on our behalf.

"*Resolved* unanimously, that a report of the state of the Catholics, from the passing of the late act in their favour, to this day be prepared, and that the said report be laid before the Catholics of Dublin at their next meeting."

Mr. Byrne having left the chair, and Mr. Braughall having taken it,

"*Resolved* unanimously, That our thanks are presented to Edward Byrne, esq. for his very proper and dignified conduct in the chair.

"By order of the meeting.

"RICHARD M'CORNICK, Sec'y."

On the 5th of March, the duke of Leinster in the House of Lords rose, at a late hour, and after prefacing what he was about to propose, with a warm and affectionate eulogy upon the character of lord Fitzwilliam, moved the following resolution, "that his excellency earl Fitzwilliam, since his arrival in this kingdom, has by his public conduct merited the thanks of this house, and the confidence of the country." Lord Dillon opposed the motion: all he found, that his excellency had done since his arrival, was to displace certain gentlemen from office, by which an expense of 2200*l.* per annum had been imposed on the country. Earl Portarlington supported the resolution: spoke highly in commendation of the lord lieutenant, and asserted, that he had done more for the advantage of the country in some few weeks, than others had done in so many years. The marquis of Waterford, though he had always from his youth wished well to the Roman Catholics, thought they were more personally indebted to the beneficence of their sovereign than to his lieutenant, and was against the motion. Lord Dunsany supported and the bishop of Cloyne opposed the resolution. Lord Glentworth opposed the resolution, and launched out into a panegyric on the Westmoreland administration. Lord Donoughmore spoke the most at large and vehemently in support of the resolution. It was impossible that every one should not know, in how eminent a degree the noble earl possessed the confidence of the country. He referred to the addresses of affection and respect from without doors, which had been pouring in from every corner of the kingdom; all descriptions of persons, all political and all religious opinions blended in one unanimous expression of reliance upon his excellency's virtues, and the principles of his administration. He referred to the agreement of the Commons on every great question touching his excellency's government, their unanimous adoption of a similar resolution, and above all, to the extraordinary magnitude of the supply, vast beyond precedent, and confided to his excellency with a confidence wholly unexampled. The bishop of Ossory warmly supported the resolution; he entered with great energy into the commendation of lord Fitzwilliam's virtues: he had come over to that kingdom with the purest views of correcting abuses and establishing permanent peace and harmony throughout the kingdom. He was followed in the same train by his brother of Killala. The chancellor said, he had high respect for lord Fitzwilliam, and was ready to compliment his lordship in any terms becoming the dignity of that assembly: but the resolution brought so strongly to his mind the phraseology of the French convention; and if the noble mover of the resolution would not amend it, he would himself propose an amendment: at which the duke of Leinster was so sore, that

he declared, seldom as he troubled their lordships on any occasion, if he were so unfortunate as to have his resolution rejected, he never would open his lips within those walls again. The chancellor finding that the duke persisted in his resolution, was about to propose an amendment, when the bishop of Ossory moved, that the words, *the confidence and thanks of this house*, should be substituted for the words *the thanks of this house and confidence of the nation*; with which amendment the resolution passed. There was evident propriety in this amendment: for the confidence of the lords was all that was wanting to complete the full expression of the confidence of the whole disinterested and independent part of the people, after the unanimous vote of their representatives in the commons, and the unequivocal approbation of all classes out of parliament.

This period of Irish history has been particularly marked with misrepresentation and obloquy.* That it led to fatal events, is notoriously true. Inasmuch, however, as the most opposite effects have been generally attributed to the same causes by the opposite parties in Ireland, and even in Great Britain, historical justice requires an undisguised statement of the facts. The annexation of causes and effects will rest with the impartial reader.

The ferment in the country was greatly increased by the rumours that were then afloat concerning these extraordinary movements in the cabinets of both kingdoms. No sooner had the original plan of Irish reform been projected and agreed upon by the Portland part of the British cabinet, than Mr. Beresford, who well knew that his political power would be put down, applied to a higher power in order to support himself against the attack whenever it should be made. In the preceding autumn he had flown to England on the first rumour of lord Fitzwilliam's appointment, and had followed his majesty to Weymouth, where he had been honoured with a private audience, in which he is reported to have represented in the most lively colours his uniform attachment to every administration during a period of twenty-five years, his decided hatred to reforms of government of every kind, and the repeated assurances of protection which he had invariably received from that party, which had long been known by the title of the king's friends. Surer protection he could not

* Lord Clare observed, (speech on union, p. 73) "I state with perfect confidence, that the seditious and treasonable conspiracies which have brought this country to the verge of ruin, are the natural offspring of the adjustment of 1782: the convulsion in 1789 gave birth to the Whig institution: the rebel confederacy of the Irish union was an improvement upon it; and we now see the reliques of the Whig institution in the mask of liberty, inculcating the principles, and adopting the means originally devised by the rebel confederacy of the Irish union, to abolish the religion, and subvert the monarchy of Ireland."

have received. By command from the highest authority he attended a council, in which the restoration of himself and friends was unanimously voted: and he received a letter in Mr. Pitt's own hand writing, directing him to return to Ireland immediately and resume his situation at the revenue board; and to assure his friends, the attorney and solicitor general, that the king would not accept of their resignations: and at the same time orders were dispatched to the lord lieutenant of a similar tendency, from the office of his friend the duke of Portland. With the knowledge of these facts, the Catholics sent over the three gentlemen already mentioned, hoping, that as their former refuge to the royal patronage had defeated the combined power of the Irish government and parliament, this second application would at least counteract the private efforts of one or more individuals actually in opposition to his majesty's government. They little knew the vast powers of the internal wheels of the cabinet. By them earl Fitzwilliam's administration, supported as it was by the native independence of all Ireland, was overset with the same facility, with which an exciseman would have been displaced. The nation felt indignant at what they considered an insult and humiliation to the Irish government. The body of Catholics, who had been buoyed up with the hopes of reaping the first fruits of the happy principles of the new administration in their own emancipation, followed a policy perhaps more honourable than prudent, of making the most open and unequivocal professions of the motives, views, and principles, which actuated them in their efforts to attain the full participation of the constitutional liberties of their regenerated country. On the 27th of February, 1795, the Catholics of Dublin, at a meeting in Francis-street, appointed two gentlemen of their body to present an address to Mr. Grattan, which fully spoke their feelings and sentiments of the then political posture of affairs: to which they received an immediate answer,* which has been more censured by the ene-

* As there will be future occasion to refer to this address and answer, they are now submitted to the view of the reader:

" To the right hon. HENRY GRATTAN.

SIR,

" WE are instructed by the Catholics of Dublin to offer you their humble tribute of thanks and gratitude, as well for the eminent services which you have rendered to this kingdom on various occasions, as for your able and generous exertions in their cause. It is not easy to do justice to the merits of a man, whose name is connected with the most brilliant events of his time, and who has already obtained the highest of all titles, the deliverer of his country: but though it is impossible to add to your fame, by any terms we can employ, it must be grateful to you to learn, that you have a place, not only in the administration, but in the affections of your countrymen.

mies, and applauded by the friends of that gentleman, than any thing that ever came from his mouth.

Soon after that answer had been given, the Whig club, of which the leading friends and supporters of earl Fitzwilliam's administrations were members, published the following declara-

"To be thus loved and admired, is surely an enviable distinction. It may not, perhaps, be sufficient to preserve or purchase station and power at court, but to a well formed mind it is a source of purer satisfaction, than the favour and protection even of monarchs or their ministers.

"Few men have had it in their power to do so much for their native land as you have done for Ireland. When you first entered into public life, garrison habits, and provincial prejudices were opposed to Irish interests and feelings; and what was still more discouraging, the different descriptions of people in this country, far from being to meet in a common point for their mutual advantage, were kept asunder by perverse and unintelligible antipathies of a religious nature. Into this chaos of contradiction you infused your spirit, and brought order in some measure out of confusion.

"The first effort of your eloquence, was to rouse the Irish parliament to assert its own independence; and notwithstanding the habits of subjection which particular causes had induced, you were successful.

"At present you are engaged in a pursuit equally honourable to your head, and still more to your heart. As mover of the Catholic bill, you are endeavouring to inculcate the necessity of moderation and justice, where you before inspired courage; and urging men who triumphed over foreign supremacy, to an act of much greater dignity and difficulty, a sacrifice of the prejudices of their youth and education.

"In this work, so full of genius and public spirit, and which goes to the creation of a people, as your former exertions went to the forming a constitution, you have already made considerable progress; and when you and your illustrious friends were called to the councils of a virtuous viceroy, we looked with confidence to the accomplishment of your patriotic intentions.

"Some enemy, however, to the king and to the people, has interposed his malignant and wicked suggestions, and endeavoured to throw obstacles in the way of our total emancipation. But we are far from giving way to sentiments of despondency and alarm. We feel the justice of our pretensions; and we are persuaded that what is just will prevail over the arts of perfidy and falsehood.

"What gives us the most sensible satisfaction, is the general union of sentiment that pervades all ranks and descriptions of Irishmen on the present occasion. Never before did Ireland speak with a voice so unanimous. Protestants and Catholics are at this moment united, and seem to have no other contest, but who shall resent most the outrage that has been offered to Irish pride, in the intended removal of a patriotic viceroy from the government, and you and your friends from the councils of this kingdom.

"For our own part, it shall be our study to cultivate an union so happily begun. We have no selfish or narrow views. We do not wish to acquire privileges for ourselves in order to abridge the privileges of others; for we know that in matters of liberty and constitution, to give is to gain.

"With regard to the men who may have the hardihood to take the situations, which you and your friends are about to lay down, if unfortunately this country such an event should happen, we shall only say, that we do not envy them the sensations which they must take up at the same time; that man's temper must be of steel, who can hold up his head amidst the hisses of a betrayed and irritated nation.

"As to you and your friends, your departure from power will not disturb the serenity of your minds. The veneration and gratitude of the people will

tion and resolution :—" The Whig club at this interesting period, deems it proper to declare its concurrence in sentiment with the several counties, cities and meetings, with expressing their regret at the departure of earl Fitzwilliam from the

" attend you in retirement, and will preserve you from reflections, which must be the portion of those who may be your dismal and melancholy successors.

" Signed by order.

" THOMAS BRAUGHALL, } Secretaries."
" JOHN SWEETMAN, }

To which Mr. GRATTAN was pleased to return the following answer.

" IN supporting you, I support the Protestant ; we have but one interest and one honour ; and whoever gives privileges to you, gives vigour to all. The Protestant already begins to perceive it : a late attack rallied the scattered spirits of the country from the folly of religious schism to the recollection of national honour, and a nation's feuds are lost in a nation's resentment. Your emancipation will pass, rely on it ; your emancipation must pass : it may be death to one viceroy—it will be the peace offering of another ; and the laurel may be torn from the dead brow of one governor, to be craftily converted into the olive of his successor.

" Let me advise you by no means to postpone the consideration of your fortunes till after the war : rather let Britain receive the benefits of your zeal during the exigency which demands it ; and you yourselves, while you are fighting to preserve the blessings of a constitution, have really and *bona fide* those blessings.

" My wish is, that you may be free now : there is no other policy which is not low and little : let us at once instantly embrace and greatly emancipate :

" On this principle I mean to introduce your bill, with your permission, immediately after the recess.

" You are pleased to speak of the confidence and power with which for a moment I was supposed to have been possessed.

" When his majesty's ministers were pleased to resort to our support, they took us with the incumbrance of our reputation, and with all our debts and mortgages which we owed to our country.

" To have accepted a share of a confidence and council without a view to private advantage, will not meet I hope with the disapprobation of my country ; but to have accepted that share without any view to public advantage, would have been refinement of the folly of ambition. Measures, therefore, public measures and arrangements, and that which is now disputed, were stipulated by us—were promised in one quarter, and with assurances they were not resisted in another.

" In the service of government, under his excellency's administration, we directed our attention to two great objects, the kingdom and the empire. We obtained certain beneficial laws—the discovery and reformation of certain abuses, and were in progress to reform more ; we obtained a great force and a great supply, with the consent and confidence of the people. These were not the measures of courtiers—they were the measures of ministers.

" His excellency, lord Fitzwilliam, may boast that he offered to the empire the affections of millions, a better aid to the war than his enemies can furnish, who have forfeited those affections, and put themselves in their place.

" So decidedly have the measures of Ireland served the empire, that those who were concerned in them, might appeal from the cabals of the British cabinet to the sense of the British nation. I know of no cause afforded for the displeasure of the British cabinet ; but if services done to Ireland are crimes which cannot be atoned for by exertions for the empire, I must lament the gloomy prospects of both kingdoms, and receive a discharge from the ser-

"government of this country, have manifested their anxiety for the reform of abuses, and the union of the people of all descriptions; and have also remonstrated against the re-establishment of the old system of violence and venality, necessarily attendant on the return into power of the authors of that system. The Whig club returns its unanimous thanks to Mr. Grattan, for his manly, seasonable, and constitutional answer to the address of the Roman Catholics of Dublin.

"(Signed) THOMAS CONOLLY, Sec'y."

Addresses and resolutions were daily multiplied from different bodies of Roman Catholics, who not content with having addressed his majesty, his vicegerent, and parliament, now addressed particular characters of extraordinary influence or supposed power in the country, as the last resort of this desponding body of men, importuning them to prevent the threatened catastrophe. All however was fruitless. On the 25th of March, 1795, lord Fitzwilliam took his departure from Ireland, when the resentment, grief, and indignation of the public were most strongly marked. It was a day of general gloom: the shops were shut; no business of any kind was transacted, and the whole city put on mourning. His coach was drawn to the water side by some of the most respectable citizens, and cordial sorrow appeared on every countenance. The reception of earl

"vice of government as the only honour an English minister can confer on an Irish subject.

"conceive the continuance of lord Fitzwilliam is necessary for the prosperity of this kingdom: his firm integrity is formed to correct, his mild manners to reconcile, and his private example to discountenance a progress of vulgar and rapid pollution: if he is to retire, I condole with my country—for myself, the pangs on that occasion, I should feel on rendering up my small portion of ministerial breath would be little, were it not for the gloomy prospects afforded by those dreadful guardians which are likely to succeed. I tremble at the return to power of your old task-master; that combination which galled the country with its tyranny, insulted her by its manners, exhausted her by its rapacity, and slandered her by its malice: should such a combination at once, inflamed as it must be now by the favour of the British court, and by the reprobation of the Irish people, return to power, I have no hesitation to say, that they will extinguish Ireland, or Ireland must remove them: it is not your case only, but that of the nation. I find the country already committed in the struggle; I beg to be committed along with her, and to abide the issues of her fortunes.

"I should have expected that there had been a wisdom and faith in some quarter of another country that would have prevented such catastrophe; but I know it is no proof of that wisdom, to take the taxes, continue the abuses, damp the zeal, and dash away the affection of so important a member of the empire as the people of Ireland; and when this country came forward, cordial and confident with the offering of her treasure and blood, and resolute to stand or fall with the British nation, it is, I say, no proof of wisdom nor generosity to select that moment to plant a dagger in her heart. But whatsoever shall be the event, I will adhere to her interests to the last moment of my life."

Camden, who arrived in Dublin five days after, wore a very different complexion; displeasure appeared generally: many strong traits of disapprobation were exhibited, and some of the populace were so outrageous, that it became necessary to call out a military force in order to quell the disturbances that ensued.

Still the rage for meetings and addresses continued. On the 9th of April a most numerous and respectable meeting of the Catholics was had in their chapel in Francis street, to receive the report of their delegates, who had presented their petition at St. James's: when Mr. Keogh reported, that in execution of their mission, they had on the 13th of March presented their petition to his majesty, and had received what was generally termed a gracious reception. That they had afterwards felt it their duty to request an audience with the duke of Portland, the secretary of state for the home department, to receive such information as he should think fit to impart relative to his majesty's determination on the subject of their address. That his grace declined giving any information whatever, save that his majesty had imparted his pleasure thereon to the lord lieutenant, and that he was the proper channel through which that information should pass. Here their mission was determined. Mr. Keogh continued to deliver his sentiments upon the critical situation of affairs, and amongst many strong things, which fell from him, one observation gave particular offence to government. He was not, he said, sorry that the measure had been attempted, though it had been defeated: for it pointed out one fact at least, in which the feelings of every Irishman were interested, and by which the Irish legislature would be roused to a sense of its own dignity. It shewed that the internal regulations of Ireland, to which alone an Irish parliament was competent, were to be previously adjusted by a British cabinet. A very animated debate ensued; in which the speakers emulated each other in enhancing the strength, power, and advantages of Irish union, and some of them like lord Clare, Mr. Conolly, and other gentlemen in parliament, deprecated an union with Great-Britain, to which they saw the present system of measures was obviously directed. Whilst this debate was going on, a very large party of the young men of the college came into the chapel, and were most honourably received. Some of them joined in the debate. They came that hour from presenting an address to Mr. Grattan, to thank and congratulate with him upon his patriotic efforts in the cause of Catholic emancipation, and the reform of those abuses, which had inflamed public indignation, to which Mr. Grattan made an appropriate answer.* The freedom of speech used by the gentlemen who

* The following is the address presented on Thursday the 9th of April, to Mr. Grattan, by the students of the university.

took part in this debate, gave no small offence to the old party of the castle, who now considered their permanence in power as irrevocably fixed. The spirit which actuated them in their whole conduct, was a higher sublimation of those principles, to which the marquis of Buckingham had left his majority in the Irish parliament completely broken in. On the other hand, the great majority of the Irish people sympathized with their senti-

"To the right honourable HENRY GRATTAN.

"WE the students of the university of Dublin, entering with the warmest sympathy into the universal feeling and interest of our countrymen, beg leave to unite our voice with theirs in declaring our admiration of your great and uncommon talents, and a reliance on your steady patriotism and unshaken integrity. We have with sorrow beheld the removal of a beloved viceroy, whose arrival we regarded as the promise of public reform, and his presence the pledge of general tranquillity.

"If this event should be accompanied (as we have reason to apprehend) by your removal from his majesty's councils in this kingdom, our regret will have received the last additional circumstance of aggravation, and our despondency will be complete. Relying, however, on the wisdom and benignity of his majesty, we yet entertain a hope, that the nation will not be deprived of the salutary measures flowing from your councils and advice, and that the harmony and strength of Ireland will be founded on the solid basis of Catholic emancipation, and the reform of those grievances which have inflamed public indignation.

"We therefore intreat you to persevere in exerting the full energy of your splendid talents for the attainment of those objects, which the present alarming posture of affairs and the consenting wishes of the nation so loudly demand.

"THOMAS MOORE, Chairman.

"W. H. ELLIS, Secretary."

MR. GRATTAN'S ANSWER.

"Ingenuous young men, for this effusion of the heart, I owe you more than ordinary gratitude, and am proud to sympathize in your native, honest, and unadulterated impressions. I receive your address as the offering of the young year, a better garland than the artificial honours of a court: it is the work of disinterested hands, and the present of uncontaminated hearts. May that ardour which glows in your breasts long exist, and may the sentiments which you breathe long prevail; they are founded in principle, enlightened by letters, and supported by spirit.

"The subjects which you mention and recommend I feel and shall pursue. I lament the recal of a patriot viceroy. Assisted by men much abler than myself, the reform of that system you condemn, I shall not fail to attempt. Bound as I now am to the rising as well as the passing age, and happy as I shall be, to go on in the service of both.

"I join in your fullest wishes for the Catholics, and I feel the important service, which you now render them, by marking in their favour the sentiments of the rising generation, doing, at the same time so much honour to yourselves, when you give, I had almost said, your first vote in favour of your country.

"I am bound to your university by every tie of affection and duty. The sentiments of your address give me a new and just opportunity of saying to her, through you, *"Esto Perpetua,"* thou seat of science and mother of virtue.

"I am, with the sincerest regard,

"Your most humble servant,

"HENRY GRATTAN."

ments, and confidently congratulated each other at the wonderful progress of liberality and freedom, in defiance of a determined system of coercion and oppression. The height of the political fever of that period gave rise to a most unjustifiable distinction of the nation into two separate classes only. One party that considered every difference from them as tending and intended to bury the constitution under the ravages of a wild democracy: the other, that represented their opponents as a junto of monopolizers, sworn to rivet eternally the chain of bondage and oppression upon their degraded country.

On the 13th of April, 1795, lord Cole, after a short preface, moved a congratulatory address to his excellency the lord lieutenant on his arrival to take on him the government of the kingdom.

The hon. Mr. Stewart seconded the address, professing, that throughout the whole of the session his conduct had been directed by two motives; the one to support his majesty in a war the most just and necessary, in which that country was ever engaged, and the other to give to the executive government of the country the firmest and best support. The appointment of his excellency, he thought likely to promote both those ends, and on that account, as well as from a knowledge of his lordship's private character, he was induced to second the address.

Mr. Grattan said, he would not then enter into a debate on that question, because the gentleman in his excellency's confidence had not yet a seat in the house, but for the present, he should content himself with giving a single negative to the motion, not from any disinclination for his excellency's person, having rather a respect for him, in consequence of the exalted character of his father, but because he felt himself much more strongly inclined to condole with the country on the recal of lord Fitzwilliam, than to congratulate it on the appointment of lord Camden.

The question to the address was put and carried; after which, the house adjourned to the 21st; on which day, the attorney general informed the house, that their address to his excellency had been presented, for which he thanked them, and "trusted, that by a constant attention to the interests of Ireland, and by a determination that his conduct should invariably be directed to promote its welfare and happiness, he should not disappoint the favourable expectations entertained of his administration by the House of Commons."

On the same day Mr. Forbes presented the treasury bill: and a petition was presented from all the freeholders of the county of Tipperary, in favour of their Roman Catholic brethren's pretensions to complete emancipation. Lord Boyle moved an address

of congratulation to his royal highness the prince of Wales on his late marriage.

* Mr. Grattan, previous to the motion he was about to make, observed, that it had been asserted, that in the conduct of the ministers of the crown towards that country, no blame could attach to the minister of Great Britain, or to any of his colleagues. He did not pretend to ascertain the real causes of the recal of the late chief governor, but was informed, that two causes were alleged; as to the removal of certain great officers, he observed, that such removal was matter of stipulation on one side, and engagement on the other. He spoke of nothing of what he was confidentially informed, but asserted what he knew was generally known, and repeatedly communicated; he said, that the leading member of the coalition declared, 'he accepted office principally with a view to reform the abuses in the government of Ireland; that the system of that government was execrable, so execrable as to threaten not only Ireland with the greatest misfortune, but ultimately the empire; that his grace would have gone in person if he had not found a second self in lord Fitzwilliam, his nearest and dearest friend, whom he persuaded to accept the Irish government, and to whom he committed the important office of reforming the manifold abuses in that government.' That he had obtained, with regard to that country, extraordinary power; the information of that extraordinary power, he communicated to his Irish friend; he consulted members of the Irish opposition touching his arrangements of men and measures, and ardently espoused, as an essential arrangement, those principal removals, which were supposed to have occasioned the recal of the deputy; an explanation and limitation of his powers did indeed afterwards take place, but no such limitation or explanation as to defeat either the stipulated measures or the stipulated removals, one only excepted, which never took place. Another question now arose, whether that quarter of the cabinet could without blame recal the viceroy for carrying into execution those specific engagements; whether they could without blame recal their minister of reform, for removing according to stipulation, some of the supposed ministers of abuse; and to continue the ministers of abuse in the place of the ministers of reformation. He therefore concluded, that if the Irish removals were a ground for the viceroy's recal, blame did attach at least to one quarter of the British cabinet.

The second alleged cause was, the Catholic bill. Upon this the principles and declarations of that quarter were decided; the Catholic emancipation was not only the concession of that quarter

of the cabinet, but its precise engagement. His friends repeatedly declared they never would support any government, that should resist that bill, and it was agreed by that quarter with concurrence; and he was informed from persons in whom he could not but confide, of another; that the instruction was, if the Catholics insisted to carry forward their bill, that the government should give it a handsome support. Before he concluded his speech, he thus summed up the acts of earl Fitzwilliam's administration: it had paid attention to the poverty of the people, by plans for relieving the poor from hearth-money, and paid attention to their morals, by a plan increasing the duty on spirits: had paid attention to their health, by proposing to take off the duties on beer and ale: that a plan for education had been intended; that a more equal trade between the two countries had not escaped their attention; that an odious and expensive institution, that obtained under colour of protecting the city by a bad police, was abandoned by that government, and a bill prepared for correcting the same; that a responsibility bill had been introduced, and a bill to account for the public money by new checks, and in a constitutional manner, had been introduced by the persons connected with that government; that it was in contemplation to submit for consideration some further regulation for the better accounting for the public money, and for the better collection of the revenue; that those occupations were accompanied by great exertions for the empire: so that administration established the compatibility of the services, domestic and imperial, and made a good system of domestic government the foundation of unanimity in support of the empire; that in consequence of such a conduct, a war not very fortunate, had ceased to be unpopular, and levies of an extraordinary proportion were not a ground of complaint. In the midst of all this, the British cabinet dissolved the government, and professed to dissolve it for the preservation of the empire. They converted a nation of support into a nation of remonstrance, and unanimity in favour of government to unanimity against her.

He then moved for a committee to inquire into the state of the nation.

Mr. Cuffe, colonel Stewart, and several other ministerial members, strongly opposed the motion, without pretending to disclose the *arcana imperii*; they peremptorily insisted, that earl Fitzwilliam had contravened or neglected his instructions; in evidence of which they remarked, that neither the duke of Portland, nor any other member of the coalition, not even his friends, his dearest friends, lord Spencer or Mr. Wyndham, had resented his recal or abandoned their connexion with Mr. Pitt. In the debate it was observed by Mr. Pensonby, that whilst lord Fitz-

william was at the head of affairs, several gentlemen on the other side of the house were blind to all those imperfections and defects in the late chief governor, which then stared them in the face with such gigantic magnitude: they were then as forward to express their confidence in his deserts, as they were now to declare him undeserving of any thanks or confidence. An avowal was made in observation by Mr. Pelham, which was sharply animadverted upon by Mr. Grattan. It was not in fact very flattering to the dignity or consequence of the Irish parliament. Mr. secretary believed all the sober part of the world, and all men conversant in public matters, would think he best discharged his duty, by not being betrayed into any indiscretion either by the attack of his adversaries, or by the zeal of his friends. A right honourable gentleman (sir J. Blacquiere) had rightly stated, that the lord lieutenant and his secretary acted under written instructions from the cabinet; and that such instructions alone were the proper authority of their conduct: it was not, however, necessary at any time to discover those instructions; they were to be judged of by the goodness of the measures which were produced to that house and the public.

Mr. Grattan replied, that certain doctrines had been advanced on the subject of the British cabinet, to which he could not accede; that it had been argued, that the British cabinet was to govern the executive power of Ireland, that the viceroy's function was only to obey orders, and to be the English agent in the kingdom of Ireland; that such a doctrine was fatal to monarchy in that country; that in its place it established the monarchy of clerks, a government to be carried on by post and under the dominion of spies, who were less than gentlemen, and more than ministers. It was such a base and dishonourable system, that had excited the indignation of some of the Whigs in England, the duke of Portland in particular. It was that system of national degradation and vice-regal extinction, that system in which the clerks dominated and their betters obeyed, that had sunk a former administration, and had excited the scorn and indignation of the country. To the returning prevalence of such a system he attributed in a great degree the recal of the late chief governor. The cabinet were misinformed; they heard appeals against him from the persons removed, and tried unsummoned on the testimony of partial witnesses, the representative of the king. They did this contrary to the confidence which essentially belonged to his office, and contrary to a principle indispensable to government. It was a matter of melancholy reflection to consider how little that cabinet knew any thing relating to Ireland. Ireland was a subject it considered with a lazy contumely, and picked up here and there, by accident or design, interested and

erroneous intelligence. He was well aware how much on a late occasion the friends of the last administration were grossly misrepresented to that cabinet, and how the disposition and temper of the people in general were mis-stated and traduced, and how deaf the ears of that cabinet were to the representation of the viceroy, while open to the tales of the interested and discontented. They had been alluded to as persons to whom blame attached; they desired to be questioned, and they defied their adversaries; they desired it might be remembered, that they were ready to encounter the charge, and that those who made the charge declined the combat. It had been said, that the reform of abuses in Ireland formed no part of the ground of the coalition; he did not pretend to say what had formed that ground, but he did say, that one quarter of the cabinet did assert, that a principal inducement to their acceptance of office, was a reform in the abuses of the Irish government; that it conceived the system to have been pernicious to Ireland, and highly prejudicial to the empire. He said only that one great motive to the acceptance of office was stated to be very extensive powers in Ireland; that the arrangement for which the late lord lieutenant was said to be dismissed, was by that quarter engaged in, and that the Catholic question received decided approbation, and if pressed on by the Catholics, the instruction was to give it decided support. He therefore persisted to respect, but marvelled much at that quarter; he acknowledged he was astonished. The house would see how very natural that proceeding was; a party connected with certain men in Ireland came into power; they wished to advance the persons of their friends, which could not be done without adopting their principles; from the habits of communication those principles and ideas regarding Ireland were common to both; the Irish connexion had their English friends as averse from the abuses of government as themselves, and ready of course to adopt arrangement of measures; they possessed or imagined they possessed great powers regarding Ireland, and stipulated to exercise those powers in favour of the measure of their connexion, who were pledged to a specific catalogue of measures. On the division, the numbers were for the motion 48, against it 158.

Whilst the Catholic college bill was pending before the house, Mr. Grattan presented a petition from the Roman Catholics of Ireland against two provisions contained in that bill: the first was that by which seven of the trustees were enabled to appoint a president, masters, fellows, professors, and scholars, who they prayed might be elected after public examination and under oath in the manner practised in Trinity college, Dublin: the other was that by which no Protestant or child of a Protestant father should be permitted to receive education in the college. This exclusion

they considered as tending to prevent that harmony, union, and friendly intercourse through life, which might be thus early cemented between the youth of different religious persuasions; the happy effects of which had been felt by the permission granted of having the Catholic youth educated in the university of Dublin.*

The 4th of May, 1795, brought on the important debate on the second reading of the Roman Catholic bill. It was opened by the solicitor general, probably upon the grounds, which it had been preconcerted, it was to be rejected by government. He made a long exordium, and went into an historical detail of oaths and tests. He called upon their attention to the most important subject, that was ever agitated in that country, a subject resolving itself into one single question, "Whether they would leave a trace of that constitution established by what he would ever call the "glorious revolution?" What was the bold and prominent feature of that bill? It professed to give every Roman Catholic permission to sit in either house of parliament, and amounted to a dispensation from taking any of those oaths, or subscribing to that declaration, which they would find embodied in the bill of rights at the time of the sacred compact between king William and his parliament of Great Britain, which was soon afterwards recognized as extending the blessings of that glorious revolution to Ireland, had been acted upon ever since, and recognized by several statutes; by one so lately as the year 1782, when they then enacted the same oaths, was dignified by the name of that great man, and excellent lawyer, lord chief baron Yelverton, and which passed under his auspices in the memorable æra of the duke of Portland's administration.

He wished to put this question on a ground which had nothing to do with the principles on which the claims of the Roman Catholics had been hitherto decided. From the first relaxation in 1778, the history of that house had been a history of benevolence, kindness, good will, and affection from parliament to the Roman Catholics: but in that period, there appeared no trace of infringement upon the great boundaries of the constitution; and he relied on the wisdom of that house, not to intrench on these landmarks, which equally demarked the constitution of Great Britain and Ireland. He knew it had been industriously asserted, that the Roman Catholics were in a humiliating and degraded situation; he knew that factious and seditious men made use of that untrue and unfounded assertion to destroy the good order of the

* 15 P. D. p. 201. The act passed however with both these clauses in it. It is entitled, "An act for the better education of persons professing the Popish or Roman Catholic religion." 35 Geo. III. c. 21.

country; and he felt it necessary to undeceive the Roman Catholics, as far as he was able, to bring them back to a sense and knowledge of the blessings of law, and the comforts of tranquillity. In 1778, property in chattel interests was conceded to them; in 1783, the inheritance of the land was opened to them; and down to 1793, scarcely a session passed without recognizing the same principles of kindness towards them; and at that day, they were under no more restraint as to property than Protestants were. The act of 1793, emanating from the crown, and passed under the auspices of a minister of as great consideration and worth as ever sat in the house, was not accordant with the sentiments of some of the most illustrious characters of the country; that act was declared to be an act of conciliation, it was declared from high authority to be intended as such, and from that period it was hoped that the question would be at rest, and the country in tranquillity. At that time certain gentlemen sought to extend the bill to the length of the present one; but the wisdom of parliament rejected the proposal by a great majority. Had any great circumstance occurred since to justify this important alteration in the legislative system? There were not in Ireland fifty Roman Catholic gentlemen who would seek to sit in parliament, or who had the remotest appetite for the bustle of public life: it was not by men like these, that the clamour was raised; they were too loyal, too decorous, too well affected to the constitution to raise such an outcry as had produced outrage in the remotest corners of Ireland, or to inflame the peasantry, who assembled in thousands, because of the mountebank abuse of the word emancipation, which they had accepted as a signal for commotion, and which they were taught to think meant the lowering the price of land. This subject had not originated with the opulent or respectable Roman Catholics, but with factious bodies of men, who under the cloak of sanctity and a zealous affectation in the cause of God, had no scruple to convulse their country, and send the constitution to destruction. He moved that the bill should be rejected.

The motion was seconded by lord Kingsborough, who spoke very warmly against the bill: he aggravated the reports of the debate in Francis street chapel, and laid the whole ferment of the country to those incendiaries, the Committee men, and the United Irishmen. Sir Hercules Langrishe, in an eloquent and instructive speech supported the bill. He well knew, that some men more devoted to turbulence than toleration, had by a suspicious connexion, affected to make common cause with the Roman Catholics, in order to apply the authority of their numbers, and the justness of their cause to their own dangerous projects. Almost every gentleman, who had before spoken in pat-

liament, entered largely into the debate. Mr. Pelham spoke very fully against the bill. Mr. Arthur O'Connor made one of the most brilliant speeches ever heard in the Irish parliament in support of it.* Colonel Stewart urged, that if the bill should pass, the king would be obliged to come forward and demand a repeal of the coronation oath. This infringement of the coronation oath was also insisted upon by some other opposers of the bill, and formed the chief novelty of argument in the debate: every prejudice, abuse, or calumny, that had ever been launched against Popery in the most acrimonious days of religious bigotry were now again brought forward to shew the unfitness of Catholic subjects to be admitted to the participation of the rights and liberties of the constitution. The mildest reason alleged for their exclusion was their superiority in number. The supporters of the bill on the other side were not generally backward in branding the opposers of it with illiberality, prejudice and blindness. Both sides were heated, and more than usually bitter in their pre-

* This speech first raised him into note: he was brought into parliament by his uncle, lord Longueville, who was a supporter of administration: he was so offended with the speech of his nephew, that the next morning he sent for him, and desired him to resign his seat, which accordingly he did.

† The most irrefragable confutation of it is to be found in Mr. Burke's letter to sir Hercules Langrishe; and it seems that the honourable baronet availed himself of several of his correspondent's arguments in his speech in this debate.

‡ As the incompatibility of Catholic emancipation with the coronation oath was now for the first time made a subject of parliamentary discussion, it must be interesting to every one to know how Mr. Grattan, who never left any part of his subject unsifted, treated the matter. 15 P. D. p. 333. "But I find that Catholic emancipation is held incompatible with our monarchy. What! his majesty, the head of a Catholic league, the king of Corsica, the lord of Canada, the great ally of the emperor, the grand confederate of the king of Spain, the protector of the pope; the king of England, whose armies are Catholic, whose European connexions are Catholic, are his Irish subjects, the only Catholics in whom he won't confide? Has he found religion make the emperor false, or the Prussian faithful? Such were not the sentiments of the speeches from the throne in 1793 and 1795, when his majesty called on all his subjects to defend their religion and their constitution. What religion? A religion of disabilities. What constitution? A constitution of exclusion. Am I to understand that his majesty called forth his Catholic subjects to fight for a constitution which was to be shut against them, and for a religion which was dangerous to the king, and penal to the Catholic? No, it was not the pope, nor yet the pretender, it was Paine, it was the French Republic, against which you called for the zeal of your people, and held out the blessings of the constitution. But now it seems it is the anti-christ against whom you place your batteries, the virgin, and the real presence: and in that strain of grave and solemn raving, a right honourable gentleman proposes to take up arms against the grave of Popery, which is shut, and to precipitate into the gulph of republicanism, which is open; perfectly safe for the king, he and those who join him think it, to affront the Catholic subjects, by gross suspicions; others have proceeded to the grossest invective; perfectly safe they think it, to banish them from all places at court and seats in parliament; to tell Catholic virtue, Catholic talents, Ca-

ports upon each other ; although it were made a government question, some of their usual (more independent) supporters left them on this occasion, and at half past ten o'clock in the morning of the 5th of May, the house divided, 155 for reject-

“ tholic ambition, you must not serve the king, you may have property influence, but you must not act in constituted assemblies, nor in any rank or distinction for the crown. Perfectly safe they think it, to establish an incompatibility between Popery and allegiance. Perfectly safe they think to insulate the throne, and reduce the king of Ireland, like the pope, to Protestant guards instead of a people ; and then, it is proposed, that those Protestant guards should monopolize all the powers of government, and privileges of the constitution, as a reward for their disinterestedness. In support of such policy, it has been advanced in a very idle publication, that Roman Catholics, as long as they have the feeling of men, must resist the natural propensities of the human heart, if they do not endeavour to subvert a Protestant king ; but I pass that over with the scorn it deserves. It has been also said that his majesty's oath is a bar. Oaths are serious things. To make them political pretences is a high crime ; to make an obligation taken for the assurance of liberty, a covenant against it ; to impose on conscience a breach of a duty, to make the piety of the king the scourge of his people, is an attempt atrocious in the extreme. Examine the argument, and you find the oath was taken three years before the exclusion of the Irish Catholics ; the oath is the first of William, the tests that exclude them the third ; so that his majesty must have sworn in the strain and spirit of prophecy. Examine a little further, and you will find his majesty swears, not in his legislative but in his executive capacity, he swears to the laws he is to execute, not against the laws which parliament may think proper to make. In that supposition he would, by his oath, control not himself but parliament, and swear not to execute laws but to prevent them. Examine a little further, and you will find the words of the oath cannot support the interpretation :

“ ‘ I will support the true profession of the gospel, and the Protestant religion as by law established.’ This is the oath. I will perpetuate civil incapacities on Catholics, this is the comment. Such comment supposes the true profession of the gospel to stand on pains and penalties, and the Protestant religion on civil proscription. Examine the oath a little further ; and if the comment be true, the oath has been broken, by his majesty's gracious recommendation in favour of the Catholics in 1793, broken by the grant of the elective franchise, broken by the Canada bill, broken by the Corsican constitution. Hear the speech of the viceroy of Corsica ; his excellency having recommended to parliament the civil and military establishment, proceeds at last to the church, and advises them to settle that establishment with his holiness the Pope. Very proper all this no doubt but if the interpretation were true, what an outrageous breach all this of his majesty's coronation oath. I should ask, whether in the interpretation of the oath, his majesty has consulted his Irish bishops ? and yet he could have found among them men perfectly competent. I will venture to say, that the head of our clergy understands the Catholic question better than those consulted ; I will add, he does not, I believe, disapprove of their emancipation, nor approve of the argument against them. But it seems, in matters that relate to the Irish church, the Irish clergy are not to be consulted ; an English episcopacy, like an English cabinet, is to determine the destiny of Ireland. I have great respect for the learned prelates of England, particularly for one, whose exemplary virtue and apostolic character, qualify him to preside over whatever is learned, pure, or holy ; but in Irish affairs, in matters in which our civil as well as our religious interests are implicated, might I say, his majesty's counsellors should be his Irish parliament and his Irish bishops.

ing the bill, and 84 against it. Thus was an end put to the fond and confident expectation, with which the great bulk of the Irish nation had been encouraged to look to for their complete emancipation.

The ready adoption and support, which the majority in parliament had in the first days of lord Fitzwilliam's administration, given to his supposed system of measures, and their unsteadiness and instant tergiversation upon the change of men, filled the people of Ireland with mistrust and jealousies, that have never completely subsided to the present hour. They looked up no longer with any degree of confidence to the persons who were ready to barter their rights and interests to every set of men that could reward their ductility and subservience. This ignominious adaptation of principle to the most palpable contradictions was, in fact, little calculated to command the respect and affection of a nation now emphatically devoted to the attainment of constitutional freedom. Without attributing any peculiar sagacity to the mass of the community, there were two reasons (and every one now reasoned in Ireland) completely within their competency. Extravagancy and violence were pushed to such excess, that grave senators did not scruple to assert, that the peasantry was so brutal, as to mean and understand by Catholic emancipation, a total liberation from taxes and rent, and an agrarian division of property. The meanest labourer could and did understand that by emancipation the Catholic lord, esquire, merchant, mechanic or labourer, was to be put upon an exact level with the Protestant in those same degrees: and the versatility of the same men voting for and against the measure within the space of a month, was obviously to be traced to the true source by the most illiterate.*

"It seems highly prejudicial to the church and the monarchy, that the argument which excludes the Catholic under pretence to strengthen both, should be attended with circumstances that bespeak the Irish hierarchy a cypher, the English hierarchy a nuisance, and represents the king a magistrate as sworn against the privileges of his people. So far am I from agreeing to such an argument, that I must here repeat what I advanced before, and say, that I do not dissent, but I contradict. I do not say the Catholic emancipation is compatible with the present monarchical government in Ireland, but that it is now become necessary to it, and that as for the preservation of the connexion, you must make it compatible with the privileges of three fourths of your people, so, for the preservation of your monarchy, you make monarchy also compatible with those privileges, you must make the regal capacity of the king compatible with the civil capacity of the subject."

* Some questions said in the before quoted memoir to have been put to Mr. Arthur O'Connor in his examination before the secret committee of the House of Commons on the 16th of August, 1798, and his answers to them, seem to throw a strong light upon this subject, (p. 55.)

"Committee. Why, what opinion have the lower classes of the people of political subjects?"

Sir Lawrence Parsons, on the 13th of May, moved a resolution of which he had long given notice, which was debated with more personal acrimony than any question throughout the session. The resolution was,* that "John earl of Westmoreland, by authorizing such a number of regular troops to be sent out of this country, as left the remainder considerably less than the number appointed by law for the defence thereof, had been guilty of a violation of the compact entered into with the crown, and of dispensing with the law of the land."

Mr. Conolly said, that if that motion had not been made by the honourable baronet, he should have felt himself called upon as the mover of the augmentation in 1769, to make it. When he had made that motion, a member, whom very few that he addressed could remember, (doctor Lucas) prophesied that those troops would be maintained and paid by the country during peace, and never suffered to remain there in time of war. The honourable baronet had been properly restrained last session from making the motion, by the state of the country, but now between militia and army, they were able to meet any enemy.

Mr. Grattan observed, that the question was not whether lord Westmoreland had dispensed with acts of parliament, but being by papers on their table convicted of having exercised a dispensing power, the question was, whether the house should proceed to impeach him. It was however met by the question for adjournment, which after midnight was carried by a majority of 83 against 23. The only question of notice that occurred during the remainder of the session, was Mr. Curran's motion

"*O'Connor.* The lowest societies of the union conversed freely of the corruption, the usurpation, and the venality of parliament. While I was a member of the House of Commons, you know the frequent conversation amongst the members was, how much has such an one given for his seat? From whom did he purchase? Has not such an one sold his borough? Has not such a lord bought it? Has not such a peer so many members in this house? Was not such a member with the lord lieutenant's secretary, to insist on some greater place or pension? Did not the secretary refuse it? Has he not gone into the opposition? These, and such like facts, are as well known to the lowest classes of the union as to yourselves.

"*A member of the committee.* Mr. O'Connor is perfectly right; I have heard the lowest classes of the people talk in that style.

"*O'Connor.* The people are conscious you are self constituted, and not their delegates; men who have no other object in view but to advance your own individual interest.

"*A member of the committee.* That we are a parcel of placemen and pensioners?

"*O'Connor.* Exactly so.

"*Committee.* What is the object the people have in view at present?

"*O'Connor.* I believe they have laid by for the instant all idea of speculative politics, and think only how they shall annihilate the insupportable usurpation and cruelty of the British and Irish government, and how they shall best avenge the blood which has been shed, and the tortures which have been inflicted, to support a government they detest."

* 15 Par. Deb. p. 370.

for an address to the crown, seconded by Mr. Grattan: this was also defeated by the question of adjournment without a debate. Mr. Curran prefaced the motion by a very eloquent and impressive speech upon the existing circumstances of the country. The chancellor of the exchequer gave for reason in moving the adjournment, that the time was improper, and the charges in the address were so various and multifarious, that it was impossible to debate them altogether. The address was intended as a recorded publication of the sentiments, and justification to posterity, of the conduct of the gentlemen of the opposition during that session of parliament. The motion was,

“ * That an humble address be presented to his majesty, to assure his majesty of our attachment to his person and family, of our inviolable regard for the monarchical form of government, and of our determination to support the connexion with Great Britain for ever.

“ That we humbly presume to hope we have, on all occasions, manifested those sentiments abundantly;

“ That we are the more inclined to do so, from a conscious sense of the value of Ireland in the present critical situation of the empire;

“ That, in consequence of the part taken by Great Britain, under the advice of his majesty's ministers, Ireland is involved in the present most eventful war;

“ That in consequence of this war, we have greatly added to our annual taxes, and increased, near three-fold the debt of the nation;

“ That we have also assisted the army and navy of the empire with vast numbers of our people, who have in different quarters of the globe asserted, that his majesty must ever command the courage and loyalty of their country;

“ That in this year we continued to increase the annual taxes, voted a loan of near two millions, granted a greater force than ever was paid by Ireland, and made these unexampled exertions with the unanimity of the parliament and the approbation of the people. That we were the more induced to this, from a zeal for his majesty's service, and an attachment to Great Britain, but accompanied with an expectation that our extraordinary grants would be justified to our constituents by a reform, under a patriot viceroy, of the various and manifold abuses that had taken place in the administration of the Irish government, a reformation which we conceived, in the present times, and under such an increase of debt and taxes, indispensable, and which we do, therefore, most humbly persist to implore and expect;

“ That after the supply was granted, and the force voted, and whilst the chief governor, possessing the entire confidence of both houses of parliament, and the approbation of all the people, was reforming abuses, and putting the country in a state of defence, he was suddenly and prematurely recalled, and our unparalleled efforts for the support of his majesty, answered by the strongest marks of the resentment of his ministers ;

“ That in consequence of such a proceeding, the business of government was interrupted, the defence of the country suspended, the unanimity, which had under the then lord lieutenant existed, converted into just complaint and remonstrance, and the energy, confidence, and zeal of the nation, so loudly called for by his majesty’s ministers, were, by the conduct of those very ministers themselves, materially affected :

“ That these, their late proceedings, aggravated their past system ; in complaining of which we particularly refer to the notorious traffic of honours, to the removal of the troops, contrary to law, and in total disregard of the solemn compact with the nation, and safety of the realm, to the criminal conduct of government respecting the Irish army, to the disbursement of sums of money without account or authority, to the improvident grant of reversions at the expense of his majesty’s interest, sacrificed for the emolument of his servants to the conduct of his majesty’s ministers in both countries, towards his Catholic and Protestant subjects of Ireland, alternately practising on their passions, exciting their hope and procuring their disappointment ;

“ That convinced by the benefits which we have received under his majesty’s reign, that the grievances of which we complain are as unknown to his majesty as abhorrent from his paternal and royal disposition ;

“ We, his commons of Ireland, beg leave to lay ourselves at his feet, and with all humility to his majesty, to prefer, on our part, and on the part of our constituents, this our just and necessary remonstrance against the conduct of his ministers ; and to implore his majesty, that he may be graciously pleased to lay his commands upon his minister to second the zeal of his Irish parliament in his majesty’s services, by manifesting in future, to the people of Ireland, due regard and attention.”

On the 5th of June, 1795, the parliament was prorogued with the usual formalities. The lord lieutenant’s speech from the throne expressed his majesty’s acknowledgments for the very liberal supplies, and commended the benevolent relief of the poor from the tax of hearth-money ; the wise foundation of a college for the education of the Catholic clergy ; and the satisfactory arrangement of issuing money from the treasury.

Upon lord Fitzwilliam's arrival in England, the misunderstanding between him and the ministry upon the subject of his instructions, became very serious : and in the result, he was not only condemned by Mr. Pitt, and that part of the cabinet which consisted of the old administration, but was wholly abandoned by those, whom he had reason to call his own friends, the duke of Portland, earl Mansfield, earl Spencer, and Mr. Wyndham. The charge made by the noble lord, who insisted that he followed his instructions in every measure which he had proposed in Ireland, was met by the plea of official secrecy, which equally bound the cabinet, who gave, as the viceroy, who received the instructions. A majority in the cabinet had carried the question of his recall; and, in fact, no one could be more implicated in their common act than the other. On the 8th day of May, 1795, the duke of Norfolk, after having enlarged upon the impolicy, danger, and injustice of recalling earl Fitzwilliam under the existing circumstances, and having offered to the house a most just and candid representation of the state of Ireland, concluded with the following motion:—"That an humble address be presented to his majesty, that he will be graciously pleased to direct, that there be laid before this house, such part of the correspondence between his majesty's ministers and earl Fitzwilliam, late lord lieutenant of Ireland, as related to the motives and grounds of his recall from the government of the said kingdom, during a session of parliament, in which the two houses of parliament had voted their confidence in him, and their approbation of his conduct, and with a munificence unexampled, had granted supplies for the general exigencies of the state."*

The earls of Mansfield, Coventry, and Carnarvon, and lord Sydney, opposed the duke's motion. Lord Fitzwilliam's character not having suffered by his removal, they maintained that no inquiry was needed to clear it up. The prerogative of the crown empowered it to dismiss ministers at discretion: it were unconstitutional to institute inquiries into the reasons for such dismissions; and parliamentary discussions were the more improper, as they might disclose matters that ought never to have been divulged. The dismissal of lord Fitzwilliam proved no more than a difference of opinion on his part, touching the affairs of Ireland, that made it improper he should any longer act with ministers who were of another: neither was there sufficient evidence of the discontents in Ireland, to require any particular investigation.

The earl of Westmoreland decidedly condemned the introduction into the Irish parliament, of the business relating to the Catholics, which he asserted was contrary to the instructions carried

* Par. Deb. p. 468.

from England: their emancipation, he maintained, was repugnant to sound policy, as well as to the king's oath, and the laws of the land.

To this lord Fitzwilliam replied, that the most necessary policy had called upon him to act as he had done. Ireland was in a state of imminent danger from internal feuds and external foes; the Catholics were equally powerful and dissatisfied: the French were become masters of Holland; and thirty-six hostile sail of the line were hovering on the western coast of Ireland: In this perilous situation he had the happiness to unite all parties in a determination to act vigorously for the defence of the kingdom. But could he have effected this, had he not convinced the Irish of the liberal intentions of this country?

He was answered by lord Grenville, who, after alleging the very same reasons against an inquiry as had been adduced, remarked, that were parliament to assume the right of inquiring into the motives for the dismissal of ministers, they might, by the same rule, proceed next to the examination, whether those who were appointed to succeed them, had been properly chosen. This would obviously lead to still more dangerous inquiries, tending ultimately to unhinge the constitution.

After many warm arguments on both sides of the question, the motion for an inquiry was rejected by one hundred against twenty-five.

In the House of Commons very spirited debates also took place on this subject. Mr. Jekyll proposed the same motion that had been in the House of Lords, and supported it by similar arguments. It was stated in reply by Mr. Pitt, that no communication of the correspondence between lord Fitzwilliam and the ministry could be permitted without the king's assent; and ministers were officially bounden to the strictest secrecy in all cases of this nature. He would not for that reason, enter into any verbal explanations of the business in question, and neither should admit nor deny the facts or the inferences alleged. The king had clearly the right to nominate and to dismiss ministers without assigning his motives, cases of an extraordinary nature excepted. He forcibly urged the indispensable necessity of an entire agreement in sentiments between the king's ministry, without which it were impracticable to conduct the affairs of the nation with any regularity or success; and yet they might differ without any diminution of reciprocal friendship or esteem. He deprecated the discussion of subjects now before the Irish parliament, as a manifest violation of its independence; and warmly exhorted the house to leave the settlement of affairs in that nation to its representatives, who certainly were best qualified for that purpose. Mr. Pitt was seconded by other members. Messrs. Fox and Grey spoke very

warily for the inquiry. Mr. Fox compared the dismissal of earl Fitzwilliam with the resignation and dismissal of lord Castlereagh, lord Temple, lord Northington, and others; and pointed out the difference between this and all of them. In the cases of all those noble persons, the dismissals and resignations arose in consequence of the change of administration, and therefore they differed entirely from the present case. Some persons might perhaps object to this motion, as the very words of it conveyed an idea that it was dangerous to suffer any inquiry whatever to take place, as it stated circumstances which went to infer that Ireland was in danger. The conduct of earl Fitzwilliam was certainly very dangerous. But to whom was it dangerous: to the people of Ireland? By no means. It was dangerous only to the few individuals whose plan it was to govern Ireland by corruption: it was dangerous to those who held the interest and the sentiments of the people of that country in contempt; and therefore the cause of the removal of the noble earl upon that principle was easily perceived. The noble earl was, he believed, the only person who had the good fortune to obtain the applauses of all the Catholics and Dissenters of Ireland; the only person who, since the accession of the house of Brunswick, had been able to unite all parties in that kingdom; and that circumstance, perhaps, to his majesty's present advisers, was a sufficient reason for his recal. Here Mr. Fox entered into a short history of facts with regard to the administration of earl Fitzwilliam in Ireland; as also of the applications which were made to the throne by delegates from that country on behalf of the Catholics, and maintained the right which the House of Commons of this country had to institute inquiries into public matters which related to the interests of both. He was of opinion, that what had been allowed to the Catholics in that country and in this, so far as it went, was highly proper: but that while there was any distinction made between them and the Protestants with regard to political rights, they would still continue to have claims upon the justice of the legislature. His opinion, indeed, was well known to those who had done him the honour to attend to him: it was, that at all times, in all countries, and upon all occasions, there should be no distinctions in political rights, on account of religious opinions. He thought that the prejudices of the people were, generally speaking, worthy of attention. But when prejudices bent against the general principles of toleration, he did not think them entitled to much respect. What was the case in Ireland when lord Fitzwilliam became lord lieutenant? When he arrived in Ireland, he found the Protestants so far from having any alarm at the idea of the emancipation of the Catholics, that they all wished for it: even when his recal was known to be about to take place, there was only one

place in the whole kingdom where alarm was affected to be felt, in consequence of the plan proposed in favour of the Catholics; and even there the vote upon that occasion was carried by a small majority, and therefore it was demonstrable, that the almost unanimous wish of the people of Ireland, was for the entire emancipation of the Catholics.

An end was put to the most warm and interesting debate during the session, by Mr. Pitt moving for the order of the day, which was carried by 180 against 49.

The spirit of defenderism increased and spread very widely in this year, through the kingdom; and many even in Dublin were found to have entered into this execrable band. To them were attributed the outrages committed upon some of the first officers* of the state, immediately after the arrival of lord Cam-

* The nature of these outrages appears from the proclamation published on the occasion.

“ By the Lord Lieutenant and Council of Ireland,

“ A PROCLAMATION.

“ **CARDEN.**

“ **WHEREAS** on the thirty-first day of March last, after
“ his excellency the lord lieutenant had been sworn into office, before his grace
“ the lord archbishop of Armagh and his excellency the lord chancellor, the
“ lords justices, a great number of persons assembled in and near his majesty's
“ castle of Dublin, did most daringly and illegally insult the said archbishop
“ of Armagh and the said lord chancellor, as they were returning from the
“ said castle, by throwing stones at their carriages, and did pursue the said
“ lord chancellor from the said castle of Dublin, to his house in Ely-place, and
“ did assault him several times by throwing paving stones of a very large size
“ at him, by one of which the said lord chancellor was struck and wounded in
“ his head.

“ And whereas various mobs assembled at the same time, in various parts
“ of the city of Dublin, and did attack several houses therein.

“ Now we the lord lieutenant and council, being determined to bring to con-
“ dign punishment, the persons guilty of offences of a tendency so dangerous
“ to the public peace, and to the lives and properties of the inhabitants of this
“ city, do by this our proclamation publish and declare, That if any person or
“ persons shall within the space of six calendar months from the date hereof,
“ discover any of the persons who committed any of the offences aforesaid, or
“ who advised, encouraged, instigated, moved, stimulated, or incited the per-
“ sons concerned in the said offences, or any of them, to commit the same,
“ such person or persons so discovering shall receive as a reward the sum of
“ five hundred pounds, for the person or persons who made the attack on the
“ lord primate and lord chancellor, or either of them, and one hundred pounds
“ for every of the first three persons who shall be apprehended and convicted
“ of attacking the said houses or any of them.

“ And we do likewise publish and declare, that if any of the persons con-
“ cerned in the said offences shall discover any other of the persons who com-
“ mitted any of the said offences, so that such person or persons so discovered,
“ shall be convicted thereof, such person or persons so discovering, shall, over
“ and above said reward, receive his majesty's most gracious pardon for the
“ said offences.

“ And we do hereby strictly charge and command the lord mayor of the city
“ of Dublin, and all justices of the peace of said city of Dublin, and of the

den in the metropolis. They also assailed the house of Mr. John Claudius Beresford. The characters of the chancellor, and of the whole house of Beresford, were particularly obnoxious to the people at this time. They had given a decided opposition to parliamentary reform and Catholic emancipation: earl Fitzwilliam had wished to remove the chancellor, but was over-ruled by the British cabinet: he had actually removed Mr. Beresford from the revenue board, though he were afterwards restored by a more powerful mandate. They were prominently active in procuring the removal of lord Fitzwilliam; and on that account also they were exposed to the full resentment of the mob.

In the provinces too the outrages of the Defenders were increased and multiplied to such a degree, that in some counties gentlemen were forced to keep in their houses a constant military guard to preserve them and their families from depredation and murder. This was perhaps the most awful and critical period of modern Irish history. From this time the very tint of moderation seems to have been effaced from every transaction that affected the public weal. There certainly were at this time, many sub-divisions of the people into particular classes, who associated together for different purposes, most with laudable views, many with motives of conscious innocence, others with designs of a suspicious tendency, and some with intentions directly nefarious. But one grand division superseded all these sub-discriminations:

" county of Dublin, and all sheriffs and other magistrates and officers within
 " their several jurisdictions, and all other his majesty's loving subjects, that
 " they use their utmost endeavours and diligence in suppressing all riots and
 " unlawful assemblies, and in apprehending, and causing to be apprehended,
 " all and every the persons concerned in the said audacious offences.

" And we do hereby caution his majesty's loving and peaceable subjects,
 " carefully to avoid all unlawful assemblies, lest they should expose themselves
 " to the consequences, necessarily resulting from the executing the duties of
 " the magistrates in the preservation of the public peace.

" Given at the council chamber in Dublin,

" the 1st day of April, 1795.

" W. Armagh,	H. Meath,
" Fitzgibbon, C.	G. L. Kildare,
" R. Dublin,	Londonderry,
" Cha. Cashel,	John Foster,
" Wm. Tuam,	T. Pelham,
" Clanricarde,	H. Cavendish,
" Waterford,	J. Blaquiere,
" Shannon,	Theo. Jones,
" Louth,	Henry King,
" Glandore,	Jos. Cooper.
" Clonmell,	Wm. Conyngham,
" Ely,	Robert Cuninghame,
" Dillon,	James Cuff,
" Pery,	Arthur Wolfe.
" Gosford,	

." God save the King."

the castle and the popular party. The general marshalling of individuals into these two great bodies, was effected with so much heat and acrimonious zeal, that tyranny and treason became the only medium through which they respectively viewed the conduct and actions of each other. To this preternatural tension of principle are to be reduced all the excesses of violence, which for some years afflicted that ill-fated country, till the powerful balm of incorporate union was applied to heal and prevent the evil. It is impossible so to analyze the sincerity of individuals, as to arraign their professed views and intentions. No man can so narrowly watch the workings of his neighbour's mind, as to ascertain the instant at which justifiable conviction takes place: few can answer even for their own. Allowing therefore, what every man claims for himself, full credit for sincerity in that which he professes to do for the good of his country, and the preservation of its constitution, we proceed to the detail of what was attempted and effected by the different parties under this great pervading maxim, that different measures adopted with the same motive may and generally do produce contrary effects.

The bulk of the nation unanimously looked up with confidence to the administration of earl Fitzwilliam: all parties were united in support of it, and the civil union of different religions threatened immediate overthrow to whatever party existed in Ireland, that wished, promoted, or throve by the internal disunion of the people. For more than a century this disuniting principle had been the regular system and avowed language of the government in every speech from the throne. Protestant union of less than a million against the common enemy consisting of three millions, was encouraged and enforced: the private emoluments and advantages of that system were long felt and enjoyed, even after the public had ceased to avow it.

A power from this side of the water had replaced those persons whom the people at that time looked upon as their greatest enemies in the plenitude of dominion. Irritated at the popular wish to displace them, they resumed their former situations with redoubled disposition to strong and severe measures, which their adversaries called arbitrary rule and oppression. Henceforward the popular societies began to settle into a system of mysterious secrecy, infinitely more dangerous than their former plan of confident and open boldness. This was the fatal effect of a change of measures. The secret committee of the lords explicitly said, that "the attainment of what are called parliamentary reform and Catholic emancipation were and continued to be held out by them merely as a pretence for their associations, and with a

"view to seduce persons, who were not apprized of their traitorous designs, to unite with them." The disappointment and soreness of the public mind disposed immense multitudes to associate upon these lawful, and, according to them, most laudable grounds. Some leading heads of these societies, whose real views, according to the report of the secret committee, always were to separate Ireland from Great Britain, took advantage of the critical moment, and converted this increased anarchy of government into a most powerful engine for forwarding their traitorous designs. That report informs us, that "in 1795* the test of the society underwent a striking revision, the words in the amendment test stand, 'a full representation of all the people,' omitting the words 'in the Commons' House of Parliament:' the reason for which had been admitted by three† mem-

* 17 Commons Journal, Appendix DCCCXXIX.

† These were Messrs. O'Connor, Emmett, and Dr. M'Nevin, who, whilst in prison wrote a detailed memoir of the origin and progress of the Irish union, and delivered it in to the Irish government. It has been since printed, together with their report of their examination before the committee, whom they accuse of having published a partial and garbled account of it. In that work, they give the following account of the progress of the union at this critical period. (page 3) "The first of these societies was, as we best recollect, in the year 1795. In order to secure co-operation and uniformity of action, they organized a system of committees, baronial, county, and provincial, and even national; but it was long before the skeleton of this organization was filled up. "While the formation of these societies was in agitation, the friends of liberty were gradually, but with a timid step, advancing towards republicanism; they began to be convinced, that it would be as easy to obtain a revolution as a reform, so obstinately was the latter resisted; and as the conviction impressed itself on their minds, they were inclined not to give up the struggle, but to extend their views; it was for this reason that in their test the words are 'an equal representation of all the people of Ireland,' without inserting the word parliament. This test embraced both the republican and the reformer, and left to future circumstances to decide, to which point the common strength should be directed; but still the whole body, we are convinced, would rejoice to stop short at reform. Another consideration, however, led the minds of reflecting united Irishmen to look towards a republic and separation from England; this was the war with France; they clearly perceived that their strength was not likely to become speedily equal to wresting from the English and the borough interest in Ireland even a reform; foreign assistance would, therefore, perhaps become necessary; but foreign assistance could only be hoped for in proportion as the object to which it would be applied was important to the party giving it. A reform in the Irish parliament was no object to the French, a separation of Ireland from England was a mighty one indeed. Thus they reasoned: shall we, between two objects, confine ourselves to the least valuable, even though it is equally difficult to be obtained, if we consider the relation of Ireland with the rest of Europe. "Whatever progress the united system had made among the Catholics throughout the kingdom, until after the recall of lord Fitzwilliam, notwithstanding many resolutions, which had appeared from them, manifesting a growing spirit, they were considered as entertaining an habitual spirit for monarchy, but also as being less attached than the Presbyterians to political liberty. There were, however, certain men among them, who rejoiced at the rejection of their claims, because it gave them an opportunity of pointing

“bers of the executive, examined before your committee, to be
 “the better to reconcile reformers and republicans in a common
 “exertion to overthrow the state.”

Having failed in their attempt, and despairing of ever attaining Catholic emancipation under the then existing spirit of the government, the United Irishmen held out, that the only gleam of hope was to arise out of a reform of parliament; that had ever been their great rallying point; they now gave out, that they systemized their plan merely for the purpose of obtaining with quicker and surer effect, a *radical* reform in the representation of the people, founded on the principles of civil, political, and religious liberty. From reflection and experience, they were convinced, that no system but that of union could succeed; they therefore formed themselves into affiliated societies, and adopted the following solemn test:

“In the awful presence of God, I, A. B. do voluntarily declare,
 “that I will persevere in endeavouring to form a brotherhood
 “of affection among Irishmen of every religious persuasion; and
 “that I will also persevere in my endeavours to obtain an equal,
 “full, and adequate representation of all the people in Ireland.
 “I do further declare, that neither hopes, fears, rewards, or
 “punishments, shall ever induce me, directly or indirectly, to
 “inform on, or give evidence against any member or members
 “of this or similar societies, for any act or expression of theirs
 “done or made, collectively or individually, in or out of this so-
 “ciety, in pursuance of the spirit of this obligation.”

So eagerly did persons of every denomination give into that plan, that in the course of the year societies were formed in most parts of the kingdom. The moment the people began to feel the powerful effects of union, the gentlemen in place became frightfully alarmed for their situations; active agents were sent down to Armagh, to turn the ferocity and fanaticism of the *Peep of Day Boys* into a religious contest with the Catholics, under the specious appearance of zeal for church and king. Personal animosity was artfully converted into religious rancour; and for the specious purpose of taking off the stigma of delinquency, the appellation of *Peep of Day Boys* was changed into that of *Orange Men*. At first no person of consequence appeared in it: the first lodge was formed on the 21st of September, 1795. Like the

“out that the adversaries of reform were their adversaries; and that these two
 “objects could never be separated with any chance of success to either. They
 “used the fecal of that nobleman, and the rejection of his measures, to cement
 “together in political union the Catholic and Presbyterian masses.

“The modern societies, for their protection against informers and prose-
 “cution, had introduced into their test a clause of secrecy. They did more,
 “they changed the engagement of their predecessors into an oath; and mu-
 “tual confidence increased, when religion was called in aid of mutual secu-
 “rity.”

United Irishmen, they were soon affiliated, and their numbers increased. Their professions widely differed from their practices: they pretended to support only that constitution which had been given to the country by William the prince of Orange: but their conduct, as will be seen hereafter, was little guided by the liberal principles of the revolution. * Their test is said to have been: "In the awful presence of Almighty God, I, A. B. do solemnly swear, that I will, to the utmost of my power, support the king and the present government; and I do further swear, that I will use my utmost exertions to exterminate all the Catholics of the kingdom of Ireland." But this oath, though secret, has latterly been denied by the Orangemen of respectability and consequence. It has been generally credited, that it was taken by all the original lodges, and continued afterwards to be taken by the lower classes at least, if not privately by all Orangemen. The exterminating spirit of the oath was too often acted upon, as will be seen hereafter. The great increase of the Orange institution did not take place till the ensuing year.

The spirit and boldness of the Defenders, in the summer of 1795, assumed a most formidable appearance: but so far were they from being countenanced and supported by the body of Catholics, that their most open outrages were attempted against some Catholic magistrates in the county of Kildare; where they appeared† in bodies of several hundreds. In the course of this year lord Carhampton finding that certain districts under his command were overrun by these Defenders with impunity, took a summary mode of restoring tranquillity, by exerting a vigor beyond the law,‡ which was as highly applauded by government, as it was severely reprobated by the opposition.

* This form of test is what is generally believed to have been in use amongst the Orangemen: but the author has no authentic document for it. It is so stated in a pamphlet published in 1797, called, *A View of the present State of Ireland*, by an Observer, said to have been written by Mr. A. O'Connor. They were always said to have a secret test, which they called their *purple oath*. The secret committee of the Lords in 1798, asked Mr. A. O'Connor, if government had any thing to do with their *oath of extermination*?

† The resolutions of the county of Kildare, which shews the conduct of the Defenders and the spirit of the county in resisting them, are to be seen in the Appendix, No. XCVIII.

‡ What the real consequence of this strong measure of lord Carhampton was, remains still doubtful to many. It is thus represented by sir Richard Musgrave, p. 145. "Lord Carhampton finding that the laws were silent and inoperative in the counties which he visited, and that they did not afford protection to the loyal and peaceable subjects, who in most places were obliged to fly from their habitations, resolved to restore them to their usual energy, by the following salutary system of severity:

"In each county he assembled the most respectable gentlemen and landholders in it, and having, in concert with them, examined the charges against the leaders of this banditti, who were in prison, but defied justice, he, with the concurrence of these gentlemen, sent the most nefarious of them on board a tender, stationed at Sligo, to serve in his majesty's navy.

In this alarming state of the country a very laudable example was set to the nation at large by the marquis of Waterford, by heading a subscription of some hundred respectable persons, who took that opportunity of shewing their loyalty and attachment to our gracious sovereign by publicly concurring in opinion, that a Waterford regiment ought to be raised, in which there should be no distinction of religion, but that Protestants and Catholics should be indiscriminately united. This example was not followed up. So rapidly and widely did defenderism this year spread its baneful effects, that the respectable inhabitants of most counties

"By this bold measure, founded in obvious principles of political necessity, he completely restored peace in the disturbed counties.

"The loyal inhabitants, and the grand juries in them, thanked lord Carhampton for his wise and salutary exertions; but the disaffected in every part of the kingdom, exasperated that he had checked the progress of their revolutionary schemes, raised a great clamour in consequence of it; and as they meditated many prosecutions and civil actions against him, a law was passed in the month of February, 1796, to indemnify such persons as had exceeded the limits of the law in restoring peace and good order; which, as a matter of course, was violently opposed by the minority in the House of Commons."

On the other hand it is represented from the pen of Mr. Grattan in the petition from the Whig club in the following light, p. 6. "In order to punish additional discontents, the effect of lord Fitzwilliam's removal, and the public disappointment that followed; in order to support the Irish ministry that succeeded, and returned with their old maxims of government, they thought proper to proceed against the people without any form or process whatsoever; and laying aside the incumbrance of statute, and the delay of law, they suffered their general and other magistrates to form themselves into a species of revolutionary tribunal, where these men sat without law, tried without law, sentenced without law, and punished without law; not a few individuals, but hordes, tribes, and generations of country people, sent on board a tender often on this principle, that if tried before a court of law, they would probably be acquitted. His majesty has heard the effect of this policy, in the mutiny of his fleet. It has been said, that the law was open; we submit to his majesty, that it was far otherwise: for a bill of indemnity was passed, nearly in the style and manner of acclamation, without inquiry, the proposal of which was rejected with an outcry; which bill of indemnity went to secure the offending magistrates against the consequences of their outrages and illegalities; that is to say, in our humble conception, the poor were stricken out of the protection of the law, and the rich out of its penalties; and then another bill was passed to give such lawless proceedings against his majesty's subjects continuation; namely, a bill to enable the magistrates to perpetrate by law, those offences which they had before committed against it; a bill to legalize outrage, to barbarize law, and to give the law itself the cast and colour of outrage. By such a bill, the magistrates were enabled, without legal process, to send on board a tender his majesty's subjects, and the country was divided into two classes, or formed into two distinct nations, living under the same king, and inhabiting the same island; one consisting of the king's magistrates, and the other of the king's subjects; the former without restraint, and the latter without privilege.

"The supporters of his majesty's ministers have boasted of the effects of their bills, in establishing security; we lament that we cannot believe them; and we know very well how sanguine they have been on similar subjects, and how miserably they have deluded government and themselves."

throughout the kingdom found it necessary to enter into associations and subscriptions in self-defence. In the summer assizes of this year several Defenders were tried and found guilty of high treason; and in the month of September, the animosities of the Defenders and Peep of Day Boys were renewed in the county of Armagh to such a degree, that the Defenders remained for several days openly under arms. On the 21st of September, the battle of the Diamond, so called from the village of that name, was fought, in which the Defenders, though greatly superior in number, were worsted with considerable slaughter. From this defeat of the Defenders is to be traced the increased rancour and ferocity of their opponents, who, as before observed, henceforward had formed themselves into clubs of Orangemen, and thereby having increased their strength, proceeded, as will afterwards appear, to exterminate the whole race of Catholics out of the county of Armagh, and that neighbourhood.

When the parliament met on the 21st of January, 1796, the lord lieutenant in his speech from the throne congratulated with them on the improvement of the general situation of affairs on the continent.* The continued and brilliant successes of the Austrian armies upon the Rhine, the important captures of the Cape of Good Hope and Trincomale by his majesty's forces, and the decided and confirmed superiority of his fleets, were circumstances of the utmost importance to the common cause; and their effect was strengthened by the internal distresses, the ruined commerce, and financial embarrassments of the enemy. The crisis lately depending in France had led to an order of things in that country, such as would induce his majesty to meet any disposition to negotiation on the part of the enemy, with an earnest desire to give it the fullest and speediest effect, and to conclude a treaty of general peace, when it might be effected on just and suitable terms for himself and his allies. The treaty of commerce between his majesty and the United States of America having been mutually ratified, he had ordered copies of it by his majesty's command to be laid before them.

The event of her royal highness the princess of Wales having been happily delivered of a princess was also announced.

His excellency congratulated the commons, that notwithstanding the continued pressure of the war, the commerce and revenues of the kingdom had not in any degree fallen from that flourishing state of advancement, which in the last session of parliament was a subject of such just congratulation. That circumstance afforded a decisive proof that their prosperity was founded on a solid basis, and led to indulge the flattering hope, that whatever addi-

tional burdens might be necessary to impose would not be materially felt by the people.

He then generally adverted to those secret and treasonable associations, the dangerous extent and malignity of which had in some degree been disclosed on several trials, and to the disturbances which had taken place in some parts of the kingdom. It had at the same time been a source of great satisfaction to him to observe the successful and meritorious exertions of the magistrates in several parts of the kingdom, and the alacrity which his majesty's regular and militia forces had universally manifested in aid of the civil power, whenever they had been called upon for the preservation of the peace and support of the laws. It remained for their prudence and wisdom to devise such measures as, together with a continuance of those exertions, and the additional powers, which, by the advice of the privy council, he had thought it necessary to establish in different counties, would prevent the return of similar excesses, and restore a proper reverence for the law of the country.

Lord Tyrone moved an address to his majesty, and was seconded by col. Foster.

Mr. Grattan said, that the address, as far as expressing our abhorrence at the daring outrage committed on the person of our sovereign, and as far as expressing our congratulations on the increase of his domestic happiness, and as far as it went to compliment lord Camden, met with his approbation; but that part of the address which expressed a confidence in the present administration, met with his decided disapprobation. He said, that Ireland had not been treated with respect. The people of Ireland were loyal to their sovereign, and how had they been treated? The system of the British minister had been to treat them uniformly with insolence and contumely; and the system of the administration for these several years past had been profligate and corrupt. He took a retrospect of the administration of the marquis of Buckingham, who was sent over to promise that which he did not perform. He adverted to the sale of peerages, for the purpose of obtaining a corrupt and undue influence in the House of Commons, which had been part of the system of the Buckingham administration; he next adverted to the dispensing power of the earl of Westmoreland to take away the army from that kingdom, contrary to law, which should always consist of an effective force of 12,000 men for the home defence, and which in the months of June, July, August, September, October, and November, were considerably under that number. In the American war, they had been left naked; and in the French war they had been left naked. These were two impeachable crimes under the British administration.

He reprobated the conduct of a former administration towards the Catholics of the country: the horns of government were sent out to the different county grand juries, in order to procure addresses and resolutions to wall out the Catholics from the constitution, as the English had formerly walled out the Scotch, and the Chinese the Tartars. He said, that the British cabinet, during the administration of lord Fitzwilliam, had broken faith with Ireland. He reprobated the conduct of lord Westmoreland in granting the reversion of every capital employment in the kingdom, after his successor had been appointed; and that during his administration, fourteen new employments had been created, and thirteen reversions granted away; this system he reprobated in very strong and severe terms: he said, that the conduct of the British cabinet towards their country was influenced by false witnesses against Ireland: by bad viceroys, who had acted in their administration unfavourably to Ireland; and if not by bad viceroys, the British cabinet was influenced by clerks, by spies, and by runners.

Having dwelt for some time on the conduct of the British cabinet towards his country, which had drained itself of its men and money for the support of Great Britain, he contrasted the conduct of the British cabinet towards other countries. He concluded a speech of considerable length with moving an amendment to the address nearly to the following purport:

“ That they should pay the utmost attention to every measure
 “ for the purpose of preserving the peace and good order of the
 “ country, and to amend the condition of the lower description
 “ of the people in this kingdom; with a view to render the con-
 “ nexion between the two countries the more endearing, and to
 “ enable them more cheerfully to contribute to such burthens as
 “ should be imposed upon them, they humbly beseeched his ma-
 “ jesty, that he would be graciously pleased to recommend to his
 “ parliament in England, to adopt such measures for the admis-
 “ sion of the manufactures of that kingdom into the ports of
 “ Great Britain, on terms not less advantageous than what man-
 “ ufactures of Great Britain were admitted into the ports of Ire-
 “ land.”

Mr. Vandeleur seconded the motion.

After Mr. Grattan's amendment had been rejected by a majority of 122 against 14,* the attorney general called the attention of gentlemen to the subject of disturbances in some parts of the country; to check those offences, he would introduce a bill, and in that bill perhaps, or in a separate bill, would have a clause to indemnify certain magistrates and others, who

* 16 Par. Deb. p. 12.

acted for the public good, though not exactly under the existing laws, in suppressing these disturbances. He had mentioned, upon his return from some prosecutions, which were carried on about three years ago, his intention to bring in a bill to make a conspiracy to murder, felony; he had hoped, that this declaration would in some measure have checked the evil; but he was sorry to say, it had not: conspiracies to murder were still frequent, and the idea of assassination had become as familiar as that of fowling.

Mr. Curran wished to know the extent and nature of that delinquency, which it was intended to indemnify; when Mr. M. Beresford observed, the word delinquency was not applicable to the persons intended; a part of the country was alarmingly disturbed; the magistrates and others invested with power had, in order to prevent the necessity of proclaiming martial law universally, acted in that particular district, as if martial law were proclaimed: this conduct, so far from being delinquency, was justifiable and laudable, and of happy consequence in the event.

On the 28th of the month, the attorney general adverted to the notice he had given on the first night of the session, of his intention of bringing in two bills: the object of one of them was, for preventing in future insurrections, and tumults, and riots in this kingdom; and the object of the other bill was, to indemnify certain magistrates and others, who, in their exertions for the preservation of the public tranquillity, might have acted against the forms and rules of law; he stated that the bill for the more effectually preventing of insurrections, tumults, and riots, by persons styling themselves Defenders, and other disorderly persons, was however repugnant to his feelings, a bloody penal code.

He said, that the acts then in force for administering unlawful oaths was not sufficiently strong, and the administering of unlawful oaths was the source of all the treasonable actions, which had taken place in the country: the bill proposed, that the administering of unlawful oaths should be felony of death: but he would propose, that that bill should be but a temporary law; there was also a clause in the bill to enable the magistrates, at the quarter sessions, to take up all idle vagrants and persons who had no visible means of earning a livelihood, and send them to serve on board the fleet: he said he did not propose to hurry this bill through the house, but give time for the consideration, as it might be necessary to add much, and make several alterations. He then moved for leave "to bring in a bill for the more effectually preventing of insurrections, tumults, and riots, by persons styling themselves Defenders, and other disorderly persons;" and leave was given to bring in the bill. Then he moved for leave "to bring in a bill for indemnifying such ma-

“ gistrates and others, who might have, since the 1st of January, 1795, exceeded the ordinary forms and rules of law for the preservation of the public peace, and suppression of insurrection prevailing in some parts of this kingdom ;” which was also given without any opposition.

On the same day Mr. Curran’s motion for appointing a committee to inquire into the state of the poor, and the price of labour in that kingdom, after a considerable debate was negatived by the question of adjournment, there being only 16 for going into the committee, and 137 for the adjournment. A proportionate division also took place, by the chancellor of the exchequer’s moving the order of the day on Mr. Grattan’s motion for equalizing the channel trade between Great Britain and Ireland, by reciprocally admitting the manufactures of either country into the other upon equal rates of duty.*

† On the 20th of February, 1796, the attorney general pre-faced four resolutions, which he proposed to the house, with an historical detail of the outrageous conduct of the Defenders.—The country had been for a series of years disturbed in various parts of it ; he should not then enter into the causes of those disturbances, but he should take them up at the period of 1790, when those disturbances chiefly raged in the county of Meath. The Defenders’ object then was to plunder the peaceable inhabitants in that county of their fire arms : they associated together, and bound themselves by the solemn tie of an oath. The Defenders, it had since appeared, had their committee men and their captains whom they were bound to obey, and their object was to overthrow the established order of government. Seditious emissaries dispersed themselves among the people ; in one place telling the labouring man that his wages would be raised ; and in another, working upon their feelings, and enticing them to acts of violence and of outrage. To repress these disturbances, the efforts of government were exerted in 1790, 1791, and 1792 ; and the consequence was, that a great number were brought to justice, and several were transported : notwithstanding these examples, the disturbances continued and they proceeded from the east to the west, and in three counties in Connaught, these banditti, in open day, made an attack upon the king’s forces : the army always routed them, and in one engagement, forty or fifty of these miscreants fell : there were prosecutions in that province, and several were brought to justice, and a great number were transported : that province then was in a state of tranquillity, (thanks to lord Carhampton,) through whose exertions, human-

* 16 Par. Deb. p. 77. This much debated on the 15th of February, 1796.

† 16 Par. Deb. p. 102.

ity and good conduct, quiet was restored. Notwithstanding these examples, disturbances continued in other parts of the kingdom. These wretches associated together by night for the purpose of plunder, murder, and devastation. To prevent witnesses appearing against them on trial, they had adopted a system of assassination. He instanced the transaction which took place about ten days before, near Lutrelstown, where the Cormicks, who were to prosecute Defenders the very next day, at the quarter sessions of Kilmainham, were most inhumanly murdered. Another part of their system was to put witnesses to death after trial; and he instanced a case, where a witness who had prosecuted Defenders at the assizes of Dundalk, had been murdered after the trial: he instanced many acts of atrocity committed in the county of Longford, particularly the case of Mr. Harman, one of the representatives for the county, and in the county of Westmeath, Cavan and Meath: under these circumstances, some new scheme was necessary to put an end to such enormities.

His first object was, to prevent these risings in future; in order to do this, it was proper to enable government, on the petition of gentlemen resident in a county where any rising should be, to send a force to that county sufficient to quell such rising: another was, to enable the magistrates at sessions, to take up at unseasonable hours all persons, who could not give a satisfactory account of themselves, and if they could not find bail at assizes, the justices might send them to serve on board the fleet: another was, to enable magistrates to search houses, and if the persons were not found at home, they might be brought to the quarter sessions, and if they could not give a satisfactory account of the cause of their absence from home, they were to be dealt with as persons found abroad at unseasonable hours; but previous to that, proclamation should be made, and public and fair notice given, so that no person should have any excuse to plead: another object was, to enable magistrates to search houses for arms and ammunition. It might be spread abroad by evil and disaffected men, that it was the design of government to disarm the people; but there was no such design; it was only to take away arms from improper persons; but, he said, he should introduce a clause in the gunpowder bill, to make every person, both great and small, to register their fire arms: he should propose to make the administering of such oaths, as bound the parties to any treasonable purpose, a capital offence: there was another measure, which was, that in case of a witness being murdered, his written testimony should be competent to go as evidence to the jury. After some further statements, he read the resolutions which he

intended to propose, and he afterwards moved them separately, which were as follow :

1. "*Resolved*, That the spirit of conspiracy and outrage which has appeared in certain parts of this kingdom, and has shewn itself in various attempts to assassinate magistrates, to murder witnesses, to plunder houses, and seize by force the arms of his majesty's peaceable subjects, requires, that more effectual powers should be given to the magistracy.

2. "*Resolved*, That (in such parts of this kingdom, as the said spirit has shewn itself, or to which there may be cause to apprehend its being extended) it will be necessary, that the magistracy should have enlarged powers of searching for arms, ammunition, and weapons of offence, and of seizing or securing the same, for the preservation of the peace, and the safety of the lives and properties of his majesty's peaceable and loyal subjects.

3. "*Resolved*, That from the many attacks which have been made on the houses of individuals, by large bodies of armed insurgents, for the purpose of taking arms and money by force, and murdering those, who had the spirit to enforce the laws, or give information against offenders, it will be necessary, that the magistracy should have enlarged powers, to prevent such bodies hereafter from assembling or meeting, either to plan or execute such horrid purposes.

4. "*Resolved*, That it will be necessary to give the magistracy further powers with respect to vagabonds, idle and disorderly persons, and to persons liable to be deemed so, or who have no lawful trade, or any honest means to obtain a livelihood."*

Mr. Vandeleur perfectly agreed with the attorney general, as to the necessity of adopting some strong measures at that junct-

* The only person in the house who opposed these resolutions, was lord Edward Fitzgerald. His unfortunate end may affix a retrospective import to his conduct, perhaps, before he had harboured the dreadful designs which tarnished the latter period of his life. (16 *Par. Deb.* p 105.) "Sir," said he, "I shall oppose this resolution, because I think that this resolution will not prevent the crimes of which the right honourable gentleman complains : the disturbances of the country, sir, are not to be remedied by any coercive measures, however strong : such measures will tend rather to exasperate, than to remove the evil. Nothing, sir, can effect this, and restore tranquillity to the country, but a serious and candid endeavour of government, and of this house, to redress the grievances of the people. Redress those, and the people will return to their allegiance and their duty ; suffer them to continue, and neither your resolutions nor your bills will have any effect : I shall, therefore, sir, oppose, not only this resolution, but all the resolutions, which the right honourable gentleman has read to you, except, perhaps, one—that which goes to constitute the written testimony of a dying witness, good evidence. This, I think, is fair, and likely to facilitate the course of justice, without violently infringing, as all the other resolutions seem to do, the liberty of the subject."

sure. With respect to the last of the resolutions—that which related to the investing of the magistracy with new powers—he should not now, he said, give any opinion. Of the others he heartily approved, though he could not help expressing a wish, that they had taken some notice of the wanton and barbarous outrages, which had been committed by the Peep of Day Boys, as well as those of which the Defenders had been guilty.

On the next day upon the attorney general's resolutions being read, Mr. Grattan observed, that he had heard the right honourable gentleman's statement, and did not suppose it to be inflated; but he must observe at the same time it was partial: he did indeed expatiate very fully and justly on the offences of the Defenders; but with respect to another description of insurgents, whose barbarities had excited general abhorrence, he had observed a complete silence: that he had proceeded to enumerate the counties that were afflicted by disturbances, and he had omitted Armagh;—of that, neither had he comprehended the outrages in his general description, nor in his particular enumeration: of those outrages, he had received the most dreadful accounts; that their object was the extermination of all the Catholics of that county; it was a persecution conceived in the bitterness of bigotry, carried on with the most ferocious barbarity, by a banditti, who being of the religion of the state, had committed with the greater audacity and confidence, the most horrid murders, and had proceeded from robbery and massacre to extermination: that they had repealed, by their own authority, all the laws lately passed in favour of the Catholics, had established in the place of those laws, the inquisition of a mob, resembling lord George Gordon's fanatics, equalling them in outrage, and surpassing them far in perseverance and success.

That their modes of outrage were as various as they were atrocious: they sometimes forced, by terror, the masters of families to dismiss their Catholic servants—they sometimes forced landlords, by terror, to dismiss their Catholic tenantry—they seized as deserters, numbers of Catholic weavers—sent them to the county gaol, transmitted them to Dublin, where they remained in close prison, until some lawyers, from compassion, pleaded their cause, and procured their enlargement—nothing appearing against them of any kind whatsoever.—Those insurgents, who called themselves Orange Boys, or Protestant Boys, that is, a banditti of murderers, committing massacre in the name of God, and exercising despotic power in the name of liberty—those insurgents had organized their rebellion, and formed themselves into a committee, who sat and tried the Catholic weavers and inhabitants, when apprehended falsely and illegally as deserters. That rebellious committee, they called the committee of elders, who,

when the unfortunate Catholic was torn from his family and his loom; and brought before them, in judgment upon his case—if he gave them liquor or money, they sometimes discharged him—otherwise they sent him to a recruiting office as a deserter. They had very generally given the Catholics notice to quit their farms and dwellings, which notice was plastered on the house, and conceived in these short but plain words: “Go to Hell, Connaught “won’t receive you—fire and faggot. Will Tresham and John “Thrustout.” That they followed these notices by a faithful and punctual execution of the horrid threat—soon after visited the house, robbed the family, and destroyed what they did not take, and finally completed the atrocious persecutions by forcing the unfortunate inhabitants to leave their land, their dwellings, and their trade, and to travel with their miserable family, and with whatever their miserable family could save from the wreck of their houses and tenements, and take refuge in villages, as fortifications against invaders, where they described themselves, as he had seen in their affidavits, in the following manner: “We “(mentioning their names), formerly of Armagh, weavers, now “of no fixed place of abode or means of living, &c.” In many instances this banditti of persecution threw down the houses of the tenantry, or what they call racked the house, so that the family must fly or be buried in the grave of their own cabin. The extent of the murders that had been committed by that atrocious and rebellious banditti he had heard, but had not heard them so ascertained as to state them to that house; but from all the inquiries he could make, he collected, that the Catholic inhabitants of Armagh had been actually put out of the protection of the law; that the magistrates had been supine or partial, and that the horrid banditti had met with complete success, and from the magistracy with very little discouragement. This horrid persecution, this abominable barbarity, and this general extermination had been acknowledged by the magistrates, who found the evil had now proceeded to so shameful an excess, that it had at length obliged them to cry out against it. On the 28th of December thirty of the magistrates had come to the following resolution; which was evidence of the designs of the insurgents, and of their success:—
 “*Resolved*, That it appears to this meeting, that the county of
 “Armagh is at this moment in a state of uncommon disorder;
 “that the Roman Catholic inhabitants are grievously oppressed
 “by lawless persons unknown, who attack and plunder their
 “houses by night, and threaten them with instant destruction,
 “unless they abandon immediately their lands and habitations.”
 It was said by the mover of the resolutions, that of the Defenders, multitudes had been hanged, multitudes had been put to death on the field, and that they were suppressed, though they were not

extinguished; but with regard to the outrages of the Orange Boys he could make no such boast: on the contrary, they had met with impunity, and success, and triumph; they had triumphed over the law, they had triumphed over the magistrates, and they had triumphed over the people. There persecution, rebellion, inquisition, murder, robbery, devastation and extermination had been entirely victorious.

The passing over these offences in the statement introducing the resolutions, would be of little moment, if they were not also passed over in the resolutions themselves: the resolutions described four different kinds of offences: 1st, attempts to assassinate magistrates; 2d, to murder witnesses; 3d, to plunder houses; 4th, to seize by force the arms of his majesty's subjects; but of attempts to seize the persons of his majesty's subjects, and to force them to abandon their lands and habitations, the resolutions said not one syllable; crimes not less great, nor less notorious, and more emphatically calling for the interposition of the state, because they had triumphed over the supineness of the magistracy, and had no chance of being checked, but by the interposition of government or parliament. In the other resolution, which described that kind of armed insurgency, which the magistracy were to prevent by extraordinary exertions, the crime of driving away his majesty's subjects, is also omitted: the words were, that from the many attempts which have been made on the houses of individuals, by large bodies of armed insurgents, for the purpose of taking arms and money by force, and murdering those who had spirit to enforce the law, or give information against offenders, it will be necessary to give the magistrates enlarged powers; attempts made on the houses of the individual to rob or take arms; attempts to murder witnesses; those were the offences which attracted their notice; but the attempt to exterminate his majesty's subjects—attempts in part completed, which were very different from seizing arms, or taking money, or murdering witnesses—these attempts and perpetrations, as notorious as horrible, appeared to be neither in the contemplation of the resolutions, nor of the member who moved them. Thus the silence of the resolutions might become a hint to the supineness of the magistracy, and where they should have counteracted their partiality, gave it countenance. On a further examination of the resolutions, he found them not merely defective in describing the offence, but they seemed to have omitted the remedy: certainly the giving magistrates further powers to search for arms and ammunition, or to prevent from assembling or meeting, bodies of men assembling for the purpose of taking arms and money, or murdering witnesses; or the giving the magistrates enlarged power to seize vagabonds for the fleet or army, did not go to the case of Ar-

magh, where the subjects complained, that they had been seized as deserters, falsely and illegally, through the supineness or partiality, or connivance of the magistrates; and through the same supineness, to say no worse, had been by force driven with impunity from their lands and habitations: many of the weavers of Armagh had at that moment sworn affidavits against the magistrates. To give the magistrates extraordinary powers as the means of redressing the complainants, seemed to him, however, a remedy for some part of the kingdom, but a very inadequate one for another. In short, the measure of the right honourable gentleman, in its present shape, did not go to the whole of the situation of the country: it did not go to redress the North; it was, therefore, a defective measure, it was a partial description of the outrages of the kingdom, and a partial remedy: it proposed to suspend the operation of the constitution, with a view to produce peace, leaving at the same time, in one great county, violence and insurrection in a state of triumph. It left the families of Armagh, whom a violent mob and a supine magistracy had caused to abandon their dwellings; it left them without any certainty of redress, so that they might carry themselves and families, and tales of woe, to their brethren in the other parts of the kingdom, and spread the flames of discontent, and spirit of retaliation, notwithstanding the member's bills and resolutions.

On a principle, therefore, that it was necessary for the redress of that description of subjects who had suffered in Armagh, that the magistrates should be called upon to act for the protection of the subject, and that the county should be obliged to pay those inhabitants, who had been aggrieved, full compensation for all their losses, charges and distresses, he had taken the liberty to suggest to the right honourable member amendments, which he did not move, because the attorney general ought to have moved them, and made them his own measure.

The amendments he suggested, were after the words "to seize by force of arms," to add "and also the persons of his majesty's subjects, and to force them to abandon their lands and habitations;" and in the third resolution, after the words "murdering those who had spirit to give information," to add, "also attempting to seize the persons, and obliging his majesty's subjects by force, to abandon their lands and habitations."

Sir Lawrence Parsons arraigned government for not having timely sent a general officer and a military force to the disturbed parts of the North, as they had done to the South, particularly as lord Camden had avowedly come over to resist the Catholic claims.

The attorney general opposed Mr. Grattan's amendment. He said he had, throughout the whole of those resolutions, avoided making any distinction as to persons. They were intended for general good, and persons of every class would partake of their benefits; were the amendment received, they would have a different complexion.

Mr. secretary Pelham followed on the same ground. If no general officer was sent to the North, it was because they were all before engaged. An officer, however, was sent, and an experienced officer (colonel Craddock), on whose capacity and character he delivered a high encomium. He mentioned that lord Camden did not come over to oppress any part of his majesty's subjects, but to afford equal protection to all.

Colonel Craddock avowed, that he had the most decided instructions from government, to act in the commission, in which he had been employed, with equal justice to all offenders. He had been assisted by general Nugent, and such was the nature of the disturbance, that after repeated consideration, they could see no possible way in which the troops could be employed: he therefore recommended his recall in letters to government, as he thought that he could be of no use. He admitted, that the conduct of the Protestants, called Peep of Day Boys, in the county of Armagh was at that time most atrocious, and that their barbarous practices must certainly be put down; but at the same time he must mention, that in September last, the Catholics were the aggressors.

Mr. Grattan, in reply, observed, that the amendment appeared the more necessary, from what fell from an honourable gentleman, a magistrate of the county of Armagh, who dissenting from every other person, had spoken of the use of what he called Orange Boys, of the services rendered by these murderers; this atrocious banditti; the northern rebels, whose barbarity exceeded modern times, and brought back the recollection of ancient ferocity and bloodshed. He asked gentlemen who had heard the magistrate apologize for such murderers, whether the increasing the power of the magistracy would be of itself sufficient to redress the sufferings of the northern Catholics.

He must therefore persist in recommending to the right honourable gentleman his amendments, which, if he persisted to refuse, it was vain for him to move them; lamenting at the same time, that he should have lost an opportunity of so clearly displaying what he must presume he wished—impartiality and justice.

The attorney general presented the bill, which was read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time the next day.

On the second reading of the insurrection bill, sir Lawrence Parsons spoke very fully to the principle of it, though he did not mean to oppose the second reading. He thought that a bill so severe in its nature should have been preceded by some measure which would evince the disposition of the house to attend, as well to the sufferings as to the offences of the people. If the design were to tranquillize the country, and he had no doubt but that was sincerely the object of the right honourable gentleman who had introduced the bill, it would have been right first to have inquired into the cause of the disturbances, before such severe measures were taken to repress them; if the root of the evil were once come at, the evil itself would have been easily removed: but by applying merely to the effect, the cause of the evil was left untouched, and the consequence would be, that it would continue to germinate new evils. He was willing to admit, that the situation of the country was rather improved; but who would deny, that the peasantry of Ireland were still miserable to a very great degree. Let gentlemen enter into the cabin of an Irish labourer, and see it without a chimney, often without a fire, and sometimes without food; and then compare his state with the affluence, the elegance, and the pomp with which the casual circumstances of birth surrounded themselves. He hoped no man would impute to him any wish to inflame the popular mind, or to embarrass his majesty's government. From the commencement of the session, to that hour, he had not brought forward any subject of complaint, nor had he opposed any tax proposed for the security of the state, or the expense of the war. With respect to the bill itself, he thought it was unnecessarily severe; that it was a useless violation of the first principles of the constitution, and that instead of doing service, it was likely to produce a contrary effect. He knew the country gentlemen of Ireland well; he loved them, and throughout that session he had in a great measure regulated his opinion by theirs: he could never believe that they would support this bill, if they saw it in the true point of view: he could not bring himself to think, that they wished to drive their chariot wheels over the necks of the poor; they wished only to restore tranquillity, and to preserve the peace of Ireland, and certainly they would not surrender the established constitution as an experiment. The bill by enabling the magistracy to send out of the kingdom any man they might think guilty, enacted, in fact, a surrender of the constitution, and instead of restoring tranquillity, would aggravate the disorder. It was a peculiar quality of the common people of Ireland, that they communicated quickly and rapidly their pleasures and their discontents. By that bill, if it passed, and if men were sent out of the kingdom by its operation without trial, the common feeling would be, that the

men so transported were innocent ; and therefore, instead of quieting the discontent of the people, it would afford a new topic for murmur. If on the contrary, the men so punished had been convicted by a jury, if they were punished for crimes fully proved in an open court of justice, the punishment would operate as a salutary example ; and if sedition should murmur at their fate, the good sense of the people would disregard its insinuation. The evil consequences of that bill would extend beyond the present time ; for the common people of Ireland were remarkable for a tenacious remembrance of injuries. He instanced the affair of the regiment raised in Ireland, principally in the metropolis, in the last war ; they were called the Green Linnetts, these men had been enlisted under a promise, that they should not be sent out of the kingdom ; but when the regiment was completed, the officers took an opportunity one evening of securing and confining the whole of them, and embarking them in the morning for America. After a lapse of several years, the people of Ireland remembered this fraud so well, that it was a very great impediment, in the beginning, to the recruiting of the militia. If this law would probably be a cause of discontent to every quarter of the country, how much more so must it be in the county of Armagh. In that county it had been proved on oath, that several magistrates refused to take the examination of the injured Catholics. By some of those magistrates, they had been most cruelly prosecuted : others would hear them only out of the window, and some actually turned them from their doors with threats. If such men were entrusted with a power of transporting men at pleasure, what was there to be expected, but the most gross and flagrant violations of justice ? After expatiating for some time on this subject with great earnestness, he concluded by recommending it to gentlemen, if they persevered in the measure, that they would at least remember, that the country was engaged in a war, of which the wisest among them could not foresee the event ; that a great part of the able and young in the country were then engaged in guilt, which that act would make capital ; that it might soon become necessary to apply to those very persons for safety, against a powerful foe, and that therefore it would be wise to introduce some clause of amnesty for past offences, not including murders : to neglect such a clause, would be to reduce the majority of the peasantry of Ireland to the alternative of either persisting in guilt and treason, or submitting to the halter.

Mr. Cuffe could scarcely believe that his honourable friend had uttered such sentiments as he had just heard. He could not help expressing his strong disapprobation, he might say indignation, at the speech of the honourable baronet. He had taken up pre-

cisely those two topics, which of all others it was most mischievous to discuss, and had discussed them in such a manner as was best fitted to make them the most mischievous. He had in the first instance displayed and exaggerated the wretchedness of the peasantry, and in the second, he had talked of allowance for their crimes, and indulgence for their treason. The debate* was carried on till two o'clock in the morning: the bill was read a second time, and on the question for committal, it was opposed by lord Edward Fitzgerald alone.

When the report from the committee on the attorney general's bill for the better prevention of conspiracies in that kingdom, was before the house, on the 29th of February, †Mr. Grattan observed, that not having been present at the committee, he had been prevented from proposing an amendment, which he feared from its length, would have but a small chance of being adopted, unless the bill were recommitted; he knew he could move it on report, but it would not have a fair trial in that stage of the bill, and for that reason he wished much, that the bill should be recommitted, as the most parliamentary mode of receiving new matter, and affording to that matter full and ample discussion; the amendment he intended, was to compel the county to pay the countryman, whether labourer or manufacturer, full compensation for his damage and losses to his person, family, or dwelling, suffered in consequence of violent mobs; that he was apprehensive that if the compensation were left optional to the grand jury, nothing would be done; that the grand jury would readily present for damages suffered by magistrates or witnesses, but they probably would not, in the county of Armagh particularly, give any adequate, or indeed any satisfaction for losses suffered by the Catholic weaver or peasant, and therefore it was not enough that grand juries should have the power, it was indispensable to impose the obligation. Government trifled with the northern weaver, when he sent him for satisfaction to a grand jury, composed of those very magistrates, whose supineness, or partiality, or bigotry, had been the cause of his losses and his emigration. He said he therefore had formed a clause, which he would read, and by which it was rendered obligatory on the county, to indemnify the countryman for the injury he received when beaten or abused,

* In the course of this debate Mr. Archdall animadverted to the affairs of Armagh: he professed habits of intimacy with the noble lord (Gosford) whose letter or speech upon the subject of that country had made such noise: he declared he thought that letter incautious, and such as the noble lord on reflection would not approve of: he recommended rather the conduct of that nobleman, than his publication as an object of imitation. For this letter, which is a most valuable piece of unimpeachable evidence of the spirit and nature of the persecutions then going forward in Armagh, vide Appendix No. XCIX.

† 16 Par. Deb. p. 150.

or driven from his land and habitation. He said he had read the bill, that he could find no remedy whatsoever in the bill, as at present formed, for such a case, that in the different preambles the grievance was not set forth, and in the various provisions it was not comprehended; that the bill complains of violence to magistrates, of the murder of witnesses, of illegal oaths, &c. &c. but of the threats, and force, and violence offered to certain of his majesty's subjects, whereby they have been forced to quit their trades, their lands and their tenements, outrages of which the governor of a northern county had complained as unexampled in history, and to which violence and atrocity the magistrates of that county had borne their testimony by a formal resolution, there was in the bill complete silence and omission. The bill proposed to give extra power to magistrates; this might be very effectual, as to certain parts of the country; but what was the grievance of Armagh? That the magistrates had not used the ordinary powers, and in some cases had abused those powers in such a manner, that the subject had not been protected, and the rioter had been encouraged; that the bill appeared therefore without that clause, was not faithful to its own principle, it was a bill, unless amended, of partial coercion, and partial redress: it punished (as it stood) disturbance in one part of the kingdom; it compromised with disturbances in another; it protected the magistrates of the west, and left exposed the poor of the north; it says, if you murder a magistrate, you shall pay his representatives; but if you drive away whole droves of weavers in Armagh, you shall pay nothing, except those persons please, by whose fault they have been driven away and scattered over the face of the earth. He said, that ministers must know perfectly well, that unless the amendment were adopted, the unfortunate description of persons he mentioned would get no redress; the government might indeed send a military force to guard what remained of them, but as to the bill, it left them precisely as they were; to say that the existing law punished the offences committed against them was true, so did the existing law punish the offences committed against magistrates and witnesses; it was therefore an argument against the whole of the bill, as much as against the amendment: but to say that existing law punished those offences in such a summary manner as was necessary to restrain them, was unfounded: the truth was, the existing law was not sufficient for the case of Armagh, and the bill did not advert to that case at all: but it had happened that the poorer classes of people had suffered in other places as well as Armagh from mobs, and their houses had been burned without any redress. When the magistrate had suffered, the jury had given meet compensation: when the countryman had his house pulled down,

they in some cases had given nothing ; a proof that the existing law was not sufficient, and therefore that the amendment was necessary, and accordingly the amendment was not confined to one county, but was general ; and wherever the subject had suffered in his person, property, or dwelling, obliged the county to give him satisfaction : for gentlemen will indemnify one another ; but it is not equally certain that they would indemnify their inferiors ; it was therefore submitted to them that they should take that into consideration, and for the cure of a grievance, as notorious as any set forth in the bill, and as unrelenting and outrageous as any thing suffered by gentleman or magistrate ; that they should amend their bill, and adopt a proposal which made it a bill of general relief, and which would tend to reconcile the country people, to the strength of the whole of its provisions, when they found themselves included in its redress and protection. The best way of adopting the amendment, was to recommend the bill ; for if it were proposed on the report, it was easy to foresee that it would not have a full discussion or a fair chance ; whereas if the bill were in a committee, it was impossible that those persons, who were friends to the principle of the bill on the real motive of protecting the subject in a summary manner, should not be friends to the amendment. It was the more desirable to proceed by recommitting the bill, because there were other gentlemen who had amendments to propose, one with respect to juries, which seemed deserving of every consideration. That that proposal, however, of recommitting the bill, did not proceed from a wish to oppose its progress, or to interpose delay, but from a conviction that the bill, without the amendment suggested, was false to its own principle, and from a well grounded fear that the proposal of such an amendment in the house, would not be attended with a fair trial, a full discussion, or the chance of success.

The attorney general replied to Mr. Grattan. He opposed the recommittal, because the objects at which the amendments to be proposed aimed, were already attained by the existing laws. Those offences which had been mentioned by the right honourable gentleman, as being prevalent in the county of Armagh, and which were called papering, i. e. the expulsion of persons from their lands or habitations, by affixing written threats on their houses, &c. were already made felony of death, by the acts of the 15th and 16th of George II. It was therefore unnecessary to enact new punishments in this bill, against a crime to which the law had already annexed the highest penalty which could be inflicted. With respect to the other object, that of indemnity to the sufferers, that too was already provided for by law ; for at present the grand jury at the recommendation of the judge before

whom the loss sustained by the party complaining must be proved, may present such a sum as they may think adequate. If the right honourable gentleman did not think this enough, the proper mode would be to bring in a bill, to amend the existing act on that subject, instead of introducing the subject into that bill.

Sir Lawrence Parsons said, that the powers which the bill created, were, in many instances so dangerous and arbitrary, that he should vote for its recommittal, hoping some qualifications might be adopted on further deliberation; but at the same time he confessed, he was not without fears that the recommittal might be productive of a contrary effect; for in the present temper of gentlemen's minds, the longer it would be under consideration the more repugnant perhaps it would become to his principles. Such an apprehension was justified by the clause against persons selling seditious papers, which from being a partial encroachment upon the liberty of the press, had grown under the correction of the committee into a power totally destructive of it. By that clause there was not a printer or bookseller in the kingdom that might not be seized at any time, by any two magistrates whatsoever, for selling any paper or pamphlet which they might deem seditious,* and, without any form of trial, sent aboard the fleet. It had always been maintained in England by the most constitutional judges, that it was contrary to law and liberty in the trial of any publisher of a seditious paper, to deny the jury the power of judging of the law as well as the fact, but in that country thereafter, a jury was not to judge of the law, nor even of the fact, nor to have any part in such adjudications, nor were its judges independent and immoveable but by parliament, nor was it in public court with the solemnities of a trial, but two magistrates holding their offices at will under a servant of the crown, who were to decide on both law and fact, in private, in their own chamber.

Such was the law, which their committee had framed in a midnight hour, and in a thin and exhausted house, and which they were then called upon to adopt without further deliberation. If the most arbitrary spirits through the whole kingdom had been brought together, with the most studious selection, to compose an arbitrary law against the liberty of the press, they could

* Mr. Tighe had in his speech observed, that it was, perhaps, one of the nicest points to decide what was a seditious writing. Among gentlemen, even of that house, there probably would be a great difference of opinion on any given publication, whether it were seditious or not! He was not sure that some gentlemen would not think Arthur Young's book seditious. It was doubtful whether Burke's letter to sir Hercules Langrishe was not in some passages rank sedition; and even Locke, the best writer he knew on government, might probably with truth, in a country so governed as this, be called a seditious and inflammatory publication.

scarcely have devised any thing more destructive than that. Yet that was but a subordinate part of the present bill. Look at the other clauses; in every one of them the same summary power, deposited in the same persons. Now if the popular disturbances made it necessary to deposit an arbitrary power somewhere, would it not be wise to pause a little, and consider where it might be best deposited? Was it with the magistrates? Men, in order to be good judges, should be cool and impartial; but in all disturbed counties the magistrates, instead of being cool, were in a high state of inflammation against the objects of that bill, and it was natural they should be so. They were not to be reprehended for that, but certainly on that account, they were among the last persons that should be intrusted with an uncontrollable power. And so far from being impartial, it was impossible that they should be so, for they were themselves parties. What was the temper observable in that house? There, from superior manners and education, the human passions were much mitigated, and they saw far more temper and clemency in that house than could be expected from the inferior magistrates in the country. Yet, what was the fact? That even there, every thing said, however violent against the disturbers of the peace, was received with plaudits, but if any thing be said to soften over-charged resentments, and to mix mercy with punishment, it was heard with discontent and murmurs. Liberty of speech was questioned—the most unworthy motives were assigned; they were called advocates for those disturbers—and for what? Because, though they reprehended their atrocities, though willing to concur in powerful laws for their suppression, they would not with a savage ferocity consider nothing but their vices, and refuse to offer some humane considerations, to sooth, if possible, the exacerbad feelings of the time. That these disturbers must be put down, they all agreed. The difference was as to the mode. Some said, that any two magistrates, without any trial, should send any man they suspected, aboard the fleet, any man out of his house, before sunrise, &c. They said, add a jury to the magistrates—and let it be by trial in open court. The stronger the law was made against them, the more desperate their situation. In the county of Armagh, an amnesty for both parties seemed peculiarly necessary; for either under the denomination of Peep of Day Boys, or of Defenders, almost every man of the lower orders of every sect was implicated in offences against law. An honourable magistrate of that county had described the conduct of one party as at one time eminently useful; were they therefore to be banished? The governor of the county had described the other party as suffering most cruel persecutions without having committed any crimes; were they to be banished? In short, if there be there,

is generally represented, a religious feud countenanced or connived at by the upper orders, some favouring one sect, some the other, it would be the greatest cruelty on the lower orders, without any amnesty to inflict that law upon them.

The two great amendments he proposed, were the addition of a jury and amnesty, under certain restrictions. A principal advantage from adding a jury would be, not only that it would better insure justice being done, but would also satisfy the people that it was done. When a man was condemned by his peers, the people might lament, but they never murmured. They all went away satisfied that he had had a fair trial. They went away satisfied with that, and those laws which secured to them so impartial a tribunal, and such an open and deliberate adjudication. They went away satisfied that they lived in a free country, and they felt an elevated gratitude for that order of things, where the wealthiest noble and the poorest peasant were alike amenable to the same laws, and received equal attention and justice, when accused of any breach of them.* But pass this law, and the triumph of the poor man was at an end. He would then see that those institutions which were represented as so sacred, that they could never be violated, might be thus deposed, and without any process, without any form of trial, without any regular judge or jury, he might, on the warrant of two magistrates, be torn from the bosom of his family, and sent on board the fleet—for what? not for being a Defender, or any way connected with Defenders, but for being a little too late or a little too early, in going in or coming out of his hovel. Gentlemen talked of the mischief of inflaming the people, but he would tell them, that one such act unjustly done would inflame them more than what could be said in that house for ages. It was not what they might say, but what they were going to empower others to do, that would inflame them.

Was it wise then to risk the abuse of such powers at such a time? They knew not what turn that extraordinary war might take, or whither its operations might tend before or after its conclusion. The prospect of peace seemed as distant as it did the first day. France, whatever she might be suffering in external and distant parts, was still gaining strength at home. Brabant had been added to her—Holland has been added to her—Spain was at her feet—Her armies were over-running Italy—Her finances were deranged, but her pecuniary resources were not annihilated; in men and arms she was inexhaustible. What should this teach the gentlemen of Ireland—but to conciliate, as well as to

* It has been before observed, that sir John Davies, and sir Edward Coke both allowed this prominent disposition in the Irish character to be satisfied with impartial justice, even should it be against themselves. 1 vol. p. 22.

chastise—to reclaim by amnesty those who were reclaimable, and to punish by just and open law those who were not. It was thus, they would produce content and solidity at home, while other kingdoms were shaken to their foundations. Let the war then move in what direction it might, they should shew them that their people might be contented and attached, and that they need not fear its issue.

Mr. Pelham spoke against the recommitment of the bill, as did several leading gentlemen on the treasury bench, such as sir John Parnell, Mr. Mason, sir Henry Cavendish, Mr. M. Beresford, and others of inferior note. Not one of them attempted to contradict or even attenuate the guilt of the Peep of Day Boys or Orange Men of Armagh. This debate in fact is the chief historical source of information for the true nature of the Armagh persecution. Suppression of the truth on one hand, the fear of publishing it on the other, confusion, exaggeration, and violence on all sides have left little else upon the subject, that can be credited. Mr. George Ponsonby, in speaking upon the nature of those disturbances in reply to the gentlemen of the ministerial side of the house, whose sole argument was, that it was unnecessary to take any particular notice of the county of Armagh, because the existing laws were sufficient to punish the crimes, by which that country was disgraced, answered, that the enormities, which had been declared by the governor of that county (lord viscount Gosford) to have been committed, and which the governor himself emphatically said, went beyond any enormities, which ever disgraced any country, were such as the existing laws were not calculated fully to reach; they were of that kind, that a fair and impartial government should be glad to catch at every opportunity to punish or prevent them. If administration were sincere in a wish to protect the unfortunate sufferer in that county, as they were to punish the offenders in other parts, they could not hesitate for a moment to adopt the amendment. There was as yet no good reason for resorting to the dangerous and desperate remedy of that bill. There then were only five counties disturbed, and even in those counties the disturbances had much abated within the last months.*

* 16 Par. Deb. p. 166. Mr. Ponsonby, alluding to himself, concluded his speech by disclaiming any party motive in his present conduct; he did not oppose the bill, but those two clauses of it which he thought no friend to the liberty or constitution of Ireland could support, and which for himself he would never agree to. Had he been influenced by party views, and wished to serve the cause of administration, he would have espoused the cause of the insurgents, for they were their best friends.

Here Mr. Ponsonby reprobated the conduct of the disorderly part of the people, who, while a constitutional opposition were obtaining for them a place bill, a pension bill a responsibility bill, and other useful measures, had provided for them-

Sir John Parnell complimented Mr. Ponsonby on the manly and open manner in which he had spoken those sentiments, which every man must feel on the conduct of the insurgents. After a very warm debate the question was negatived without a division. No other question of an interesting nature was debated in this session. On the 24th of March the money bills were presented,* and on the 15th of April the parliament was prorogued. His excellency's speech from the throne, besides the usual topics on such occasions, adverted to the steps taken by his majesty for setting on foot a negociation for a general peace, if the enemy should be disposed to enter into such a negociation on grounds consistent with the safety, honour, and interest of his majesty's kingdoms and of his allies. He confided that the vigorous measures they had adopted for the suppression of insurrection and outrage, and the wise provisions they had made for preventing the extension of similar offences, would have the most salutary effects; that the new regulation of licences under the superintendence of magistrates, would tend to promote tranquillity and sobriety. The establishment of more frequent sessions of the peace would afford an easy and expeditious admini-

strates a gunpowder bill, which deprived the freeman of his arms; a convention bill, which stopped the voice of the people, and brought liberty to almost its last gasp; and now had enabled them to bring forward this measure, which, were it permanent, would be the grave of the constitution.

* The following was the speaker's speech at the bar of the House of Lords. (16 *Par. Deb.* p. 211). "I should feel a pride in repeating the sentiments of loyalty, which direct the commons in all their deliberations, but the bills of supply which they now offer, declare it more effectually, than it is in the power of any language to express.

"We are part of the empire; we will stand or fall with Britain; it is our repeated determined resolution, and this nation will exert all its powers, and will call forth all its resources to support with her the common cause, to uphold the safety of the land, the religion and the constitution, against the overthrow which the present unprovoked and unexampled war attempts to threaten them with.

"Peace is an object most devoutly to be wished, but an insecure peace is only a smothered war; for a lasting and honourable one (and none can be lasting that is not honourable) we look to the powerful impressions which the abundant resources of the empire, the vigour of his majesty's exertions, and the cordial co-operation of all his subjects, must make on the common enemy.

"We have accordingly, with a unanimous voice, granted supplies to the utmost desire expressed by his majesty's ministers, and in doing so we look back with great satisfaction to the energy, wisdom, and economy, with which the very liberal supplies of the last session have been administered under your excellency's government. The defence of the kingdom has had due attention paid to it. The spirit of insurrection has been vigorously suppressed wherever it has appeared, and we have the strongest hope from the vigilance, the firmness and conciliating moderation, which have marked your excellency's conduct since your arrival in this kingdom, that under the additional powers, with which the laws of this session will have armed the magistracy, it will be totally and speedily subdued."

stration of justice in the different districts throughout the kingdom. The liberal increase of the salaries of the judges, and the alteration of the civil bill jurisdiction, for the convenience of the lower ranks of the people, would ensure the constant and regular attention of his majesty's judges to the civil and criminal business, that would remain to be done on the circuits.

The very wide difference of opinion upon the political system of governing Ireland, was not confined to the division of the treasury and opposition benches in parliament. The warfare of sentiment was wider and more violent out of doors. The numbers which adhered to the different parties were more than proportionally in the inverse ratio of the majority and minority in the House of Commons. An acrimonious and abusive pamphlet was written by one of the secretaries of the castle, though published anonymously, severely reflecting upon Mr. Grattan and earl Fitzwilliam. The notice and indignation, which this pamphlet produced in the opposite parties, gave it notoriety, consequence and effect; and the daily papers teemed with panegyrics and invectives according to the opposite dispositions, or rather the engagements of their proprietors. So much had been said, and not contradicted in parliament concerning the outrageous persecutions of the county of Armagh, that it was found advisable to endeavour to soften down the public indignation, which had been too unequivocally expressed, not to create alarm at the castle. In the Spring of this year, the public believed, (whether rightly or wrongly, the effect was the same) that about 5000 (some say 7000) Catholics had been forced or burned out of the county of Armagh, and that the ferocious banditti, who had expelled them had been encouraged, connived at, countenanced, instigated, or protected by the government. At the Lent assizes of the year 1796* the sheriff, governor, and grand jury of the county of

* It must appear more than singular to the impartial observer, that this address contains not one syllable of reference to the appropriate outrages of that county, viz. religious feuds and rancour, conflagration, devastation and extermination.

County of Armagh.

At a meeting of the high sheriff, governor, grand jury, and magistrates of the county of Armagh, assembled at the Lent Assizes, 1796, the following address and resolutions were unanimously agreed to:

- "To his excellency JOHN JEFFREYS, EARL CAMDEN, lord lieutenant general, and general governor of Ireland, &c. &c.
- "The unanimous address of the sheriff, governor, grand jury, and magistrates of the county of Armagh, assembled at Lent Assizes, 1796.
- "DEEPLY impressed with the attention which your excellency has been pleased to shew to this county, and sensible of the readiness with which military aid has been afforded, whenever it has been required, on occasion of the disturbances that in some places have unfortunately prevailed, we return your excellency our warmest acknowledgments, and beg leave to express the firmest confidence in the wisdom and energy of your excellency's government.

Armagh published an address and resolutions, calculated to do away the impressions generally received by the public upon the ferocious outrages of those exterminators. Their annunciation of impartial justice, and a resolution to punish offenders of every denomination, was rather unseasonable, when there remained no longer any of one denomination to commit outrages upon, or to retaliate injuries.

*In the summer of 1796, great numbers of persons, principally from the province of Ulster, had inrolled themselves in

" We have seen with the deepest regret the outrages, which for some time past have disturbed the peace, and interrupted the industry of this prosperous county—and as the grand jury of the county have always discharged their duty with that rigorous and impartial justice, which is calculated to protect the person and the property of all its inhabitants of every description, so we shall continue to use our utmost exertions to punish offenders of every denomination.

" We trust that the peace of the county will in consequence of the proceedings at this assizes, be restored universally—but should that unfortunately not be the case, we beg leave to assure your excellency that we must feel it to be our duty, and the duty of all the other magistrates of the county, to resort to immediate proceedings under the law of the present session of parliament, however much we must lament the unusual rigour, which it will impose upon offenders, and however much we must deplore the burthens as well as the disgrace, which such measures must necessarily impose upon the county.

" JOHN OGLE, sheriff.

" GOSFORD, governor.

" CAULFIELD, foreman, for self and fellow jurors."

Resolved, That the thanks of the grand jury be given to our high sheriff, for the care which he has taken in making returns of the very enlightened and dispassionate juries that have attended, and for his very proper conduct throughout this assizes.

Resolved, That the thanks of the grand jury be given to the right honourable the attorney general, for the very able speech in which he addressed the county, for the candour and unwearied exertion with which he has conducted the prosecutions at this assizes, and for his readiness in communicating with the grand jury on every occasion, when applied to.

The above address being presented to his excellency the lord lieutenant, he was pleased to return the following answer :

" I RETURN my most sincere thanks to the sheriff, governor, grand jury and magistrates of the county of Armagh, for the address which has been presented to me.

" It gives me the greatest satisfaction to observe the anxious solicitude that has appeared during the course of the last assizes, amongst all descriptions of persons, to endeavour to extinguish that spirit of outrage, which has existed within your county for some time past. I lament that those endeavours have not hitherto proved totally successful, but I look forward with confidence to the expectation that a continuation of that temper and unanimity which have appeared at the late assizes, may render it unnecessary to recur to those powers that have been given by the wisdom and energy of parliament, which powers I trust will be called for with caution, but when granted will be used with effect."

* Report of Secret Committee Com. Journ. Appendix DCCCXXIX. The above quoted Memoir (p. 5) gives the following detailed account of the pro-

that society. About the same period a direct communication had been opened by the heads of the party with the enemy : and French assistance was solicited and promised to be speedily sent to aid the disaffected in that kingdom. It appears sufficiently

gross of the union at this period :—" While they were almost entirely confined to the north, but increasing rapidly there, the insurrection bill was passed in the beginning of the year 1796, augmenting the penalties upon administering unlawful oaths, or solemn obligations, even to death : but death had ceased to alarm men who began to think it was to be encountered in their country's cause. The statute remained an absolute dead letter, and the numbers of the body augmented beyond belief.

" To the Armagh persecution is the union of Irishmen most exceedingly indebted. The persons and properties of the wretched Catholics of that county were exposed to the merciless attacks of an Orange faction, which was certainly in many instances uncontrolled by the justices of peace, and claimed to be in all supported by government. When these men found that illegal acts of magistrates were indemnified by occasional statutes, and the courts of justice shut against them by parliamentary barriers, they began to think they had no refuge but in joining the union. Their dispositions so to do, were much increased by finding the Presbyterians of Belfast especially, step forward to espouse their cause, and succour their distress. We will here remark, once for all, what we most solemnly aver, that wherever the Orange system was introduced, particularly in Catholic counties, it was uniformly observed, that the numbers of United Irishmen increased most astonishingly. The alarm which an Orange lodge excited among the Catholics, made them look for refuge by joining together in the united system ; and as their number was always greater than that of bigotted Protestants, our harvest was ten-fold. At the same time that we mention this circumstance, we must confess, and must deeply regret, that it excited a mutual acrimony and vindictive spirit, which was peculiarly opposite to the interest, and abhorrent to the feelings of the United Irishmen, and has lately manifested itself, we hear, into outrages of so much horror.

" About the middle of 1796, a meeting of the executive took place, more important in its discussions and its consequences, than any that had preceded it ; as such, we have thought ourselves bound to give an account of it with the most perfect frankness, and more than ordinary precision. This meeting took place in consequence of a letter from one of the society, who had emigrated on account of political opinions : it mentioned, that the state of the country had been represented to the government of France in so favourable a point of view, as to induce them to resolve upon invading Ireland, for the purpose of enabling it to separate itself from Great Britain. On this solemn and important occasion, a serious review was taken of the state of the Irish nation at that period : it was observed, that a desperate ferment existed in the public mind ; a resolution in favour of a parliamentary reform had indeed been passed early in 1793, by the House of Commons ; but after it had been frustrated by several successive adjournments, all hope of its attainment was vanished, and its friends every where proscribed, the volunteers were put down, all power of meeting by delegation for any political purpose, the mode in which it was most usual and expedient to co-operate on any subject of importance, was taken away at the same time. The provocations of the year 1794, the recall of lord Fitzwilliam, and the re-assumption of coercive measures that followed it, were strongly dwelt on : the county of Armagh had been long desolated by two contending factions, agreeing only in one thing, an opinion, that most of the active magistrates in that county treated one party with the most fostering kindness, and the other with the most rigorous persecution. It was stated, that so marked a partiality exasperated the sufferers, and those who sympathised

clear that some of the heads of the union at this time had fully conceived the execrable design of attempting to effectuate a total separation from Great Britain, and consequently the necessary overthrow of the existing government. But the extent of these traitorous views was cautiously suppressed from the multitude, whom they hitherto led as the blind instruments of their nefarious project, under the plausible avowal of uniting only for the purposes of obtaining Catholic emancipation, and full and equal representation in parliament. The determination, with which government seemed in the last session of parliament to have extinguished every prospect of attaining either of those two objects, and the system of coercion and rigour which they had now avowedly adopted, were used by the designing heads of the union as the most efficient means to propagate disaffection, to ulcerate the popular soreness, to bring into contempt the Protestant ascendancy, and to work up the disappointment, despair and licentiousness of the multitude, into civil and religious enthusiasm for effecting those two great objects, from the want of which they were taught to derive the sum total of their wretchedness. It had been observed in parliament by some of the most respectable country gentlemen, that such a system tended more to inflame than heal. No means of fascination and seduction were omitted to rivet the passions of the multitude to the attainment of emancipation and reform, who all gloried in their efforts to obtain these two points : and thus engaged, they became ductile to the ulterior views of their traitorous conductors. It is, however, to be remarked,

“ in their misfortunes. It was urged with indignation, that notwithstanding
 “ the greatness of the military establishment in Ireland, and its having been
 “ able to suppress the Defenders in various counties, it was not able, or was
 “ not employed to suppress these outrages in that county, which drove seven
 “ thousand persons from their native dwellings. The magistrates, who took
 “ no steps against the Orange men, were said to have overleaped the bounda-
 “ ries of law to pursue and punish the Defenders. The government seemed
 “ to take upon themselves those injuries by the indemnity act, and even ho-
 “ noured the violaters ; and by the insurrection act, which enabled the same
 “ magistrates, if they chose, under colour of law, to act anew the same abomi-
 “ nations. Nothing, it was contended, could more justly excite the spirit of
 “ resistance, and determine men to appeal to arms, than the insurrection act ;
 “ it punished with death the administering of oaths, which, in their opinion,
 “ were calculated for the most virtuous and honourable purposes. The power
 “ of proclaiming counties, and quieting them by breaking open the cabins of
 “ the peasants between sun set and sun rise, by seizing the inmates, and send-
 “ ing them on board tenders without the ordinary interposition of a trial by
 “ jury, had, it was alleged, irritated beyond endurance the minds of the re-
 “ flecting, and the feelings of the unthinking inhabitants of that province. It
 “ was contended, that even according to the constitution and example of 1688,
 “ when the protection of the constituted authorities was drawn from the sub-
 “ ject, allegiance, the reciprocal duty ceased to bind ; when the people were
 “ not redressed, they had a right to resist, and were free to seek for allies
 “ wherever they were to be found. The English revolutionists of 1688 called
 “ in the aid of a foreign republic to overthrow their oppressors. There had

that at this time few of the most dangerous of the rebels* were acting with the members of the union.

† With a view of being prepared as much as possible to co-operate with the enemy then expected, and in order to counteract

"sprung up in our own time a much more mighty republic, which, by its offers of assistance to break the chains of slavery, had drawn on itself a war with the enemies of our freedom, and now particularly tendered us its aid. These arguments prevailed, and it was resolved to employ the proffered assistance for the purpose of separation. We were aware it was suspected that negotiations between the United Irishmen and the French were carried on at an earlier period than that now alluded to, but we solemnly declare such suspicion was ill founded. In consequence of this determination of the executive, an agent was dispatched to the French Directory, who acquainted them with it, stated the dispositions of the people, and the measures which caused them: he received fresh assurances that the succours should be sent, as soon as the armament could be got ready."

* In the memoir of O'Connor, Emmett, and M'Nevin, they say (p. 9) "None of us were members of the united system until September or October in the year 1796." Mr. T. W. Tone had fled the country in the beginning of 1795, upon suspicion of his being implicated in the treason of the Rev. Mr. Jackson, who was tried for high treason and found guilty on the 23d of April, 1795: and when he was called up to receive sentence on the 30th of April, he died in court of the poison he had previously taken. Mr. Hamilton Rowan about the same time having been tried, convicted, and sentenced to two years imprisonment for sedition, escaped out of prison to the continent: and Mr. Napper Tandy having been indicted for high treason about the same time, was proceeding to take his trial at Dundalk; when he was met about twelve miles from that town by his attorney, who apprising him of the dead weight of evidence against him, he returned to Dublin, and fled also to the continent.

† Report of the Secret Committee XVII. Com. Journ. DCCCXXIX. The following account of the military organization is given in the before mentioned Memoir. "The military organization had no existence until towards the latter end of 1796, and was as near as could be engrafted on the civil: in order to avoid giving alarm, it continued to conceal itself as much as possible under the usual denominations. The secretary of a society of twelve, was commonly the petty officer; the delegate of five societies to a lower baronial, when the population required such an immediate step, was usually the captain, and the delegates from the lower to the upper baronial was usually the colonel. All officers to colonels up, were indispensably elected by those they were to command, but at that point the interference of the societies ceased, and every higher commission was in the appointment of the executive; only as soon as sufficient numbers of regiments were organized in any county, the colonels were directed to transmit to the executive the names of three persons, fit, in their opinion, to act as adjutants general for that county, of those, the executive chose one; and through this organ all military communications were made to the several counties; in consequence of such arrangements not more than one of the executive need ever be committed with any county; and that only to a person of his own choice from among the three. It so happened, that the same member was entitled to hold communications with several adjutants general, which still further diminished the risk to the executive: we refer to the amended printed constitution, where the military constitution without being named, is more correctly set forth, than we can give from memory. As to the manner in which these men were to be provided with arms and ammunition, every man who could afford it, was directed to provide himself with a musquet, bayonet, and as much ammunition as he could; every other man with a pike, and if he were able a case of pistols; but this, we apprehend, was not strictly adhered to. We have

the effect of the armed associations of yeomanry, established in October 1796, directions were issued by the leaders to the societies, to form themselves into military bodies, and to be provided with arms and ammunition.

These directions were speedily obeyed, the societies assumed a military form, and it appears by the original papers seized at Belfast in the month of April, 1797, that their numbers at that period, in the province of Ulster alone, were stated to amount to nearly one hundred thousand men. That they were very largely supplied with fire-arms and pikes, that they had some cannon and ammunition, and were diligently employed in the study of military tactics; in short, that nothing was neglected by the party which could enable them to take the field on the arrival of the enemy,* or whenever they might receive orders to that effect from their superior officers, whom they were bounden by oath to obey.

"heard it said, that treasurers were appointed for raising money to purchase arms, but no such appointment was ever made, at least by the executive. Perhaps some private societies might have adopted such a measure.

"In many instances the lower orders went about to private houses to search for arms; this the executive constantly endeavoured to prevent, because they were unwilling to raise alarm in their adversaries, or let the members of their body acquire habits of plunder, and be confounded with robbers. They endeavoured to dissuade them from these acts, by representing to the people, that the arms would always be kept in better condition by the gentlemen than by them, and could be easily seized whenever necessary. In other respects our stores were in the arsenal, in the castle, and the military depots throughout the country; our supplies were in the treasury.

* Memoir LX. "In the autumn of 1796, it must be confessed, the reasons already alleged, and the initiations of the preceding summer in the North, had disposed us to a separation and republic, principally because we were hopeless, that a reform would ever be yielded to any peaceable exertion of the people. We cannot be accurate as to the progress either of the numbers or organization of the United Irishmen; it having been an invariable rule, to burn all the returns or other papers, after they ceased to be useful; we have no documents wherewith to refresh our memories, but we apprehend the report of the secret committee to be, in that case, sufficiently accurate, except that the numbers were always much greater than appeared by those reports; the documents on which they rely, only noticed those who went regularly into societies; but great numbers, perhaps at a rough guess, half as many were sworn to the test, who were prevented by private motives and local circumstances, from committing themselves in that way; we are, however, convinced, that the numbers of the whole body could not latterly be less than 500,000.

"The returns from the different societies, and committees upwards, specified among other things, arms and ammunition; they were not originally included in them, nor were they introduced until after the passing the insurrection and indemnity acts, when the people began to be more than ever carried towards resistance, and were extremely irritated by the indemnified violations of law in the North. The returns also stated, sums of money having been collected; those sums were always very small, and applied towards the support of persons imprisoned on charges connected with the Union, and in conducting of their defences, any other expenses were defrayed by occasional private subscriptions."

The report of the secret committee of the commons, continues to inform us, that in the summer of 1796, the outrages committed by a banditti, calling themselves Defenders,* in the counties of Roscommon, Leitrim, Longford, Meath, Westmeath and Kildare, together with a religious feud prevailing in the county of Armagh, induced the legislature to pass a temporary act of parliament, generally called the Insurrection Act, by which the lord lieutenant and council were enabled, upon the requisition of seven magistrates of any county, assembled at a sessions of the peace, to proclaim the whole or any part thereof, to be in a state of disturbance; within which limits this law, giving increased power to the magistracy, was to have operation.

Many districts in Ulster, in which outrages prevailed, occasioned by the active and persecuting spirit of the United Irishmen, were in the course of the winter of 1796, and spring of 1797, put under the provision of the act above mentioned; and the committee observed, that although where the law was put in force with activity by the magistrates, very beneficial consequences were found to result from it, yet the treason was then too deeply rooted to yield to that remedy.

Although it be true, as the committee has reported, that in the latter end of 1796, and the beginning of 1797, the loyal inhabitants of Ulster suffered most severely from the United Irishmen; that throughout the province, they were stripped of their arms: that the most horrid murders were perpetrated by large bodies of men in open day, and that it became nearly impossible to bring

* The purport of this part of the report appears historically incorrect: inasmuch at least as it appears and intends to identify the cause of the Union and the Defenders in the year 1796. The Memoir gives this candid and apparently true account of the only connexion, which at that time existed between them.

"Defenderism has been supposed to be the origin of the modern societies of United Irishmen: this is undoubtedly either a mistake or a misrepresentation; we solemnly declare, that there was no connexion between them and the United Irish, as far as we know, except what follows:

"After the Defenders had spread into different counties, they manifested a rooted but unenlightened aversion, among other things, to the same grievances, that were complained of by the Union. They were composed almost entirely of Catholics, and those of the lowest order, who, through a false confidence, were risking themselves, and the attainment of redress by premature and unsystematic insurrection. In the north they were also engaged in an acrimonious and bloody struggle with an opposite faction, called Peep of Day Boys. The advantage of reconciling these two misguided parties, of joining them in the Union, and so turning them from any views they might have exclusively religious, and of restraining them from employing a mutual destructive exertion of force, most powerfully struck the minds of several United Irishmen. For that purpose, many of them in the northern counties went among both, but particularly the Defenders, joined with them, shewed them the superiority of the union system, and gradually, while government was endeavouring to quell them by force, melted them down into the United Irish body. This rendered their conduct infinitely more orderly, and less suspicious to government."

the offenders to justice, from the inevitable destruction that awaited the witnesses or jurors who dared to perform their duty: yet was it also true, that this species of barbarous outrage did not exist in the county of Armagh, and a part of Louth, but that another species of outrage from the Orangemen did there exist, of which the report is wholly silent. Historical justice requires us also to notice a most material fact asserted in the report of the lords, which does not appear to be founded in the same species of evidence, either by confession or voucher, upon which most of the facts contained in the report of the commons had been supported. The lords fully confirmed the report of the commons, and having received and investigated such further evidence as they thought in prudence they were called upon to examine, had come to an unanimous resolution, immediately to report that they were fully satisfied and convinced, from the evidence laid before them, that a traitorous and alarming conspiracy has been formed, and that sundry acts had been done in pursuance thereof by certain affiliated societies and persons in different parts of the kingdom, calling themselves United Irishmen, for the subversion of the established laws and constitution, and the introduction of a system of anarchy, plunder and confusion, similar to that which had fatally prevailed in France. That they thought it necessary further to report, that it appeared distinctly to them that such a system was the first and fundamental object of these societies, at their original institution in the summer of the year 1791, and that the attainment of what were called parliamentary reform and Catholic emancipation were and continued to be holden out by them merely as a pretence for their associations, and with a view to seduce persons, who were not apprized of their traitorous designs, to unite with them. This was a clear avowal, that all the members of the union were not at that time apprized of the traitorous designs of some of their leaders. For it is unquestionable, that numerous individuals were engaged as members of the union, who had no treason in their minds or hearts. The term affiliated societies was too extensive to be applied to those who were guilty at that time of treason. And therefore, the committee a little after applied, as the truth was, the guilt of uniting with the Defenders to the leaders and directors of their societies. For it had further appeared to them, that the leaders and directors of these associations then were and had been for some time past anxiously engaged in uniting with them a class of men, who had formerly disturbed the peace of this country by acts of outrage, robbery and murder, under the appellation of Defenders, and they had reason to apprehend, that in a certain degree they had succeeded. In addition to the facts contained in the report of the commons, they found it necessary to state, that it had appeared distinctly and

unequivocally to them, that a traitorous correspondence and communication had been carried on between the leaders and directors of the societies of the United Irishmen and the executive directory of the French Republic; the period at which that correspondence was proved to have taken place, had appeared to have been between the month of June, 1795, and the month of January, 1796, and the means by which it was carried on in that instant, had been fully proved; and it had also appeared to their committee, that in the event of success on the part of those conspirators, it had been decided, that all persons who from their principles or situation might be deemed inimical to the conspiracy, should be massacred; the first proscribed list, it had appeared to their committee, had been calculated by one of their leaders at thirty thousand persons.

It cannot elude the observation of every candid man, who considers the nature and progress of that horrible rebellion, which afterwards broke out openly in the year 1798, that the greater part of the individuals were unfortunately involved in it, by imperceptible gradation, by deception, art, malice, menace, or intimidation of the leaders and directors. The committee of the lords charged the affiliated societies of United Irishmen generally with the treason, and they attempted only to prove it against their leaders and directors in the particular instances of uniting with the Defenders and French Republicans. Too much guilt alas attached upon a numerous part of that nation, to excite a wish in the most savage breast to aggravate the criminality or extend the treason. Some individuals, who can only measure their own loyalty by the acrimony with which they calumniate their country, have upon the strength of this report, specifically charged the United Irishmen with holding regular committees of assassination. But no evidence whatever is offered by the lords even to support their loose innuendo or charge of systematic assassination. The private murders, though numerous and bloody, rather rebut than substantiate the charge of any organised system of that atrocious nature.*

* Mem. p. 7. "It has been alleged against the United Irishmen, that they established a system of assassination. Nothing has ever been imputed to them, that we feel more pleasure in being able to disavow. In such immense numbers as were to be found in that body, although uniformity of system may have given a wonderful uniformity of action, yet it is unfair and unjust to charge the whole body with the vices of a few of its members: individual grievances produced individual resentments, and the meeting of many sufferers in the same way frequently caused them to concur in the same resolutions. It appears, indeed, by some trials, that a baronial once took that subject into consideration; but it was manifest, that it was taken up by them as individuals, whose principles, as it afterwards appeared, were not repugnant to the act. A committee of assassination has been much talked of: we have heard persons mentioned as members of it, whom we know, from the most private and confi-

As the summer advanced, the public fever was quickened. Many outrages of the Defenders were punished in a most unwarrantable manner upon innocent untried persons by the military: upon mere suspicion or absence of a landlord, they burnt houses, they often maimed, and in some instances murdered the natives, who unfortunately inhabited the districts, into which they were sent. Nothing so strongly tends to irritate the popular mind, as the commission of crimes under the colour of authority. In one instance a certain colonel was at the assizes of Armagh tried and found guilty of murdering a Mr. Lucas; upon his receiving sentence, he produced his majesty's pardon, and was instantly liberated. This circumstance greatly irritated the people. The many barbarities committed by the Orangemen in Armagh and Down, if not with connivance,* at least with

dential observations, to be utterly abhorrent from that crime. We solemnly declare, we believe that such a committee never existed. We most solemnly aver, it never was with the cognizance of a part of the union. We also declare that in no communication from those, who were placed at the head of the United Irishmen, to the rest of that body, and in no official paper was assassination ever inculcated, but frequently and fervently reprobated. It was considered by them with horror, on account of its criminality, and with personal dread, because it would render ferocious the minds of men, in whose hands their lives were placed, most particularly placed; inasmuch as between them and the rest of that body were they out of the protection of the law. In proof of this assertion, we would beg leave to refer to a sketch of a publication, which we believe was seized among the papers of one of us, at the time of his arrest, and which it was intended should appear, if the paper to which it alluded had not been discontinued. One other consideration, which we intreat may not offend, will, we hope be decisive. If such committee had existed, and if the men at the head of the United Irishmen had thought assassination a justifiable mode of attaining their ends, and had been capable of encouraging such atrocity, possessed as they were of wide-spread means of acting, and powerful control over men, who, it is now manifest, held the loss of life in utter contempt, the poignard would have been directed, not against such petty objects as an obnoxious county magistrate, or an informer."

* Three Orangemen voluntarily made oath before a magistrate of the county of Down and Armagh, that they met in committees; amongst whom were some members of parliament, who gave these people money, and promised they should not suffer for any act they might commit; and pledged themselves that they should hereafter be provided for under the auspices of government. The magistrate wrote to the secretary of state, enquiring of him how he should act in these critical times; that hitherto he had preserved peace on his large estate, but wished to know how he should act in future; that if it were necessary for the preservation of the present system for him to connive at or encourage the Orangemen in their depredations, he said, as a man he knew his duty; if it were not necessary, he hoped the magistrates of the county at large would be made responsible, and be compelled to act against these depredators. That letter was written in consequence of a large meeting of Orangemen intended to be convened in about ten days after. About the same time a number of delegates from the Orangemen met in the town of Armagh, and entered into resolutions, which they published: in these resolutions they recommended to the gentlemen of fortune to open a subscription, declaring, "That the two guineas per man allowed them by government was not sufficient to purchase cloaths and accoutrements."

impunity, greatly inflamed the irritation of the opposite party, which throughout the nation was by far the more numerous. I forbear to retail the particular outrages, lest malice should misrepresent their statement, as a justification of rebellion. In the autumn of this year government greatly encouraged the formation of different armed corps,* particularly of yeomanry, in imitation of those in England. The dread of a French invasion was the ostensible reason for embodying these corps. Nothing however gave more sanction and favour to them with the public, than the formation of the lawyer's corps. A general meeting of the bar was holden on the 14th of September, 1796, at which it was resolved, that they held it expedient, with the permission of government, to form an armed association for the defence of the kingdom. Great exertions were at this time made to fester the soreness of the Catholics, and to inflame the differences between the Protestants and them. Complaints were

* These corps, which afterwards proved highly serviceable to the state, were at first strongly disrelished and opposed by numbers: all those of course were against them, who entertained any real evil designs against the government: those who had *bona fide* united for the purposes of attaining reform and emancipation conceived, that they were to be dragooned out of their purposes: and the Catholics not being generally admitted into these corps, resented their invention as an invidious distinction, tending to question their loyalty and sincerity in their country's cause. They accordingly waited on Mr. Pelham for leave to raise a Catholic corps, but were told, that if they chose they might join the corps then raising by their Protestant fellow subjects. Some few in fact did; but the shyness and reluctance, with which Catholics were admitted into the Protestant corps of yeomanry, kept most from joining them. Certain it is also, that the anti-ministerial party discouraged them at the time, as appears from party publications of those days. One of them spoke thus: "The manner in which administration are about to prepare a force in this kingdom is exceeding suspicious. Were the liberties of the nation to be destroyed, its independence, or imperial existence to be voted away, the plan to be acted upon could be no other than that which develops itself.—" In the metropolis the *canaille de la cour* only are to be armed; we are to have armed pensioners, armed excisemen, armed revenue officers, from the commissioner to the gauger; armed contractors, armed clerks from all the public offices: every person in the court, about the court, or deriving from the court, is to be armed. In the country our little great men, known at court, and none others, are to be armed; their parasites and retainers are to be armed, their domestics are to be armed, their devoted tenants are to be armed, and this pye-bald mass of incongruous particles, this disjointed piece of patchwork, a just emblem of folly, weakness, and ridicule, is to be called yeomanry.

"See, then, in what situation we will eventually find ourselves. All the partizans of corrupt influence, all those whose interest it is to continue and multiply the abuses of our political system, will have arms in their hands. All those who rely upon their own independent properties, or upon their own industry, the people whom it has become of late the fashion to asperse, will be naked. Thus naked, the people will stand, like a fool in the middle, surrounded by a treble army, an army of placemen and pensioners, a mercenary standing army, and an army of militia, officered by the court."

made in the popular prints.* of those in the pay of government for their open endeavours to blow up these nearly smothered embers into a fresh flame of rancour, animosity and perpetual discord. The unchecked and unpunished persecutions of the Catholics in the county of Armagh, was the never-ceasing theme of popular declamation: ministers both in and out of parliament rebutted the charge of connivance, approbation and encouragement, by flat and solemn denials. It was objected to the administration, that whilst they proclaimed the houghing of a bullock in the south, they smothered in silence the murder and proscription of hundreds of human beings in the north: that they were vigilant to make every forcible possession out of the county of Armagh the subject of a proclamation, whilst within that county they winked at the perpetration of the most atrocious crimes. The popular party, which sought nothing so eagerly as to disgust and inflame

* The Dublin Evening Post of the 24th of September, 1796, contained the following observations, which I copy, not to prove the truth or justness, but to shew the state and disposition of the public mind at that period. "The most severe stroke made against the character and conduct of the viceroy, as a moral man and first magistrate of a free people, who 'ought not to hold the sword in vain,' nor to exercise it *partially*, has been in Faulkner's journal of this day. That hiring print is undeniably in the pay of his lordship's administration; and what administration permits, it is supposed to prompt or patronize. In that print, the blind fury of the banditti, which usurps and disgraces the name of *Orange* in the north, is applauded, and all their bloody excesses justified. Murder in all its horrid forms, assassinations in cold blood, the mutilation of members without respect to age or sex, the firing of whole hamlets, so that when the inhabitants have been looked after nothing but their ashes were to be found; the atrocious excursions of furious hordes, armed with sword, fire, and faggot, to exterminate a people, for presuming to obey the divine command, written by the finger of God himself, 'Honour thy father and thy mother,' and walking in the religion which seemed good in their eyes. These are the flagitious enormities, which attract the mercenary applause of Faulkner's journal, the literary prop of the Camden administration; these are favourite themes, upon which it dilates with the copiousness of a full heart.... O shame! where is thy blush?"

"The same print, by insinuation, would visit the disturbances, which have taken place in Louth, Meath, Monaghan, Cavan, Westmeath, Roscommon, Longford, Leitrim, Sligo, Limerick, Wexford, and Dublin, upon the magistrates of those counties. The suppression of nocturnal insurrections in these districts is a full vindication of these magistrates. The violence of the other insurrection, and the impunity with which it rages in the north, leave the magistrates in that quarter without excuse. Recent decisions in our courts prove, that they deserve punishment, and are themselves accomplices in the crimes, which it is their duty as magistrates, as men, and as Christians, to prevent. It is silly and impudent to say, that *Defenders* have advocates in this paper. Every rational man must abhor the practices of those unfortunate misguided people. But there are shades in guilt; and guilt of a deeper and fouler stain, baseness more black and bloody never appalled the eye of man, than that which stalks in the counties of Armagh and Down, however it may be hailed as the good genius of the country, by that literar dæmon of the court *Faulkner's Journal*."

the public mind against the castle, justified these charges by asserting, what was certainly true, though perhaps otherwise intended by government, that no statute, no proclamation, no resolutions of public bodies, had specified or punished the particular crimes of the Orangemen in Armagh, that no perpetrators of them had been punished, that not a single magistrate had been stricken off the commission, though many were generally believed to have connived at and encouraged those outrages: that several were rewarded by commands in the yeomanry corps, and otherwise favoured by government. Whatever the real conduct of government were with reference to the disturbances in Armagh, the partiality of that county for Mr. Pelham the secretary, and the then well known intention of returning that gentleman with Dr. Duigenan for the borough of Armagh in the ensuing parliament, coupled with other reports, riveted in the minds of the great mass of the people the firmest conviction, that the impunity of those fanatic exterminators of Armagh, found countenance and support from the seat of civil and ecclesiastical power. Already had the reports of a general election brought forth many candidates for the counties, and the few open boroughs that admitted of election, to address their constituents. A more unequivocal test of the prevailing principles in those particular districts cannot be resorted to, than the addresses, in which the candidates assume merit in the eyes of what they conceive and wish to be the majority. Thus the congenial opposition given by Mr. Pelham and Dr. Duigenan to the question of Catholic emancipation, recommended them to the borough of Armagh: thus a contrary spirit of equal toleration endeared colonel (now lord) Hutchinson* to the city of Cork. The early meeting of the par-

* In his address to the electors of Cork on the 6th of October, 1796, amongst other matters, this gentleman, whose gallant conduct his sovereign has since rewarded with a peerage, thus accosted his constituents after the usual introductory compliments. "It would be ridiculous in me to make you a vain display, and an idle pageantry of my loyalty, which no man has ever presumed to doubt or deny. Brought up in the army almost from my infancy, and now a general officer in the king's service, I must be loyal from duty, interest, affection, habit, and feeling; it would be too late for me to desert that cause, for which I have fought, and for which I am ready to die.

"I too love and revere our glorious constitution; I have studied and endeavoured to comprehend its principles, and have yet to learn that they tend to exclusion or intolerance. Sure I am, that the representation of all freehold property is the basis upon which it is erected; and that every departure from this its vital principle, is a violation of that constitution, which will be most applauded by those who understand it best. To unite all sects in one common comprehension, to consolidate the nation in order to give security to the people, strength to the empire, and dignity to the crown, has ever been the first object of my political life. These were my sentiments open and avowed long before I had the honour of representing you in parliament. Your own experience has proved, that they were not founded in error; you must have uniformly observed, that the prosperity of the country has increas-

liament, the uncertainty of its duration, the importance of the expected debates, the progress of organization with the United Irishmen, their hopes of French succours, others dread of French invasion, the increased vigilance of government, and their new exertions to tranquillize Armagh, all tended in different ways to abate for the moment the heat of the public fever.

The parliament met on the 13th of October, 1796, when the lord lieutenant in his speech from the throne informed them, that his majesty had required their attendance thus early in parliament in consequence of the enemy's threatening a descent upon that kingdom and Great Britain: he appealed to and confided in the spirit, loyalty, and zeal of his faithful people of Ireland to repel such an attack: he apprised them of his majesty's intention to send a person to Paris to treat for a peace: informed them of the hostile disposition of Spain, and congratulated with them upon our successes in the West Indies, and the steady and dignified conduct of the emperor, and the intrepidity and spirit of the Austrian forces under the archduke Charles, which inspired a well grounded confidence of obtaining a peace. He trusted to the liberality of the commons for the supplies. He then adverted to the expediency of the vigorous measures of the last parliament, which appeared by the subsiding in great measure of those outrages, which they were intended to suppress. His excellency now for the first time took tender and oblique notice of the disturbances of Armagh. * "I have however to lament, that in "one part of the country good order has not yet been entirely "restored; and that in other districts a treasonable system of "secret confederation, by the administering of illegal oaths, still "continues, although no means within the reach of government "have been left untried to counteract it."

† Mr. Grattan objected to the speech. It contained no reconciling matter, no expectation of commercial benefits, and did in a great measure bespeak a false confidence in our resources both in commerce and revenue.

He lamented extremely, that the outrages against the Catholics in the north had been so slightly dwelt on. He could not conceive that government, with all the powers it now possessed, should not have been able to quiet that part of Ireland; that he feared the mob had a confidence in the lenity of government, founded on the sympathy of religion between the castle and the Orange Boys, and that the latter had therefore, under the pre-

"ed in direct proportion with the relaxation of the penal code; and you must "be convinced, that the circumstances of the times, and the situation of surrounding Europe, imperiously require the union of all the inhabitants of this "island."

* 17 Journ. Com. p. 9.

† 17 Par. Deb. p. 3.

sumption of connivance, continued to commit the most daring outrages. That to suppose that government was inadequate to suppress this insurrection, when it has shewn itself not adequate only, but unrestrained in putting an end to other insurrections, was to allow government more indulgence than it deserved. That he did not approve of that expression in the speech, which represented these raging atrocities in the north as a disturbance not entirely suppressed; such tenderness of language to such enormous practices against the poor and industrious, betrayed an indifference in the government to the protection of the lower orders of his majesty's Roman Catholic subjects; that he was an enemy to equality of property, but a friend to equality of protection; and that in his opinion the best method of preventing equality of property was to afford equality of protection. Mr. Grattan then proceeded to consider the war in general: he represented in the highest glow of colouring the different situations of the several powers of Europe, and when he came to his own country, he exclaimed, "There was also Ireland; poor, plundered, ill used, insulted, and forgiving Ireland; and though represented by the minions, *easily raised and easily put down*, pouring into the fleets and armies until she was forced to leave herself without a soldier, for her minister's ill fated, and wide wasting West India expedition, where those ministers by their plan and their delay supplied the place of plague, pestilence, and famine: loans granted more in one year, than she granted to any one minister in the course of any former war. They have had every thing from the two islands which an old country, that was relaxed, and a young one, that was ill administered, could afford: every thing in England but enthusiasm, and in Ireland every thing but the good opinion of the people, and all to send an ambassador to ask peace of the French republic." He concluded* a very long, eloquent, and severe

* 17 Par. Deb. p. 13. The conclusion of his speech was to this effect. "Rely on it, ministers must reconcile: they must capitulate: it is not to them a new thing; they capitulate in 1793 to the Catholic claim. What measure has been carried for this country but by their capitulation? The declaration of rights, &c. &c. &c. nor can the English cabinet have any qualms on this occasion: the English cabinet have been of late years in the course of capitulation: they capitulated to America: they now capitulate to the French Republic: and why not capitulate to Ireland? This country can only be saved by her own force, and her own force can only be procured by adopting the Catholics; and they can only be adopted by a total and entire change of maxims, measures, and manners, accompanied with a free and full participation of whatever privileges the constitution can boast, and what is infinitely more essential, whatever privileges the constitution intended. This is the force, the power, the charm, the staff of your saint, that will banish from your isle all noxious animals; the wand that opens the sea to the English, and will wall it up against the French. Quick, very quick! you have not a moment to lose; you have given your fellow subjects a share of your taxes,

harange against the ministers, by moving the following amendment : " To represent to his majesty, that the most effectual method for strengthening the country and promoting unanimity, was to take such measures, and to enact such laws, as to ensure to all his majesty's subjects the blessings and privileges of the constitution, without any distinction of religion." The amendment was seconded by Mr. W. B. Ponsonby.

The debate was carried on till two o'clock in the morning with extreme heat and virulence. Mr. Grattan's amendment was opposed, as unseasonable and violent, by several of those who had been in the habit of voting with him on all occasions ; insomuch that the minority on the division consisted only of 12 against 149. To this circumstance Mr. Grattan adverted in his reply. He was told, he said, that he was near the close of his political life : he would however borrow a few moments of that life to repeat the sentiment, and re-assert a claim dear to his heart, however reduced their number, however solitary their phalanx. In the course of this debate lord Castlereagh replied with great warmth to Mr. Grattan ; and Mr. Pelham spoke more at length than he usually did : he adopted the observation of his friend Mr. Alexander, that the statement of the British empire made by Mr. Grattan was more likely to have come from a member of the French Assembly than an Irish legislator. He particularly adverted to the two topics, which had formed the principal ground of the debate ; namely, the question of Catholic emancipation, and the disturbances of Armagh. As to the first, he thought it very improperly brought forward at that juncture. It was then no time to make distinctions between Catholics and Protestants ; no such distinction was made by government. In the offers to arm, the Catholics had been as forward as the Protestants. In some counties, where gentlemen attached to the Protestant as-

" your defeat, and depopulation ; kindly, very kindly—give them now a share of your blessings, whatever your ministers have left you. Let us make no more sacrifices of our liberties : let us now sacrifice our prejudices : they will ascend in smoke, the best use we can make of them, and be a tidings to your God, that you are become a convert to your country."

* Historical justice requires, that we notice, that the minister's assertion rather confirms, than defeats the former observations upon the discouragement given to the Catholics arming. He says, that in *some counties*, *some gentlemen* attached to the Protestant ascendancy had included *many Catholics* in their lists. The obvious inference is, that in most cases, the reverse had happened. The very term *many Catholics* bespeaks a proportionate paucity, when bearing upon a population that consists of more than three Catholics to one Protestant. Neither did his justification of the county of Armagh meet the objections, which had been complained of. The persecution of the Catholics in that county had been complained of for years ; and the application of remedy is spoken of, only *as since* the last session. The reason he gave for not promulgating the insurrection law in that county, could convey little satisfaction to the people aggrieved or to the public at large ; because the magistrates

cendancy resided, some of whom had saved their counties from ruin, those very gentlemen had come forward with offers to raise corps, and in their lists had included many Roman Catholics. Some Roman Catholics had, no doubt, been persuaded, that such distinctions were adopted by government, and he found it necessary to state what he then did, lest the high authority of some gentlemen who had that night promoted that opinion, should sanction the report. The Armagh disturbance had been last session a subject of discussion; government had been then exculpated by the gentlemen of that county. Since that time an officer of the highest credit and reputation had been established there, and every effort made to restore that order, which was approaching every day. The noble lord near him had replied to the charge of not promulgating the insurrection law; and he had only to add, that the disturbances there appeared to the magistrates not to require the enforcement of that very severe law.

Mr. Archdal justified the magistrates of Armagh, by asking, if assistance had ever been called for, and refused? No. Had means of prevention ever been pointed out and neglected? No. Had any culpable magistrates been particularized, and protected? No. If any magistrate should be thereafter sentenced as culpable, would he not be punished? Yes, and exemplarily. Mr. Corry bore testimony of the exertions of government in suppressing those disturbances. He had been on the grand jury on the two last assizes: and though at the spring assizes many rioters of all descriptions had been tried and convicted, such was the good effect of the example then made, that very few came before the grand jury at the summer assizes, in proportion to the number that had been committed in the spring. Mr. George Ponsonby and Mr. Grattan replied in a very animated strain to that part of Mr. Pelham's speech, in which he had asserted, that the exclusion of Catholics from parliament and the state, was necessary for the crown and the connexion: that he was ready then, and at all times, to meet the question, and to support it with his life and fortune.*

were always complained of as the immediate and efficient instrument of the evil. Mr. Grattan (17 Par. Deb. p. 50.) thought the audacity of the mob arose from a confidence in the connivance of government; under an administration sent thither to defeat a Catholic bill, a Protestant mob very naturally conceived itself a part of the state, and exercised the power of life, and death, and transportation, and murder, and rape, with triumph; and with the seeming sympathy with the court religion the magistrates retire from the scene of action, &c.

* To this Mr. Grattan thus strongly spoke: (17 Par. Deb. p. 48.) "This dreadful, this deadly, this wild, and this fatal proscription, when he is calling for volunteers to enrol in the service, what language, what denunciation, what dictation could France have suggested more opportune in time, more pregnant in disaffection, or more authoritative in mischief? His practical

The second day of the session was ordered for the house to resolve itself into a committee for suspending the Habeas Corpus Act, when Mr. George Ponsonby observed, that were he to stand alone, he should exert his utmost powers to resist the measure. He had every respect for his excellency, who was nominally the author of it, while it really belonged to others. He was aware, that the present members of administration in his country, were men of vindictive spirit, and he did not wish to entrust the whole personal liberty of the subject to lovers of vengeance. After passing that bill into a law, they might apprehend any person obnoxious to them, without even giving reasons for such arbitrary conduct, and leave them to languish in gaol as long as they thought proper. He wished the house to make a material distinction with regard to words. Ministers confounded the words *administration* and *government*; they wished to hold forth all who opposed their measures as inimical to the king and constitution. He was convinced there was a great portion of disaffection to the present administration, but he could not think the quantum of disaffection to the constitution was much; he did not mean to say, there were none disaffected to the constitution, but he was aware, that no quantity of sedition or treason existed so great or prevalent as to justify the passing of such an arbitrary law. The end proposed was not meant as a greater protection to the king and constitution. It was designed as an instrument of terror and vengeance in the hands of ministers. In that idea he would always oppose it, and therefore he moved, that the chairman do leave the chair.

Mr. Prime serjeant said, if the honourable gentleman disbelieved the existence of treasonable conspiracies in the country, he must have rejected the evidence of his eyes and ears; he himself knew, both as a private gentleman and a professional

"logic has been, that in times of apprehended invasion, it is perilous to hold the language of reconciliation, and discreet to hold the language of proscription. Eternal and indefeasible proscription! denounced by a minister of the crown, speaking to three-fourths of his majesty's subjects, France knew perfectly well, that she had gained Brabant, but she did not know till now, that she had gained in the councils of the king of England, that fatal partition, who, with the best intention in the world, could thus in his majesty's dominions, and from his seat in parliament recruit for the French republic. The member may rely on it, the Catholic—the Irish will not long submit to such an interdict; they will not suffer a stranger (amiable as the right honourable member may be, he is but a stranger) to tell us on what proud terms English government will consent to rule in Ireland, still less to pronounce and dictate the incapacity of the natives, as the terms of her dominion, and the base condition of our connection and allegiance. We love the monarchy, and we love the connection, as compatible with, and instrumental to the preservation of Irish liberties, preferring our own liberties and our own people of all religions, to all things, and to all other countries. Rely on it, the ministry must retract that denunciation."

man, that such treasons did exist. Numberless concurring instances were notoriously in proof of that fact, from the trial and conviction of Jackson to that of Weldon and his accomplices ; that of Traynor and other traitors, who were convicted on the clearest evidence, proved the fact beyond all rational doubt.

Mr. Duquery called the attention of the house to a question of the greatest moment. A great portion of the liberty of the subject was to be sacrificed without any evidence to justify such a measure.

In England, when such a law had been resorted to, the British minister had given sufficient previous notice, and collected a mass of evidence ; and he must wonder, and it must pierce the feelings of an Irishman, to perceive all the shelter of the subject to be removed, without the smallest proof that a conspiracy existed ; or, if it existed without allowing time for discussing the expediency of the suspension. Why was not a secret committee appointed to inquire whether or not such a conspiracy had existed ? Surely the house was not to rely on a short speech from an attorney general as sufficient evidence to repeal the Habeas Corpus. He wished ministers to consider the tendency of their measures ; they ought rather to inspire amongst the people a love of their king and government, than to goad them to resistance. The fleet being sent abroad to Newfoundland, and elsewhere, shewed that no invasion was apprehended. Mr. Duquery concluded a very strong and able speech, by saying, that last sessions the trial by jury had been voted away, and that was to be made memorable by repealing the Habeas Corpus.

The attorney general insisted on the precedents which had been resorted to, as a justification of the bill. Fifteen persons had been lately committed by a warrant from the King's Bench, not insignificant, but persons of property and some influence, who joined to sow sedition and create disaffection against the king and constitution. Beside, the former trials shewed, that there did exist a rooted conspiracy in the country, which called aloud for coercion and prevention. It was notorious, that there had been emissaries from France, to open the way to an invasion ; and the members of the convention in their speeches talked of preparations for an invasion.

Mr. Fletcher felt himself called upon to animadvert, as he did with some asperity, upon the indecent speed, with which such a bill was sought to be hurried through the house.

Mr. Curran conjured the house to reflect seriously upon the moment that had been chosen by administration for the bringing in of the bill ; he thought it a melancholy proof of their want of temper and judgment. In the debates upon that motion, the rights of the Roman Catholics had been strongly urged, and as

strongly opposed; the disposition of the administration towards them was fully manifested, and the motion was rejected; of the propriety of that rejection he would not speak, he could not but lament it; he lamented still more the effect, that he was sure the making of the present bill the immediate sequel to that rejection would have on the public mind. At two in the morning the house was moved for leave to bring in a bill to repeal the Habeas Corpus Act; at five minutes past two in the morning the bill was read a first time, and after a grave and mature deliberation, the bill was ordered to be read, and was accordingly read a second time at ten minutes after two in the morning it was laid before a committee of the whole house.

Some gentlemen on both sides held very inflammatory language, and the question being called for at a late hour by the house upon Mr. G. Ponsonby's motion, 7 only voted for it, and 137 opposed it.

Mr. Grattan on the 17th of February, 1797, introduced the question of Catholic emancipation. He travelled over every old argument, upon which he threw new light: he discussed all our continental alliances lost, gained, or retained: ridiculed the idea of Popish tenets entering into the grounds of their formation or abandonment. He minutely investigated the principles, pretext, and method of raising the Irish brigade of 6000 Catholics, under Catholic and French officers. He calculated the numerical and physical advantages, which the British navy and army received from Ireland. He concluded a very long, animated, and elaborate speech, by the following resolution: *⁴ "That the admissibility of

* 17 Par. Deb. p. 80. Towards the conclusion of the speech, Mr. Grattan thus broke out against the persons whom he considered as possessing and monopolizing the whole power of the state: "These men prescribe for these things as the old natural jobbers of the country, they demand all power and all place, in consideration of the superior purity and disinterestedness of their religion; 'Give us all the good things on earth, in the name of God; and in God's mercy give nothing to the rest of our fellow subjects!' Thus this pure and pious passion for church and state, turns out to be a sort of political gluttony—an ascendancy hunger—a state voracity—an inordinate appetite for temporal gratifications; in consideration of spiritual perfection; and in consequence of this vile and mean, selfish and beastly monopoly, your state becomes an oligarchy, the worst species of oligarchy, a plebeian oligarchy. I love the Protestants, I love the Presbyterians, and I love the Catholics, that is, I love the Irish; if ever my affection abates, it is when they hate one another." He said he approved of the British ministry, when they liberalized towards the Catholic, and condemned the ministry in 1795, when it renounced its liberality and its honour, and returned to its barbarity, and employed Christian sects, like hell-hounds, to hunt down one another. That in consequence of this, they have set up in Ireland a proscriptive state—a proscriptive parliament—a proscriptive monarchy—a proscriptive connexion; they have done so, when the condition of the empire is in a great degree feeble, and that of the constitution in the last degree corrupt. Thus they make the empire feeble, and the constituted authorities profligate, and after purpose to

"persons professing the Roman Catholic religion to seats in parliament is consistent with the safety of the crown, and the connexion of Great Britain with Ireland." The resolution was seconded by Mr. G. Ponsonby. Mr. Knox, sir B. Roche, sir Frederick Flood, sir Hercules Langrishe, and several other members, who agreed with the principle of the resolution, voted against it, merely because they then thought it unseasonable to discuss the question. Dr. Duigenan made a most diffuse and infuriated Philippic against Popery, impregnated with every inflammable matter, that the blind prejudice and bigotry of the most barbarous ages have ever administered to the fanatic. He was abusive in the extreme to the existing generation of his Catholic countrymen, and treated Mr. Byrne and Keogh as notorious traitors. Messrs. Curran, Duquerry, Fletcher and Mr. George Ponsonby spoke warmly for the question. Mr. G. Ogle and sir John Parnel against it. It was carried at half past three o'clock in the morning, by 143 against 19. This was the last time the question of Catholic emancipation was brought before the Irish parliament.

When Mr. secretary Pelham moved on the 26th of October, 1796, that the house should adjourn for about a fortnight; Mr. Curran strongly opposed it; particularly upon the grounds of the necessity of putting an immediate check upon the still continuing outrageous disturbances of Armagh, which surpassed in horror every thing he had ever heard or read. He had on the first day of the session stated the number of families that had become the victims of that infernal barbarity at 700; it was with great pain he mentioned, that upon more minute inquiry, he found as many more must be added to the miserable catalogue: he was in possession of evidence, ready to be examined at their bar, and whom he hoped they would hear, which would satisfy them upon oath, that not less than 1400 families had been thus barbarously expelled from their houses, and then were wandering about the neighbouring counties, save such of them as might have been murdered, or burned in their cottages, or perished in the fields, or highways, by fatigue and famine, and despair; and that horrid scene had been transacted, and was still continuing in the open day, in the heart of the kingdom, without any effectual interference whatsoever.

Mr. Pelham persisted in his motion for adjournment; and he thought it incumbent on him, to give his reasons for so doing, to prevent on the one hand, an idea that government was averse to the investigation of the excesses that had been stated by the hon-

make them proscriptive; and do this when they are to encounter abroad, not only the triumph of arms but of revolutions, as one way of defeating both and setting them at defiance.

ourable gentleman : and on the other, that his motive for not opposing that investigation, should not be misunderstood. He certainly neither wished to evade or to postpone such an investigation ; but as what passed within those walls was not always confined to them, he begged to protest against this concession to an investigation, being considered as an atonement to the people, for the neglect of government : on the contrary, he said, he was firmly convinced that when such an inquiry should be instituted, it would appear that government had used the utmost vigilance and diligence in their endeavours to allay and quell the disorders that had been so much complained of, and so strongly painted by the honourable gentleman. He could not, however, help remarking, that all his eloquence had been employed in the description of the outrages committed by one class of offenders, and that he had been totally silent, as to those (certainly equally atrocious) committed by another class : and he hoped, that if it should be thought proper to go into the inquiry sought by the honourable gentleman, that inquiry might be extended to those enormities practised by mobs raised for the purpose of exciting sedition, and bearing the standard of disaffection.

Mr. Grattan thought that his honourable friend could not have any objection to extend the object of the inquiry as far as the right honourable gentleman had mentioned, and he recommended it to him not to press his motion : upon which Mr. Pelham's motion passed in the affirmative, and the house adjourned from various times to the 6th of January, 1797.

The Irish nation was at this time worked up to a state of extraordinary fermentation. Some of the operative causes were natural and irresistible ; others were grounded in reflex malevolence : the most of them sprang out of misrepresentation and the rancorous animosity of party. That some of those out of parliament, who stood the most forward on the popular questions in Ireland, had at this time basely become patricides, and imbrued themselves in the guilt of treason is a lamentable truth. But it is also a melancholy consideration to reflect, that the negotiations of those traitors with the French cabinet were either unknown, connived at, or slighted. It is a notorious fact, that the preparations and intentions of the French government to make a descent upon Ireland had been spoken of throughout Great Britain and Ireland during the whole of the autumn, with a constancy and familiarity, that bred discredit in the people and neglect in the government. The great project of invading that country was particularly encouraged, though not guarded against at that moment of renovated and extended hostility. Our cabinet either doubted or slighted the preparation and energy of the enemy. The armament designed for this great expedition, had been pre-

paring at Brest, during the whole summer. It consisted of twenty-five ships of the line, including the seven that composed the squadron of Admiral Richery, who was to join it with all speed, fifteen stout frigates, besides sloops and transports for an army of 25,000 men, to be commanded by General Hoche, whose military abilities were esteemed equal to those of any officer in the French service, Moreau and Buonaparte himself, scarcely excepted.

Through several unforeseen accidents this armament was not ready for sailing till the 18th of December. On going out of Brest, some of the largest ships struck upon the rocks at the mouth of the harbour, several were lost, and others rendered unfit for service. The day after its departure, a violent storm arose, which dispersed the fleet, and damaged many of the ships. This tempestuous weather lasted during the whole time of the expedition. On the 24th, Admiral Bouvet, commander in chief of the French fleet, anchored with seven ships of the line, and ten others, in Bantry Bay. In order to reconnoitre the country, a boat was dispatched towards shore; but it was immediately captured, and multitudes appeared on the beach in readiness to oppose a landing. After lying some days in this bay, the storminess of the weather increased, and on receiving no intelligence of General Hoche and his staff, who were in a frigate, that parted from the fleet in the gale of wind, the French admiral determined to quit his position, and return to France. The land officers insisted on landing the troops; but, as General Hoche was absent, he refused to comply with their representations, and set sail for Brest, where he arrived on the last day of December. The other divisions of his fleet had also the good fortune to reach that harbour, with the loss, however, of five ships; two of the line, and three frigates: one of the latter was captured by the English, and two foundered at sea, with one of the former. The other, after a desperate engagement, with some ships of the British squadron, off Brest, ran ashore to prevent being taken.

The fate of this fleet of the enemy, proved, that a superior naval force is not, in all cases, a certain security against invasion. Ireland, notwithstanding the superiority of the British fleet, was sixteen days at the mercy of the enemy, and saved from attack only by the elements.

Such was the issue of that famous expedition: the real object of which had long kept Europe in suspense. The failure of it was owing to a string of fortuitous circumstances, which certainly leave no merit to the attention, vigilance, or energy of government. No preparation whatever was made either by land or sea to resist the invasion, on behalf of either the British or Irish cabinet: the contradictory communications of the rebel leaders with

the French cabinet, occasioned a like want of preparation to receive the enemy on the part of the Irish Directory.* And the people were loyal, because left to themselves. Nothing could exceed the consternation, which the report of the arrival of the French fleet off Bantry Bay created in the capital, except the loyalty and zeal of all ranks of people to go out and meet the enemy. Notwithstanding the extreme rigour of the season, the southern roads were covered with troops on their march, and an active peasantry vying with each other in clearing the roads, and administering to the troops whatever comforts their scanty means and bountiful hearts enabled them. The fortuitous failure of the French invasion was a critical moment for Ireland: it had

* The secret committee of the lords in 1798 (viii Lords' Journ. p. 142) gives the following account of this transaction: "It appears by the report of the secret committee of this house made in the last session of parliament, that a messenger had been dispatched by the society of United Irishmen to the Executive Directory of the French Republic, upon a treasonable mission, between the month of June, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five, and the month of January, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-six, at which time the messenger so sent had returned to Ireland: and your committee have strong reason to believe, that Edward John Lewins, who now is, and has been, for a considerable time, the accredited resident ambassador of the Irish rebellious union to the French Republic, was the person thus dispatched in the summer of one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five. It appears to your committee, that the proposition so made by the French Directory, of assistance to the rebels of this kingdom, was taken into consideration by the Executive Directory of the Irish union immediately after it was communicated to them, that they did agree to accept the proffered assistance, and that their determination was made known to the Directory of the French Republic by a special messenger; and your committee have strong reason to believe, that the invasion of this kingdom which was afterwards attempted, was fully arranged at an interview which took place in Switzerland, in the summer of one thousand seven hundred and ninety-six, near the French frontier, between lord Edward Fitzgerald, the aforesaid Mr. Arthur O'Connor, and General Hoche. It appears to your committee, that in the month of October or November, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-six, the hostile armament which soon after appeared in Bantry Bay, was announced to the Irish Directory by a special messenger dispatched from France, who was also instructed to inquire into the state of preparation in which this country stood, which armament was then stated to the Irish Directory to consist of fifteen thousand troops, together with a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition, intended for the use of the Irish republican union. In a few days after the departure of the messenger, who had been thus sent to announce the speedy arrival of this armament on the coasts of this kingdom, it appears to your committee, that a letter from France was received by the Irish Directory, which was considered by them as authentic, stating that the projected descent was postponed for some months, and to this circumstance it has been fairly acknowledged to your committee, by one of the Irish Directory, that this country was indebted for the good conduct of the people in the province of Munster, when the enemy appeared in Bantry Bay. He has confessed, that these contradictory communications threw the Irish Directory off their guard, in consequence of which they omitted to prepare the people for the reception of the enemy. He has confessed, that the people were loyal, because they were left to themselves."

furnished a very strong and unexpected test of the loyal disposition of the Irish people; and some real patriots fondly augured from it favourable symptoms from government towards their countrymen. Reports were circulated with credit, that measures of conciliation towards Ireland had been resolved on by the British cabinet. Catholic emancipation and temperate reform were now confidentially again spoken of: and lord Camden, whose administration was pledged to resist those two questions, it was generally expected, would immediately resign. These flattering prospects were encouraged by the then prevailing report, that the prince of Wales had offered his services to the king to go to Ireland in quality of lord lieutenant, and to exert all his popularity with that nation, in restoring it to tranquillity. His royal highness had proposed to take with him lord Moira as commander in chief, with a splendid establishment worthy of the dignity of the people, whose royalty he was to represent. The prince had at this time entered cordially into the true political situation of that kingdom; and in order that no mistake might even be pretended, relative to his royal highness's sentiments upon the Irish nation, he delivered a paper to the minister, drawn up in the most concise, energetic and constitutional language, expressive of his disposition and judgment in favour of a system of conciliation. The British minister received the proposition with all the respect which the patriotism, judgment and virtue of the exalted character who made it, deserved. It was the subject for a time of most important discussion: but the power of the Irish junto prevailed: the system of coercion preponderated: and the offer even of the heir apparent to the crown to attempt the conciliation of the Irish people was rejected. Both the British and Irish ministers appeared to dread the opportunity, which Ireland would then have of testifying their predilection and admiration of that illustrious prince; and the occasion which such an appointment would afford to his royal highness of displaying his affection for the people of Ireland, in a mild system of measures, politic at all times, necessary at that time, and supereminently congenial with his own disposition and sentiments.*

* Objections were industriously circulated against the appointment of the prince, as a matter wholly unprecedented. Many and powerful reasons plead in favour of the appointment of their future monarch: few and weak are the reasons against it. In the space of about 300 years history affords us no fewer than fourteen precedents of princes of the blood having been appointed chief governors of Ireland. It must certainly be the true policy of a sound government to ingratiate a country, seldom blest with the presence of their monarch to the reigning family. The following are the instances, in which princes of the blood royal have been appointed to the government of Ireland:

Under HENRY II.

- A. D. 1177 John, earl of Moreton, son to the king.
 1185 The same.

The critical moment of the French retiring from the Irish coast from want of internal co-operation, would have been a fortunate hour to that kingdom, had proper advantage been taken of it, to reclaim the malcontents, and afford that redress which then was generally called for, uprightly and sincerely by most, insidiously and traitorously by some few. It has been avowed by some of the leading characters of that rebellious *union, that after the intended descent had failed, it occurred to some members of the association, and their friends in the city, and to some of the most considerate of the United Irishmen, that one more attempt should be made in favour of parliamentary reform. They hoped, that the terrible warning which had been given by the facility of reaching our coasts, and if the armament had landed, the possibility at least of its succeeding, would have shewn the borough proprietors the necessity of conceding to the popular wish. The storm had dispersed a cloud big with danger, but it might again collect, and the thunder of republic and revolution again roll, and perhaps burst over their heads. This was then judged the best moment to persuade them in the midst of their fears, to a measure strictly counter-revolutionary. On that occasion the three memorializing unionists declared, that no greater connexion had ever subsisted between any of the members of the opposition and the United Irishmen, except in that instance, and for the accomplishment of that purpose. In consequence of their joint efforts, a meeting was holden at the Exchange, which declared in favour of the reform, and a proposal of that nature was submitted to parliament. If in the course of that effort for reform it had not become evident, that success was hopeless, it

HENRY III.

1252 Prince Edward, eldest son to the king.

EDWARD III.

September 8th, 1361 Lionel, duke of Lancaster, third son to the king.

HENRY IV.

November 13th, 1401 Thomas, duke of Lancaster, son to the king.

1406 The same.

1408 The same.

HENRY VI.

1449 Richard, duke of York.

1459 The same.

EDWARD IV.

1462 George, duke of Clarence, brother to the king.

RICHARD III.

1483 Edward, eldest son to the king.

HENRY VII.

1495 Henry, duke of York, second son to the king, afterwards Henry VIII.

1498 The same.

* Memoir, p. 18.

The debate was continued with much heat and some acrimony: it principally bore upon the point of Great Britain's having so totally abandoned the defence of Ireland, even under the avowedly known purpose of the Brest armament, that not one British ship of the line was to be seen off the whole coast of that country. The opposition in parliament had so much dwindled, that upon the division, 7 only voted for Mr. Grattan's amendment; against 90 who opposed it.

Although very beneficial effects might proceed from the appointment of assistant barristers to attend the sessions, which gave to government a new patronage of about 13,000*l.* per annum, under the civil bill act of the last session, yet the gentlemen of the opposition within, and most of the popular party without the walls of parliament, inveighed against the establishment, as calculated more for a ministerial job, than for utility to the country: and on the 13th of February, 1797, Mr. William Smith, upon the report of an intended appointment of a country gentlemen to fill a vacancy in the county of Wexford, who was no practising barrister, made a long speech upon the subject. He was, he said, particularly called upon to advert to this threatened violation of a clause in that act, because he had taken a share in its introduction.* Upon a reply from the solicitor general, which imported, that the person alluded to would not be appointed, the matter passed over.

Sir Lawrence Parsons, than whom no man looked more earnestly to the strength, honour, and support of his country, complained, on the 20th of February, that pledged as he stood to bring forward on that day a proposition for the defence of the kingdom at that critical period, he could not justify to himself or his constituents any further delay. Sir John Blaquiere then observed, that forty four days had passed, since the enemy had quitted their ports, and that the addition of another day's delay would be but a small sacrifice. He made the strongest eulogium on what sir Lawrence Parsons had said; that it was a spirit like his would save the country, but was happy that he had acceded to the adjournment, having the greatest reliance on what might be expected from the wisdom and talents of Mr. Pelham, on the following day.

Then Mr. G. Ponsonby gave notice of his intention to bring forward, on the first open day, a question for investigating the steps taken by his majesty's ministers for the defence of this country,

* 17 Par. Deb. p. 305. The clause empowered the lord lieutenant to appoint either a barrister of six years standing and actually practising at the time of appointment, or who had actually practised for six years, and was not actually retired for more than two years from practising in his majesty's courts in Dublin.

previously to, and during the late attempt of invasion, and to move for certain documents preparatory to the inquiry. To which, by the desire of the attorney general, he, after a short preface, moved : " That an humble address be presented to the lord lieutenant, praying that his excellency would be pleased to order to be laid before the house extracts of such communications as had been received by government from his grace the duke of Portland, between the first of August last, and the 20th of December, relative to an invasion of that country."

Mr. Pelham opposed the motion, because it appeared to him impossible, that such papers could be made public without communicating to the enemy a knowledge of many things, which it would be highly improper they should be informed of. He was willing to allow, and indeed the speech of his excellency on the opening of the session had declared, that administration had intelligence of the intended invasion so early as the beginning of October last. He thought this would be considered as a sufficient ground for the honourable member on which to found his inquiry, without seeking to disclose the correspondence of government.

Mr. Ponsonby contended, that it was of much importance to learn whether government had not full information on this subject, so early as the beginning of August, three months before the opening of the session, within which period they had ample opportunity of putting the country into a state of defence. But in order to obviate the objection of the right honourable member, he would be content if the right honourable member would state to the house, at what time government first had notice of the intended descent ; to which request Mr. Pelham made no reply, and the question was put, and negatived without a division.

Mr. Ponsonby then moved, successively, that addresses should be presented to his excellency, praying him to lay before the house,

" An account of the number of effective troops in the province of Munster, on the 20th of December last : " and " An account of the number of effective troops of the line, and in the regiments of militia and fencibles in this kingdom, on the 20th of December last : " and " An account of the cannon fit for service on the same day, also the quantity of ammunition in the magazines, and the quantity of camp equipage and arms fit for immediate service."

Each of these motions was opposed, as tending to disclose the situation of the country, and create discontent and fear in the public mind.

Sir Lawrence Parsons then rose to inquire of Mr. secretary Pelham, on the part of the country, and of the house, what measures he intended to propose on that momentous subject, mutual defence.

Mr. Pelham stated, the result of his exertions for that country to be, that the two countries should, as occasion might require, assist each other; that if Ireland wanted troops, in case of an attack, Great Britain should send some of hers; and that if Great Britain, on the other hand, should need assistance against an invading enemy, Ireland should lend her similar assistance. Besides this, he briefly mentioned some other arrangements of a pecuniary nature, in which Ireland was to receive assistance from Great Britain; but which would come more properly to be explained in the committee of supply.

A most extraordinary debate followed this resolution. The house being in committee, many of the members availed themselves of their privilege of speaking more than once, and between three and four o'clock in the morning, they reported progress and adjourned. The opposition members were severe on government for leaving the country in that defenceless state; and amongst the various modes of defence proposed, strongly urged an augmentation of the yeomanry corps to the amount of 50,000 men; which Mr. M. Beresford, who spoke from authority, explicitly reprobated, as a most mischievous measure; and he was supported by lord Castlereagh. When sir Lawrence Parsons complained of the opposition given by government to every mode of defence proposed, Mr. Pelham thought proper to disclaim any suspicion on the part of government against arming the people under the yeomanry act. The debate ended in the adoption of sir John Blaquiére's motion, that 10,000 men should be raised for the public service: it being understood, that the mode of raising them, and the bounties to be given, should be entirely in the discretion of the government.

*On a subsequent night (the 24th) sir Lawrence Parsons, after a very animated speech on the necessity of a permanent internal defence, moved the following resolution: "That it is the opinion of this house, that a considerable augmentation should be made to the yeomanry infantry, in addition to the present force of the country; and an address be presented to his excellency the lord lieutenant, praying, that he would be pleased to take the most effectual and speedy steps for that purpose; the exigency of the present times requiring, that the most prompt and extensive measures of defence be taken."

Mr. Pelham said, that in hearing the honourable baronet, he had for some time forgot himself; and supposed he had been in

one of the circles of Germany, where different parties bid for the people. Was that the Irish House of Commons, lately so zealous for the defence of the country, that he heard it urged, the people would attach themselves to the first invader, if arms were not put into their hands by government? What had changed the people, whom, as the honourable baronet had said on a former night, he had seen with such alacrity drawing the cannon of his battalion? He then went into a refutation of the assertions of sir Lawrence Parsons, that the French had, in the last armament, 25,000 men; he contended, from the best authority, that there were not at most above 12,000 men; that were they to come again, such measures had been concerted with Great Britain, that a large body of troops should in a few hours be in Ireland. That it was absurd to suppose, the British minister would not be interested for the safety of Ireland.

Mr. Grattan followed Mr. Pelham, and gave a very animated support to the motion of the honourable baronet. One would have thought, he said, from the vehemence with which the honourable baronet had been opposed, that he had proposed to diminish or disband the army or militia, instead of adding 50,000 men to the defence of the country. The honourable baronet said, it was necessary to face a victorious enemy with a large force, and make that force consist of the people. The English servant of the English minister said, "What! would you have me bid for the people?" He would say to that English deputy of that English minister, if he would not bid for the people, he might go about his business. If he would not bid for the people, the monster of democracy, which had conquered Spain, Holland, Germany, and Italy, by bidding for the people, would bid for the people of Ireland. The bidding of the minister would then come too late. He had asked, who could be more interested for the safety of Ireland, than the British minister? He would answer, Ireland herself. To refer to the British minister the safety of that country, was the most sottish folly; it was false and unparliamentary to say, that the house had no right to recommend a measure, such as the honourable baronet proposed. Had it been a proposition to increase the regular standing army, it might perhaps have been a little irregular; but when an increase of 10,000 to the standing army was proposed by a right honourable baronet the other night, it was not considered as an affront. Now another honourable baronet comes forward to give an army five fold as many, and five fold as cheap, and administration are affronted. Why? Because that army was of the people. If the doctrine the right honourable member advanced were true, and that the duty of parliament now were become nothing more than merely to vote taxes, and echo three millions, when the minister

said three millions are wanted, then indeed *actum est de parlamento*; a reform of the representation was become then more than ever necessary.

After a debate, which was kept up with unusual heat till four o'clock in the morning, 25 voted for sir Lawrence Parsons's motion, and 125 opposed it.

On the 27th, Mr. George Ponsonby moved for a vote of censure on the ministry for having been highly criminal for their neglect and unskilfulness in the provision, direction, and distribution of the military and naval force of the country, in the threatened invasion in the month of December last; which, after midnight, was negatived without a division.* The like fate attended Mr. Vandeleur's motion for an absentee tax, which was warmly debated to a very late hour: on this division,† more sided with the minority than on any other question during the session; there being 49 for, and 123 against the motion.

The internal situation of the country was at this time truly awful. For some months had turbulence and insurrection shewn themselves in different parts of the kingdom. The lord lieutenant had been obliged to proclaim several counties and districts, under the insurrection act, to be in a state of disturbance. The different insurgents appeared to be unconnected with each other; for generally upon the appearance of the slightest military force they dispersed or returned to their duty: their turbulence was various; not systematic, nor organized.

In the preceding months of December, January, and February, many districts in the northern counties were proclaim-

* It must readily appear, that the fate of this question was decided by influence, not by investigation of facts. Mr. Grattan spoke in the debate, by merely making a statement. (17 *Par. Deb.* p. 374.) "The circumstance of the French fleet escaping two British fleets, riding triumphantly for seventeen days, and getting back unmolested, formed a phenomenon in the naval history of Great Britain, which challenges inquiry. The plea urged in excuse, that the admiral was not acquainted with the destination of the French fleet, was a great aggravation of the neglect; though the truth of the plea were confirmed, by the declaration of the British minister, that the report of the French fleet being off the coast of Ireland was nothing more than the phrenzy of common fame."

† Lord Castlereagh took a very prominent part in opposing this question; to whom Mr. Vandeleur thus replied: "It was insinuated by a noble lord (Castlereagh), that it was presumptuous in a man of his age and experience to propose to that house a measure of such vast importance: he must confess, he did not possess the same advantages of political education with the noble lord: he well knew the Castle was a hot bed, which opened the understanding and matured the judgment. It had so completely eradicated all prejudices from the mind of the noble lord, that he was unable to perceive, whether he spoke the language of the minister, or deputy minister of the English cabinet, or that of the representative of a great, populous, and independent country; which, by great and manly exertions, had ushered him into that house on the shoulders of popularity."

ed.* Amongst other distresses of the times brought on by the war, was the order of the privy council to the governors and company of the Bank of Ireland to discontinue payments in specie. This overwhelming circumstance filled the minds of the public with fresh diffidence, alarm, and discontent. It was communicated by Mr. Pelham to the parliament on the 1st of March; and afterwards debated with some ineffectual opposition. So critical at this period was the internal state of Ireland to the general interests of the British empire, that it arrested the attention of both houses of the British parliament.

In the British House of Commons on the 3d of March, 1797, the order of the day having been read for instituting an inquiry into the conduct of ministers on occasion of the late attempt of the French to invade Ireland. Mr. Whitbread entered into a full detail of the circumstances attending the whole of that expedition. After commenting upon the nature and effects of public and private information, and stating, that general Dalrymple had not at that time 3000 regular troops to oppose to the enemy; that there were stores unprotected in Cork to the amount of a million and an half, the great supply for the British navy for the ensuing year, he made the following regular statement of the motions of our own and the French fleets from the time of the enemy quitting the harbour of Brest, and a short period antecedent thereto. Admiral Colpoys, with a fleet of fourteen or fifteen sail of the line, was lying off Brest harbour for some weeks. The French fleet, however, in defiance of this, sailed from Brest on the 15th of December. On the 20th of that month they arrived on the coast of Ireland, and some of them dropped anchor in Bantry Bay. Previous to that, and during the time that admiral Colpoys was with his squadron lying off Brest, admiral Richery, with six French ships of the line, passed the squadron of admiral Colpoys, and got safe into Brest. On the 21st the enemy cast anchor in Bantry Bay; so that they were at sea, and on the coast of Ireland, from the 18th of December to the 6th of January. On the 20th of December news arrived in England, that the French fleet had quitted Brest. From the 23d to the 25th, the wind was favourable for the squadron under the command of lord Bridport to have sailed. It continued fair on the 26th and 27th, after which it came a-head, and the fleet could not sail for some days. On the 31st intelligence came to this country, that the French fleet was off the coast of Ireland, and on the same day, exactly, admiral Colpoys, with the fleet under his command, arrived at Portsmouth. The reasons given for his return with this squadron were various and contradictory.

* The proclamations all ran in one form; a specimen of which is to be seen in the Appendix, No. CI.

One was, that his force was not sufficient to encounter that of the enemy. If that were a true reason, it furnished an additional cause for an inquiry into the conduct of ministers, and of the first lord of the admiralty in particular. What, when they had received information of the active and extensive preparations going forward at Brest, after the large sums consumed in secret service money, and the immense navy in our possession, ought they not to have sent out fresh ships to reinforce that squadron? admiral Colpoys must have received intelligence of the sailing of the Brest fleet. Did he sail in pursuit of them? Did he sail towards the coast of Portugal after them, where it might perhaps have occurred to him they were gone? No. Did he sail after them towards the coast of Ireland? No: he sailed directly for Portsmouth, where he arrived on the very day, that information was brought they were on the Irish coast. Another reason, which had been given for the return of this squadron into port was, that it was short of provisions. Admiral Elphinstone arrived in Ireland, in the *Monarch* of 74 guns, accompanied by a frigate. He gave notice to the castle of Dublin, that he, with the ship under his command, and with that frigate, was ready to join any other force that might be allotted for the purpose to go in search of the enemy. Admiral Kingsmill, who was stationed at Cork, also issued orders for several frigates and the *Monarch* to sail in quest of the enemy. Yet on the 3d of January, admiral Elphinstone arrived at Spithead, with the *Monarch* without having seen any of the enemy's fleet. On the same day lord Bridport, with the squadron under his command, sailed from thence. He went first to Brest, as the most likely track for falling in with the enemy's ships. In that idea, however, he was disappointed: for his lordship, after some days waiting there to no effect or purpose, thought it necessary to shape his course to the coast of Ireland. In this farther pursuit he was equally unsuccessful; and on the 3d of February he returned to Spithead with the fleet under his command, without having fallen in with, or even seen one single ship belonging to the shattered, dispersed, and divided fleet of the enemy. Thus the designs of the enemy were only frustrated by the winds, and the safety of Ireland entirely abandoned to the chance of the elements. Such was the regular statement of events as they successively occurred; and those were the grounds on which he meant to found the motion: "That it be referred to a committee, to inquire into the conduct of ministers, with respect to the late attempt of the French in the invasion of Ireland."

Mr. secretary Dundas in reply, after much prefatory matter, gave his statement of facts to the following effect. Prior to the sailing of the French fleet from Brest, the admiralty had received

intelligence, that such a fleet was in preparation; it was not positively known whether it were intended to sail against Portugal or Ireland, or some part of the British dominions. Sometimes it was rumoured to be intended against Gibraltar, and at others it was expected to be prepared for an attack upon some of our more distant possessions. The admiralty, however, had some reason to believe, that either Portugal or Ireland was the object of its destination. Ministers adopted such measures as the nature of circumstances seemed to require. They took the properest and best possible measures which could be taken with their uncertainty of the enemy's designs; for it is to be observed, that they had not only to watch the hostile armaments of the enemy, and provide a sufficient force in every quarter, which they deemed assailable, to resist them, but they were compelled moreover to provide a large and adequate force at the same time for the protection of our outward and homeward bound fleets. Under these circumstances, government thought it the wisest plan to separate the fleets into different divisions. One fleet was stationed off Brest to watch the enemy, and intercept the sailing of the expedition; another fleet was stationed at home to relieve the fleet off Brest, if necessary, or to pursue the enemy if it should sail, or attend to any exigencies which might possibly arise. The fleet off Brest, under the command of admiral Thompson, was put under the command of admiral Colpoys on the 9th of October; orders were issued from the admiralty to admiral Thompson, from whom admiral Colpoys received his instructions to take care of a partial disposition of the British fleet under his command off Brest, in case of a dispersion of the enemy in sailing from that port. He was to hover about their coast, and watch over them till they should sail, and, provided they steered to the southward, he was immediately to dispatch a cutter to admiral Vandeput at Lisbon, to give communication of the same; or, provided they steered to the northward, he was to dispatch a cutter to admiral Kingsmill at Cork, at the same time taking care to give the earliest intelligence at home. Surely it was impossible to select any orders in preference to these; at least he could not imagine, that, considering all the circumstances of the case, any better could have been adopted. He then corrected a statement which had gone abroad, that no frigate or squadron was appointed by the admiralty to watch over the preparations of the enemy in Brest harbour, and give an account of the same to admiral Colpoys, as circumstances should require: for it was a positive fact, that sir Edward Pellew was appointed, and did actually cruize in Brest harbour. He was there the very day the armament was in motion; he was there the very day it sailed too, and he conveyed to admiral Colpoys's look-out ship, the

Marlborough, an account of their progress and their sailing; and he sent a farther intelligence of the loss of one of the enemy's ships (*Les Droits de L'Homme*) in coming out of the harbour. So it appears, that what ought to have been done, was done. But notwithstanding the diligence, intelligence, and skill of admiral Colpoys, and notwithstanding the experience, courage, and ability of sir Edward Pellew, their exertions were in vain. Though sir Edward Pellew sent off intelligence, that the enemy sailed the 16th, it was not till the 24th of December that the look-out ship, the Marlborough, received the account of it: for the state of the weather was such, that it was impossible for admiral Colpoys even to keep his own fleet under his observation; and the air was so hazy and so foggy, that the fog guns were continually fired. With regard to the enemy's sailing, the house was then in the real possession of the case, but so uncertain were both the officers alluded to with respect to the actual views of the enemy, that both sir Edward Pellew and admiral Colpoys believed they were undoubtedly destined for Portugal, and sir Edward Pellew sent off to admiral Vandeput, at Lisbon, to give him notice thereof. But admiral Colpoys knowing, for the first time, on the 24th of December, that the enemy had sailed on the 16th, and there having been a hurricane on the 17th, he believed the French ships might have been dispersed in the storm, and regulated his conduct accordingly. He thought it the wisest resolution not to follow them to Portugal or Ireland, because he was uncertain of their destination, and he therefore kept his station, on account of the chance of interrupting the return of all or part of the fleet in case of a dispersion by the storm. He recollected also, that the circumstance of the enemy's having sailed would be known by the admiralty, and that, by keeping his station, he should have the means of receiving such authentic intelligence as he could not otherwise expect. If he were not able to keep his station by the prevalence of the south west winds off Brest, he was to rendezvous off the Lizard Point; and therefore by keeping as closely upon his station as he possibly could, he was provided for both alternatives, either for intercepting the enemy's fleet on the return of the whole or part to Brest, or receiving such an account of them from the admiralty, as might enable him to pursue them. Accordingly, being unable to keep his station off Brest, the fleet returned to the Lizard Point, in hopes of receiving some information, and was soon after driven up channel by the gales of wind, while the French found their way home in the mean time, though the hurricane still blew.

Mr. Grey, Mr. Sturt, and Mr. Fox supported the motion, and Mr. Wyndham and Mr. Pitt very strongly opposed it. The motion was lost upon the division by 201 against 62. A similar

motion was made on the 16th of the month by the earl of Albemarle in the House of Peers. Lord Spencer opposed the motion upon the general grounds of failure of information, and the unavoidable turn of the elements. Lord Carlisle was for the inquiry. The earl of Moira, the duke of Bedford, the earl of Guildford, and the marquis of Lansdowne, spoke strongly in support of the motion. The earl of Liverpool, lord Hood, lord Auckland, and lord Grenville, opposed it. The earl Fitzwilliam said, that where there was blame, there ought to be inquiry. He lamented to have heard some expressions used in the debate of greater care being required for England than Ireland. Such sentiments would produce deep impressions on the minds of the people of that country: to which lord Grenville assured the house, that they might set their minds at rest on the subject of Ireland, which so far from having been neglected, had been the object of particular attention. The motion was rejected by 74 against 14.

This determined resistance to all inquiry, and the repeated assurances made by ministers of the security external and internal of Ireland, gave little satisfaction to the gentlemen on the opposition benches, and displeased some, who generally voted with government. They returned to the charge, and in both houses brought forward motions for inquiries into the internal state, and allaying the discontents in that distracted kingdom, which gave rise to very long and animated debates. On the 21st of March, the earl of Moira introduced his promised motion by a very instructive and able speech: it became the more interesting, as that noble lord was known recently to have come from Ireland, so that his judgment could not be misled in seeing the real state of that kingdom, nor his candour and loyalty be suspected of misrepresenting it. He introduced his speech by a comment on the delicacy and importance of agitating questions, in which separate and independent legislatures, and questions, in which the privileges and the independence of each other, were involved. The extent and rapid increase of the discontents which prevailed in Ireland, were subjects of sufficient notoriety to form the ground of his proceeding. He should abstain, therefore, from an enumeration of the particulars which had come to his knowledge, and of which indeed he had recently been witness. In addressing his majesty, to the effect proposed, the house would not only exercise one of its most important privileges, but fulfil one of its most important duties. If it appeared that the counsellors, more immediately about his majesty's person, had not given that advice which was calculated to insure the happiness and prosperity of Ireland, it was the duty of their lordships to approach the throne with advice more wise and salutary. But it might be said, what influence could such an address carry with it, to change the councils

by which Ireland was governed? To prove the influence of the British cabinet, he appealed to a recent fact; he meant the recal of the earl Fitzwilliam, at a time when all Ireland concurred in the measures which he pursued, when that country gave the fairest prospect of tranquillity, and the surest pledge of assistance and support to Britain, in the arduous circumstances in which she was placed. It might be asked, what plan he wished to pursue? It was indicated in the motion he was about to make. When they addressed his majesty to interpose his paternal care and benevolence, the known goodness of his nature left no room for doubt as to the result. It was by temper, equity, and good faith, that the distractions of the Irish were to be appeased, and their affections conciliated. No good could be expected from a prosecution of the present system. He was confident, however, that the adoption of measures calculated to impress the people with confidence in government, would quickly call forth that fond affection of the inhabitants of Ireland to this country, which circumstances might cloud but could not extinguish; inspire that zeal so necessary in the present moment; and furnish those resources which were requisite for the critical situation in which the empire was placed, and the arduous contest in which it was engaged. On these grounds he rested the motion, which was, "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, praying that he would be graciously pleased to interpose his paternal and beneficent interference to allay the discontents which at present subsist in his kingdom of Ireland, and which threaten the dearest interests of the British empire."

Lord Grenville said, the motion could not be adopted without breaking the solemn contract which had been entered into between the two countries; without tearing asunder every bond of union and connexion, and spreading distraction and division between the members of the British empire. He should, therefore, give his decided opposition to that motion, and every proposition of a similar tendency. The motion was unnecessary, and mischievous. Under the first head he expatiated on the measures that had been taken by his majesty, in the course of a reign of thirty-six years, from year to year, to remove every ground of uneasiness or discontent, which the situation of the Irish presented: the improved state of their commerce; their full enjoyment of civil and religious liberty; the Catholics admitted to the enjoyment of their property; a participation in every civil and social blessing, and even sharing in the right of voting for members of parliament. Nor were the people of Ireland insensible or ungrateful for the benefit they had received: their good dispositions, and contentment with their situation, he inferred from sundry circumstances, particularly their readiness to resist and repel

the threatened invasion. With regard to the mischievous tendency of the motion, such an interference was obviously improper; it was impossible for them to proceed with sufficient information, which lay much more within the reach of their own legislature. The very interference of the British legislature, instead of remedying the discontents which were alleged to prevail, would inflame them. It would induce the people of Ireland to imagine, that their own legislature was indifferent to their welfare, and thus stir up the divisions which it was its object to appease. As the British legislature had given to Ireland the blessings of a free constitution, the best way to fix their attachment to it, was to engage their confidence in its favour.*

Earl Fitzwilliam admitted the improved state of Ireland. But whatever circumstances might have contributed to that prosperity, still there might remain room for something farther to be done. The noble secretary had said, that the people of Ireland were not distracted and discontented, but tranquil and happy. Was it a proof of this that acts of indemnity had been passed in the Irish parliament, for proceedings beyond the law, which must have been called for by a conduct not very consistent with tranquillity. If no circumstances of disorder appeared, why were whole parishes, baronies, and even counties declared to be out of the king's peace? It was likewise stated, in the proceedings of the government in Ireland, that they were in certain districts

* On this occasion lord Grenville rendered the following testimony of the grateful and loyal conduct of the Irish Catholics. (3 Par. Deb. p. 101.) "He would desire any one to compare the state of Ireland, as it was left by his majesty's ancestors, with its present situation. He would ask them to look at the Catholics, admitted to the exercise of their political rights, and to the enjoyment of their property, to the participation of every civil and social blessing, restored to that confidence in themselves which the laws had formerly destroyed; freely permitted to engage in every species of commerce, and to apply themselves to every profession of honour and reputation, sharing the right of voting for members of parliament; and in their whole conduct manifesting the effects of the benefits they had received in the best manner in which benefits could operate on the human mind. He would desire their lordships to consider their conduct upon the late occasion, when the enemy, deluded by false representations of the state of Ireland, risked the last remnant of their fleet, and embarked an inferior army in the rash hope of being able to succeed in their designs, by the disunion and disaffection of the inhabitants of Ireland. For a proof of the good disposition of the Catholics upon that occasion, he could refer with pleasure to the unexceptionable testimony of the reverend prelates, who worthily shewed themselves their guides in religious matters. (Here his lordship read some passages of the circular letter from the Catholic bishop of Cork, which vide in Appendix, No. CII.) Thus it appeared that his majesty's exertions had already been crowned with success; that this success was not perfectly complete was a subject of regret; jealousies had appeared in some degree, but they had been conciliated by the benevolence and the paternal care of his majesty. What stronger pledge could be given of his majesty's intention to persevere in the same course than what he had already done?"

disarming the people, from which it was evident they had been in arms.

The earl of Liverpool approved the reasoning of lord Grenville, and put the case of a motion being made in the Irish parliament, for the purpose of inducing it to interfere in the discussion of the great question of parliamentary reform or Catholic toleration in this country. How, he asked, would such a motion be taken by the British parliament? The motion before their lordships seemed to him to be as mischievous in its tendency as unconstitutional in its principle.

The earl of Guildford could not admit that ministers had shewn any attention to the interests of Ireland, since the recal of earl Fitzwilliam.

The earl of Spencer was of opinion, that, if lord Moira meant to do any substantial good by his motion, he ought to have gone much farther, and pointed out not only the nature of the discontents of the Irish nation, but the kind of measures which ought to be resorted to for removing them.

The marquis of Lansdowne said, that, if the present were a subject of delicacy, ministers were the cause of it. The lord lieutenant of Ireland, as a minister, was accountable to the British as well as to the Irish parliament; and, therefore, they had a right to watch over the measures of his administration, and to censure or advise him, as they might deem proper. The motion now before their lordships was couched in terms so wise, so prudent, and so moderate, that he could scarcely have supposed that it could have been objected to. What was its purpose? It said, to his majesty, "Sire, you have, by a happy conduct, attached the people of Ireland to your family and government, by the same liberal and generous conduct by which your grand father gained the affections of the Highlands of Scotland. There is but one small cause of discontent still remaining, and it is only necessary, that you follow up those wise and salutary measures, which you have hitherto acted upon, to remove it." This was all that the motion proposed. If it were done in time, the measures might be successful, but it ought to be recollected, that the longer the delay, the greater the danger.

The earl of Darnley opposed the motion. There were discontents in Ireland; but by no means among the general mass of the people.

The duke of Bedford was sorry to say, that their lordships must cease to listen to the shifts of ministers, if their objects were to save the state from ruin. But it might be asked, what it was that he thought likely to restore happiness to the people of Ireland? "Restore to the people of Ireland the person you have recalled; give back to them the man whom they have

“ tried, and whom they admire ; act on the principles on which
“ he acted, and then discontents will cease : if you do not, God
“ only knows into how much more dreadful a state that unhappy
“ country may be reduced.”

Lord Grenville was of opinion, that the remedy, proposed by the noble duke, would have a tendency to create that which he seemed to dread ; a disturbance in Ireland ; for, that must necessarily be the tendency of recalling the present lord lieutenant of that kingdom. If the talents, the virtues, and the exertions of that noble lord were not sufficient to preserve the tranquillity of Ireland, he believed it would be out of the power of any other individual whatever.

The earl of Moira rose up to make a few observations on the main point in question : the contentment or discontentment of the people of Ireland. As their lordships could not try the veracity of one noble lord against another, the only way they had to decide, was, to refer to facts. His lordship again appealed to the various facts already mentioned or alluded to, by himself and the earl Fitzwilliam : parishes and whole counties out of the king's peace, and disarmed : insurrections in divers places, murmurs of discontent in all ; and a general assembly, within fifty yards of the castle of Dublin, headed by persons, whose talents and characters were of the very first class, and who, after the most mature deliberation that could be had on such an occasion, resolved and declared it to be their firm persuasion, that there was no chance for the salvation of Ireland, without an entire and immediate change in the whole system of executive government. After this the house divided, and the noble earl's motion was rejected by 72 against 20.

Two days after this discussion in the House of Peers, the subject was introduced into the House of Commons by Mr. Fox, who prefaced his speech by calling to mind the part he had taken in a recognition of the complete independence of Ireland, and how much he naturally considered himself to be bounden, in a particular manner, to follow up the principle on which it was founded. Though a variety of circumstances had concurred to produce the present disturbances in Ireland, he confined his observations to two or three leading points. These were, whether, in consequence of the concessions that had been made to Ireland, she had, in fact and substance, enjoyed the advantages of an independent legislature ? Whether, in that form of a free constitution which they had obtained, the people possessed that political weight to which they were entitled ? And, whether, their just voice and influence had been promoted, by the alteration which had been effected ? The people of Ireland were divided into two, though very unequal, classes ; the Catholics and the Pro-

testants: neither of which enjoyed their just share of political power and influence. About nine years ago, a regular system was devised for enslaving Ireland. A person of high consideration was known to say, that, 500,000*l.* had been expended to quell an opposition in Ireland, and that as much more must be expended in order to bring the legislature of that country to a proper temper. This systematic plan of corruption was followed up by a suitable system of measures. Hostile suspicions were insinuated, not only against the lower order of Catholics, but against men of the first respectability for character and fortune, and whose loyalty could not be questioned. Numbers were taken up for high treason; and, when acquitted, it appeared that no ground of suspicion could ever have been entertained against them. What could be the effect of such proceedings, but to convince the Catholics, that the concessions in their favour were extorted? That the hostile mind still existed, and that they were still marked out as the victims of the most cruel proscriptions and oppressions? Private animosities too arose, and produced those different classes of disturbers of the public peace, about which so much had been said. The remedies applied had tended to foment the disease. The authority of the laws was superseded. Those against whom it was thought convictions could be procured, were taken up; and those whom it would have been impossible to convict, were transported in great numbers, without the ceremony of a trial, or the form of conviction. It had been said, that the Catholics are entitled to vote for members of parliament. But except in the counties. Mr. Fox observed, the representation of Ireland was in what is here known by the name of close corporation. The Catholics were carefully excluded from the corporations; so that their privilege of voting for members of parliament was almost entirely evaded.

Mr. Fox next considered the grievances of the Presbyterians, the most numerous class, by far, in the North of Ireland. The discontents of the inhabitants of the northern parts of Ireland arose from two causes: one of them was the temporary pressure of a war, in which they were involved without interest in the contest, and the distresses which the calamities with which it had been attended, had entailed upon their trade and commerce; the other had been the abuses which they conceived to exist in the constitution, by which they are governed. The constitution of Ireland, they complain does not resemble that of Great Britain. Whoever imagined that a practicable resemblance existed between the government of Ireland and the English constitution, would find, that the Irish government was a mirror in which the abuses of this constitution were strongly reflected. The jobbing system of influence and patronage, for purposes of personal

advantage in Ireland, was an abuse which totally destroyed the spirit of the form of government, and was an abuse not to be endured. To suppose that a large, industrious, active, and intelligent body of men could be governed against the principles they had imbibed, and the prejudices by which they were guided, was an idea which history and human nature proved to be absurd. The interests of this country and of Ireland were the same. Its affairs were conducted by ministers, and the British cabinet, and it was the privilege of that house to advise his majesty. If he were to justify the measure by precedent, he might quote the case of an impeachment of the earl of Lauderdale, by the English parliament, before the union, for the conduct of the government of Scotland. "But why," said Mr. Fox, "should I speak of forms, when the consequences of the discontents in Ireland may be a contest to be supported by Englishmen, and English money? I shall therefore move,

"That an humble address be presented to his majesty, that his majesty will be graciously pleased to take into his royal consideration, the disturbed state of his kingdom of Ireland, and to adopt such healing and lenient measures as may appear to his majesty's wisdom best calculated to restore tranquillity, and to conciliate the affections of all descriptions of his majesty's subjects in that kingdom, to his majesty's person and government." This motion was seconded by sir Francis Burdett.

Mr. Pitt asked Mr. Fox whether the parliament, by which the independence of Ireland was recognized, were more accommodating to the wishes of the Dissenters of the North, or to the Catholics of the South, than those of a subsequent period? Quite the contrary. Whatever alteration had since taken place, tended more and more to include both Dissenters and Catholics within the pale of civil and political liberty, than the principle recognized in 1782. But the main pillar of his defence of ministers, in their conduct towards Ireland, and ground of his objection to the present motion, was the unconstitutionality, the impropriety, and the dangers to be apprehended from the interference of the British parliament in the affairs of Ireland; topics on which he expatiated with his usual ability; in which, as to the main concession to be made, by way of remedy to the discontents and disturbances in Ireland, that of allowing to the Catholics the privilege of sitting in parliament, this could not be done, without reversing the whole of its present form, and new modelling the constitution from beginning to end: and to make that change when such principles were abroad in the world, and were even prevalent in the country, in which we lived, would be attended with the most dangerous consequences.

Colonel Fullarton, who had just come from Scotland, and that part of it which almost touches on Ireland, was astonished to find, in the metropolis, such an apparent indifference to the most alarming dangers; and wondered that so much time should be spent in debate, and so little in military preparation. General Hoche would find, in Ulster alone, 50,000 Irishmen united, with pikes in their hands, and arms concealed, busily employed in secret discipline, in order to qualify themselves for reinforcing the French army.

Mr. Courtney believed, that there were, in Ulster, 50,000 men with arms in their hands, ready to receive the French; but not to support them. The people in that province, almost all Presbyterians, had a strong spirit of liberty, and were attached to the popular, or, what had been called, the republican branch of the constitution, yet they were not to be confounded with Jacobins and banditti.

Lord Hawkesbury repeated and applauded the arguments of Mr. Pitt.

Mr. Curwen thought, that the present motion was so far from being mischievous, that even the discussion it had occasioned would do good, inasmuch as it would shew the Irish nation, that there was a part, at least, of the British parliament, who were mindful of their interests.*

* If any thing could enhance the guilt of Mr. Arthur O'Connor's treason, it was that abandoned and reflex hypocrisy with which he played off the appearance of the most constitutional loyalty, and was thus admitted to the sympathy and confidence of men, who really possessed it in an eminent degree. But in the political and ethic system, candor and uprightness are ever the earliest victims to duplicity, design, and baseness. *Et virtus vitio sub proprio latet.* In proof of these observations, Mr. O'Connor had so egregiously and basely at this time duped sir Francis Burdett, as well as many other of the Whig party, that the honourable baronet in the unsuspecting generosity of his soul, thus boastingly pledged himself for the purest loyalty of his false and base friend. "One person now immured within the walls of a dungeon in Dublin Castle, I have the honour of being connected with, for honour, as well as happiness, I shall ever esteem it, by the strongest ties of friendship and affection, who I know to be incapable of treason to his country, (Good God! that treason to Ireland and the name of O'Connor should be preposterously coupled together!) as he is capable of every thing that is great, generous, and noble, for his country's good; a man whose whole conduct delineates the exact line of rectitude and honour; whose private virtues equal, they cannot surpass, the integrity of his public conduct; who is indeed endowed with every good as well as every great qualification; and of whom it may fairly be said, '*Nil non laudandum aut dixit, aut sensit, aut fecit.*' When such men become the objects of fear and hatred to government, it is not difficult to ascertain the nature of their government. But perhaps, sir, it may be said, that I speak more like a discontented Irishman, than like a true friend to the interest of England. Sir, I speak like a friend to humanity and liberty; and like an enemy to cruelty and oppression. Sir, I believe the interests of Ireland and of this country to be the same. I believe it for the interest of both countries, that both should be free." (2 Eng. Par. Deb. p. 121.)

Lord Wycombe thought that the disturbances, which had taken place in Ireland, manifestly proved a disaffection to the British government. Conciliation instead of rigour, should have been tried; for it was time enough to employ force when mildness failed. He could have wished that the Irish parliament had been left, for the settlement of affairs, to themselves. But he well knew that, being for the most part at the beck of the English cabinet, they had lost the confidence of the nation. He adverted to, and commented upon the proclamation of general Lake.

He dreaded that if the British parliament did not interfere, we might lose Ireland altogether: a loss that would be more severe than the loss of America.

Mr. Hobhouse remarked, that the chancellor of the exchequer seemed to have presumed in the whole train of his reasoning, that it was the object of the motion to request the king's interference, exclusively of his Irish parliament. It only prayed his majesty, in connexion with the Irish legislature, to adopt measures of a lenient nature, with a view to appease the unhappy spirit of discontent which prevailed throughout the country. Mr. Fox's motion was negatived by 220 against 84 who supported it.

These warm debates in the British senate were in some measure brought forward and more heated from the complaints made in the Irish House of Commons, of the culpable indifference which the administration of England had shewn to their safety and welfare.*

* Scarcely any man in the Irish commons, possessed a larger share of personal confidence from the nation than Mr. G. Ponsonby: no man against whom less of democracy had ever been charged by his enemies. He had in the debate of the 22d of February, spoken the following language, which was replied to by the solicitor general in a manner, that shews the real issue of the government and opposition parties at that time in parliament. (17 Par. Deb. p. 330.)
 " He confessed he had felt extreme concern and surprise at the return of the
 " right honourable secretary from England, after a five weeks stay, with nothing
 " to communicate to the house, but an undertaking on the part of the British
 " minister, to endeavour to raise for the country a loan of a million and a half.
 " This the right honourable gentleman had brought back with him in the
 " place of a fleet and an army! Did the right honourable gentleman—did the
 " British minister know the nature of the enemy we have to contend with?
 " Did he know their resources—their energy—their courage—their discipline
 " —their perseverance? Will he baffle such an enemy with a million and an
 " half? Will he drive from our coasts an enemy that has vanquished Spain,
 " Holland, Italy, and almost Germany, with a million and an half? Preserve
 " Ireland from France! It may be done—but not by a million and an half!
 " No, nor by 100,000*l.* raised from the salt with which the beggar seasoned
 " his miserable morsel! Pitiful financier, who can find resources only of this
 " kind, and none in the bravery, spirit, and generosity of the Irish people.
 " Such measures would never do to preserve Ireland in connexion with Bri-
 " tain. It was not his promise to the executive government by what means
 " they should defend the country; he sat there as a member of parliament,
 " rather to exercise a controlling function: but so deeply did he feel that the
 " measures which were taken could not preserve Ireland, that he would ven-

The proceedings on this side of the water relative to the state of Ireland, gave such offence to Dr. Duigenan, that on the 30th of March he gave notice in the House of Commons, that after the recess he should bring forward a motion tending to refute

ture to suggest some which he thought would. Those were measures not for raising a given sum of money, but for the much more momentous purpose of giving content and confidence to the people. Ill did they calculate the danger of the country, or the means to resist it, who looked at this time to any thing but the universal and enthusiastic force of the whole nation; and futile was every measure which did not go to excite that powerful energy. He was far, indeed, from wishing to raise discontent or create jealousies that could impede the common defence. Whatever might be his opinion of the conduct of administration in Ireland, or of the culpable indifference which the administration of England had shewn to our safety, his object now was to strengthen their hands, by pointing out to them measures of which the efficacy in saving the country could not be doubtful. He was not afraid to mention those, whatever motives an interested party might attribute to him. The first, then, was a complete reform of the representation of the people in parliament. For other measures, let those answer who advised the government of the country to depend on them; for this he would be responsible. The second, was a perfect emancipation of the Catholics, and an abolition of all religious distinctions. The third was, a general equalization of commerce between the two countries. England should have no reserves to Ireland: if it were beneficial to England to preserve Ireland as an united country, she was now bound by interest as well as justice to give her a community of benefits and advantages. Temporising measures had been too long the policy with which she had managed this country; and to those temporising measures the present situation of the country was to be attributed. They must now be given up if the country be to be saved."

Mr. solicitor general, in a speech of great vehemence, replied to Mr. Ponsonby:—"What was it come to, that in an Irish House of Commons they should listen to one of their own members degrading the character of an Irish gentleman by language which was fitted but for hallowing a mob? Had he heard a man uttering out of those doors such language as that by which the honourable gentleman had violated the decorum of parliament, he would have seized the ruffian by the throat and dragged him to the dust! What were the house made of? Who could listen in patience to such abominable sentiments—sentiments, which, thank God! were acknowledged by no class of men in this country, except the execrable and infamous nest of traitors who were known by the name of United Irishmen, who sat brooding in Belfast over their discontents and treasons, and from whose publications he could trace word for word every expression the honourable gentleman had used. But the men of Ireland are too wise and too loyal to be led astray by such artifices: the men of Ireland know whom they can trust—they know who have been hollow in the cause. The men of Ireland know who they are that are now armed in the cause to defend their lives, their property, their families, and their constitution, from the tremendous foe which threatens all: and the men of Ireland observe also those who are lying by in a suspicious apathy, as if wanting but to view the event of the contest. Who are they that have been foremost in arming to face the enemy? Not, certainly, the honourable gentleman or his friends. None of them were foremost in the work of glory. But the honourable gentleman does not pass unnoticed; his conduct is marked—it has given a stamp to his character. He had intended not to have spoken in this debate; but it was impossible that a man standing in the situation in which he stood, could have heard the honourable gentleman in silence. He had wished to hear on this question the opinion of country gentlemen: he hoped, however, he had not forfeited his claim to that character by the office which he held."

the lying and malicious assertions made by Mr. Fox in the parliament of Great Britain.* On the 11th of April, 1797, when the house met after the last adjournment, Mr. Grattan expressed his expectation, that the learned doctor who had given notice of his intention to make a motion relative to the propositions in the English parliament offered by lord Moira and Mr. Fox, would mention in due time the day on which he meant the attack; it being his (Mr. Grattan's) fixed opinion, that the propositions offered by those illustrious persons, were not only strictly constitutional and consistent with the most extensive idea of Irish independence, but absolutely necessary for the safety of the empire, and the continuation of the connexion. He added, that the speeches, as set forth in some of the public prints, and attributed to those distinguished characters, were perfectly warranted by the facts, and in every point of view just and seasonable; as such he was ready to defend them.

And on the same day Mr. secretary Pelham presented the following message from his excellency.†

Mr. Ponsonby, in reply, observed, "That it was the fashion of the time to charge treason on every man who differed from the minister on the subject of the war: he had that day been reading a pamphlet, in which Mr. Fox had been called a traitor, for advising a peace; but the deplorable situation to which the country had been reduced, was the best vindication of the wisdom of his advice, and the most convincing proof of the folly of his accuser."

Mr. Grattan observed, "That as to the three subjects, he entirely agreed with his honourable friend—equality of trade; but still more, the complete and absolute emancipation of the Catholics, and a reform of the Commons House of parliament: that he was satisfied of their importance to the liberty and safety of the country; and he added, that if such subjects were held in this house to be treasonable, it was an argument decisive to prove the necessity of a speedy and complete reform. He added, that he agreed with the honourable baronet to augment the yeoman corps 50,000 infantry in addition."

* On this day also Mr. J. C. Beresford begged to correct a mistatement which had gone abroad, of what he had said in a former debate, on the insurrection bill. It had been stated in a country paper, and from thence copied into those of Dublin, that he had expressed a wish "that the whole of the north of Ireland were in open rebellion, that the government might cut them off." This had been very assiduously circulated, to the detriment of his character; and was, he could confidently say, a falsehood. What he had said was, "that there were certain parts of the north of Ireland in a state of concealed rebellion; and that he wished those places were rather in a state of open rebellion, that the government might see the rebellion, and crush it." I have noticed this, as it has been a frequent imputation against government, that it was their wish to goad the people into rebellion, for the accursed purposes of forfeitures, punishments, and extermination.

† 17 Par. Deb. p. 466.

“ CAMDEN.

“ GENTLEMEN,

“ IN pursuance of the resolution entered into
 “ by the House of Commons, on the 1st of March, 1797, for
 “ raising towards the supply granted to his majesty, the sum of
 “ 3,395,697*l*. upon the terms therein mentioned, I have given
 “ such directions as appeared to me most proper to carry the
 “ same into execution; and I am sorry to inform you, that it is
 “ found, after the most diligent endeavours exerted for the pur-
 “ pose, that the sum intended to be raised by the said resolution,
 “ cannot be obtained according to the terms thereof. I therefore
 “ thought it incumbent on me, that this house should be made
 “ acquainted therewith, not doubting that the Commons of Ire-
 “ land, attentive to the honour of his majesty’s government, and
 “ to the safety of the kingdom, will take such measures as shall
 “ be most prudent to carry the intention of that salutary resolu-
 “ tion into effect.”

And on the 19th of the month another message was delivered by his excellency to the house, which shews the cautionary measures the government had in the meantime taken.”

“ CAMDEN.

“ UPON the information of the meetings of
 “ certain persons, styling themselves United Irishmen, for the
 “ purpose of concerting plans for the subversion of the constitu-
 “ tion, and of the established government of this kingdom, two
 “ committees in the town of Belfast have been arrested, and their
 “ papers seized: they contain matter of so much importance to
 “ the public welfare, that I have directed them to be laid before
 “ the House of Commons, and I recommend it to them to take
 “ the same into their serious consideration. I shall, in the mean
 “ time, pursue those measures which have received your sanction
 “ and approbation, with unremitting vigour, and employ the
 “ force entrusted to me in the most efficient manner for the pro-
 “ tection of his majesty’s faithful subjects against all treasonable
 “ designs, and for bringing to condign punishment those who are
 “ endeavouring to overturn the constitution, and betray this
 “ country into the hands of her enemies.” Upon which Mr.
 Pelham observed, that the proper way for the house to take these papers into consideration, would be to refer them to a committee of secrecy. The papers, which they would have to consider, were of such a nature that it was probable they might hereafter be produced in a court of justice, for the conviction of the persons in

whose custody they had been found; to publish their contents would, therefore, tend to defeat the ends of public justice.

Mr. Grattan was against a secret committee. It was reasonable to suppose, from the nature of this communication from his excellency, that the lives and properties of the subject were to be subjected to new measures of coercion; it was therefore highly unjust, that the committee who were to suggest those measures should be secret: for himself, he would never agree to commit the people of Ireland to the mercy of a secret committee, which would be in effect, to put their lives and fortunes into the hand of the minister, and this too at a time when the misconduct of the minister in both countries was the subject of very general complaint, and when both countries almost unanimously, demanded their dismissal. He was the more inclined to resist this application of ministers for a secret committee, of which their malignity against the people might make a convenient instrument, because he entirely disapproved of their past conduct, and detested that system, by which they had misgoverned the country; because he saw that all their measures, whether parliamentary or military, tended equally to increase the calamities of the people; and because he saw that each successive measure they had tried, was more unjust and unconstitutional than the former.

Mr. Pelham's motion for a secret committee was put and carried: the committee was ordered to consist of 15, and to be appointed by ballot.* An adjournment of some weeks took place to accommodate those members, and many they were, whose professional duties called them on the circuits.

Never was there a more critical and awful moment to the internal state of a kingdom: the change of the popular mind was extreme. Armagh had been for three or four years back the centre of religious acrimony, bigotted cruelty, and continued outrage. The progress of the union had entirely done away these ferocious effects: but so little at this time was the bond of union considered treasonable, that at the Armagh assizes, when the spirit and tendency of it were brought before the court on the trial of *Hanlon* and *Nogher*, who were charged of tendering an unlawful oath or engagement to become one of an unlawful, wicked, and seditious society, called *United Irishmen*, the prisoners were acquitted: the counsel not only defended, but commended the institution, though the judge thought the obligation illegal

* The method of appointing this committee was, for each member to give in his list of 15, and the committee was thus appointed of the following persons, who had the majority of the ballots, viz. Mr. Pelham, Mr. D. la Touche, Mr. Ogle, Mr. J. C. Beresford, Mr. J. Stewart, Mr. J. Foster, Mr. commissioner Beresford, lord Castlereagh, Mr. solicitor-general, Mr. prime serjeant, Mr. attorney general, Mr. Maxwell, Mr. Alexander, Mr. D. Browne, lord Boyle.

under the late act of parliament.* The acquittal of Dogherty, and the confinement and prosecution of the suborned witness, who alone appeared against him, the anticipated confidence of the acquittal of Hanlon and Nogher, and the backwardness of government in bringing any more to trial, had created a species of triumph in the popular party, either of the rectitude or

* It is fitting, that the light in which this bond of union was at different periods represented to, and viewed by the people, should be known, in order that the real guilt and malice of the original and reflex traitors, may be separated from the impetuosity and enthusiasm of many friends to civil and constitutional liberty, that were originally engaged in it from honourable and meritorious motives, though some of them were afterwards seduced *specie recti* to hold their footing, when they perceived themselves gone further than they were aware of: and when coercion militated so powerfully against receding.

On Saturday, the 19th, the assizes ended, having lasted an entire week. There were in the jail to the amount of 28 persons, charged with offences usually imputed to United Irishmen, of whom, however, two trials only were brought forward. In the former, a suborned soldier, who was brought forward to prosecute Dogherty, was, upon Dogherty's acquittal, put into the dock in his place, to abide his trial for perjury. Since that the grand juries found bills against him, and he remained in custody to abide his trial.

The only other trial was that of the king against Hanlon and Nogher, charged with contemptuously, maliciously, and feloniously tendering to the prosecutor an unlawful oath or engagement, to become one of an unlawful, wicked, and seditious society called United Irishmen.

One witness only was produced in support of this indictment, a soldier of the 24th light dragoons, of the name of Fisher, who swore to the administration of an oath, "to be united in brotherhood to pull down the head clergy and half-pay officers." He, upon his cross examination, said, that the obligation had been shewn and read to him, in a small book of four leaves, which he had read and would know again. The constitution of the United Irishmen was then put into his hands by the defendant's counsel, and he admitted the test contained in it to be the same that he had taken.

On the part of the prisoners, A. T. Stewart, esq. of Acton, was examined and cross examined by the crown. The sum of his testimony was, that this society had made a rapid progress through the people of all religious ranks and classes; that before its introduction into that country, the most horrible religious persecutions existed, attended with murder and extirpation; that since its introduction these atrocities had subsided, as far as he could learn. He admitted he had heard of murders laid to their charge, but could hardly believe such charges, as he conceived them incompatible with any thing he ever could learn of the principles or consequences of their institution.

The jailor was also examined, who said, that fewer persons had been sent to him upon charges of racking or robbing houses, or of murder than before, and that he understood the religious parties began to agree better together, and to fight less.

There was no other material evidence. Mr. Curran spoke an hour and three quarters, in defence of the United Irishmen.—That he was delighted to find, after so many of them had been immured in dungeons, without trial, that at length the subject had come fairly before the world—and that instead of being a system of organized treason and murder, it proved to be a great bond of national union, founded upon the most acknowledged principle of law, and every sacred obligation due to our country and Creator.

Mr. baron George gave his opinion decidedly, that the obligation was, under the act of parliament, *illegal*. The Jury withdrew, and acquitted the prisoner, and thus ended the assizes of Armagh.

strength of their cause. On the same day, (14th of April) which was the last day but one of the assizes, the sheriff of Armagh, at the request of several of the first gentlemen of the county, convened a meeting, for the purpose of framing a proper address to his majesty on the critical situation of affairs, claiming redress in a respectful manner against the grievances under which they laboured; and some anonymous and rebellious demagogue published a very inflammatory paper, in order to excite the popular spirit beyond the claims of that rational and sober freedom, which the British constitution by its natural and unchecked workings never fails to afford.*

It appears evident, that at this time the publication of many opinions and sentiments, which at former periods had been considered laudable and meritorious, were deemed turbulent, seditious, or treasonable. The revolutionary doctrines of 1688, in their particular bearings upon the existing circumstances of 1797, were sure marks of reprobation, and from the report† of the secret committee, appear to have been considered criminal in their nature, as well as in their application. When Mr. Pelham communicated the report of the secret committee to the house, on the 10th of May, he observed, that what had then transpired must convince every man, that it was not legislation which should be resorted to, to repress this daring and dark conspiracy, but to those strong measures which the executive government had already adopted, with the approbation of the house. That report justified in the fullest extent those measures, and at the same time called on the gentlemen of that house, and on every loyal subject, to strain every nerve to put down that society: nor did he think, formidable as they might appear, that there was any reason to fear, that the loyalty of the country and the force of the state, would not be fully sufficient to crush them. Their numbers, it was reasonable, to believe, had been greatly exaggerated in these papers; as it was plain, that they tried every

* Both are to be seen in the Appendix, No. CIII.

† 17 Par. Deb. p. 522. The committee again take occasion to observe, that it appears from these papers, that the United Irishmen made a pretext of reform and emancipation, to cover a design to subvert instead of amending the constitution, to confiscate property and extinguish the possessors of it; and this they infer, arguendo, from the circumstance, that these two objects have not been mentioned in these papers as the end of their institution. In further corroboration of this opinion, they transcribe a paper called the Donaghadee Resolutions, in which it is emphatically stated "to have been the opinion of the best statesmen, philosophers, and divines, that all power originates with the people; that when tyrants usurp power, or governors legitimately constituted degenerate into tyrants, it becomes the right and the duty of the people to take arms to wrest that power from the hands which abuse it, and restore it to those to whom it of right belongs, &c. &c."

mode to keep up the spirits of their deluded followers, as well by fallacious statements of their force, as by the expectation of foreign assistance. For his own part, he believed the great body of the people were loyal, and he should be proud to exert every power he possessed in opposing that band of daring traitors. He believed, that among the members who formed the society of United Irishmen, there were many much less criminal than others; many he believed might have been seduced to join them by the specious pretexts of reform, &c. and might have continued among them from the ignorance of their true designs, which, it appeared, they were so desirous of concealing from the great body of their members: but he hoped, that the publication of that report would open their eyes, and shew them the danger and the crimes into which they were hastening. He concluded by moving, that this report be communicated to the committee of the lords, and that it be printed, which was ordered accordingly.

The 15th of May, 1797, was a day of peculiar importance to the fate of Ireland. The great question of parliamentary reform stood for that day, Mr. W. B. Ponsonby had most urgently been pressed by government not to bring forward that subject in the moment of so alarming a ferment of the public mind. He, however, differed from the gentlemen on the treasury bench upon the propriety of agitating the question at that particular juncture, deeming it indispensably necessary then, above all other times, to agitate and to adopt that measure as the only efficient means of enduring the restoration of peace, confidence, and prosperity to the country. The galleries had overflowed at an early hour, and the speaker took the chair precisely at four o'clock, when lord Castlereagh pre-occupied the attention of the house by moving, that the address of the lords on the subject of the treasonable papers, be then taken into consideration. The address contained strong expressions of the loyalty and affection of the house; alluded in very strong terms to the enormity and extent of that traitorous conspiracy; thanked his majesty for the measures which had been already taken for restoring the due observation of the laws, and recommended to his adoption the most severe measures for the complete suppression of these dangerous disorders. His lordship animadverted on the danger of the conspiracy with much vehemence, and concluded by a motion, "that the commons should agree with their lordships in that address."

Mr. Smith moved an amendment, that his majesty would use conciliatory measures to remove every pretext of discontent from the well disposed, as well as measures of coercion for the prevention and punishment of conspiracy and treason; urging the ne-

cessity of correcting abuses, as well as adopting strong laws to repress disaffection.

This introduced much very animated conversation from Mr. George Ponsonby, Mr. Fletcher, Mr. Jephson, Mr. Grattan, and Mr. Hoare, who supported the amendment; and the attorney general, Mr. Denis Browne, Mr. Egan, sir B. Roche, Mr. Alexander, Messrs. J. and M. Beresford, Mr. Ogle, Mr. Toler, and Mr. Amnesty, who opposed it.*

The question of parliamentary reform was brought on by Mr. William Brabazon Ponsonby, by first reading his several propositions, before he specifically moved any of them. They were to the following effect:

“*Resolved*, That it is indispensably necessary to a fundamental reform of the representation, that all disabilities, on account of religion, be for ever abolished; and that Catholics shall be admitted into the legislature, and all the great offices of state, in the same extent, &c. as Protestants now are.

“That it is the indispensable right of the people of Ireland to be fully and fairly represented in parliament.

“That in order that the people may be fully enabled to exercise that right, the privilege of returning members for cities, boroughs, &c. in the present form shall cease; that each county be divided into districts, consisting of 6000 houses each, each district to return two members to parliament.

“That all persons possessing freehold property to the amount of 40s. per annum; all possessed of leasehold interests, of the annual value of —; all possessed of a house, of the value of —; all who have resided for a certain number of years in any great city or town, following a trade; and all who shall

* 7 Par. Deb. p. 529. The most contentious topic in the debate was an expression which fell from Mr. Fletcher, in the course of his speech, in which he said, that if coercive measures were to be pursued, the whole country must be coerced, for the spirit of insurrection had pervaded every part of it.

Mr. M. Beresford ordered the clerk to take down these words, and the gallery was instantly cleared. When strangers were again admitted, the debate on the address still continued, and in the course of it M. J. C. Beresford thought himself called on to defend the secret committee against an assertion which had fallen from Mr. Fletcher in the course of his speech. The assertion was, in substance, that he feared the people would be led to look on the report of the committee, as fabricated rather to justify the past measures of government, than to state facts!

Mr. Fletcher contended, that he had a right to animadvert on the report, but disclaimed any design of imputing any thing unfair to the members of that committee individually.

In the course of the altercation, which followed on this subject, Mr. Toler threatened, and actually did move an abstract resolution, declaring, that the imputation conveyed in those words (of Mr. Fletcher) was an unfounded calumny on the report. He was at length, however, persuaded to withdraw his motion. The house then divided on Mr. Smith's amendment, which was lost without a division.

"be free of any city, &c. by birth, marriage, or servitude, shall vote for members of parliament.

"That seats in parliament shall endure for — number of years."

Mr. Pelham applauded the candid manner in which the honourable mover had put the house completely into possession of his whole plan; but thought the question ought not to be agitated, whilst a part of the country was in a state of rebellion, and a most dangerous conspiracy existed in it, as appeared by the report of the secret committee. He therefore moved an adjournment. A very heated debate* ensued, which lasted till five o'clock in the morning, when the house divided, 170 for the adjournment, and 30 only against it.

† The rigor of military government was first enforced un-

* This subject having been so often debated, I repeat no part of the debate. The only new point made seemed to be the actual effects of the coercion, that had for some time been systematically adopted. The language of government was, *the people must be subdued, before they shall be relieved*: and neither Catholic emancipation nor parliamentary reform can be now granted, because they are made the pretences for insurrection and rebellion. Mr. Grattan, who spoke last in the debate, said (*17 Par. Deb. p. 567*) "I have in my hand a paper signed by nine hundred persons, considerable men in business, and northern merchants, containing the following resolutions, in substance: 'That they conceive the cause of the present discontent to be the miserable state of the representation; that the discontent and suffering will continue until parliament shall be reformed, and that they will persist in the pursuit of that object, and will not lose sight of it by cavils at the plan, but will expect and be satisfied with such a plan as does substantially restore to the community the right of electing the House of Commons—securing its independence against the influence of the crown—limiting the duration of parliament, and extending to his majesty's subjects the privileges of the constitution, without distinction of religion.' Such a plan we offer you; that is our plan of peace, our idea of strength and union against a foreign enemy: we conceive, that all your other plans have failed; you tried them—you tried your revenue, and you failed; you tried your public credit—it has failed; you tried your armed force—it has failed; you have attempted to combat democracy by armies, and you failed; you sent armies against your enemies to combat that principle, and you failed; you sent armies against your people, and you failed. You conquered your laws indeed; you conquered the person of the subject—but you could not subdue his mind—you could not conquer the passion or the principle: on the contrary, you inflamed both. What then remains? Try this plan—reform the parliament."

† As Mr. Grattan viewed the subject he thus enumerated the effects produced by that system of coercion, which he called upon the government to change. "But," said he, "gentlemen chiefly rely on the report of the secret committee, and allege, that a conspiracy appears from that report to have established itself in a way so extensive and formidable, as to render any conciliatory measure inadmissible; they must be subdued before they shall be relieved: such are the words of gentlemen—dangerous and inconsiderate words! But from that very report, I draw a conclusion diametrically opposite; from that report, I conclude, that parliamentary reform is not merely eligible, but absolutely indispensable; in that report, and from the speeches of gentlemen, we learn, that a conspiracy has existed for some years; that it was composed originally of persons of no powerful or extensive influence; and yet these men, under prosecution and discountenance, have been so extended as to reach every county in the kingdom; to levy a great army;

der general Lake in the northern district, where he commanded: many seizures of concealed arms and ammunition were made. In the execution of these orders, some barbarous outrages were committed by the military, which tended to inflame and exasperate the minds of the people, which were already too highly inflamed. Not only some women and children had been murdered, but the houses of some respectable persons were pillaged and demolished, upon the bare suspicion of their being United Irishmen.* Great discontent was created in the north, by a

“ to provide arms and ammunition; and to alarm, as the report states, the
 “ existence of the government, with the number of its proselytes, procured by
 “ these two popular subjects—parliamentary reform, and Catholic emancipa-
 “ tion. It appears, then, that they have recruited by these topics, and have
 “ spread their influence, notwithstanding your system of coercion every where;
 “ that notwithstanding your convention bill of 1793, that this convention has
 “ grown; that notwithstanding your gunpowder act, it has armed and increas-
 “ ed its military stores under that act, that notwithstanding your insurrection
 “ act, another bill to disarm, it has greatly added to its magazines; and that
 “ notwithstanding the suspension of the habeas corpus bill, and general Lake’s
 “ proclamation, it has multiplied its proselytes. I should have asked, had I
 “ been on the secret committee, whether the number of United Irishmen had
 “ not increased very much since general Lake’s proclamation, and by general
 “ Lake’s proclamation. It appears, I say, from that report, that just as your
 “ system of coercion advanced, the United Irishmen advanced; that the mea-
 “ sures you took to coerce, strengthened; to disperse, collected; to disarm,
 “ armed; to render them weak and odious, made them popular and powerful;
 “ whereas, on the other hand, you have loaded parliament and government
 “ with the odium of an oppressive system, and with the further odium of re-
 “ jecting these two popular topics, which you allow are the most likely to gain
 “ the heart of the nation, and be the beloved objects of the people.”

Mr. Grattan closed his speech and the debate with these words: “ We have
 “ offered you our measure; you will reject it: we deprecate yours; you will
 “ persevere: having no hopes left to persuade or dissuade, and having dis-
 “ charged our duty, we shall trouble you no more, and after this day shall not
 “ attend the House of Commons.” 17 Par. Deb. p. 570.

* It is not my object to rehearse every feat of cruelty or outrage committed either by the military or the rebels: there are too many, alas, on both sides. I would not be thought to hazard general assertions loosely; and therefore merely mention some few instances, which began as early as the Spring of 1797: In the barony of Lower Orion, in the county of Armagh, one Birch, under a military escort with his hands tied behind him, was cut down by the serjeant, and died of his wounds; the pretext was, that some countrymen attracted by curiosity came near them and intended to attempt a rescue; and on the night of the wake of the deceased, some soldiers, under command of colonel Sparrow, broke into the house, took out the corpse, and severely wounded and mangled those who were in the house. The colonel was tried and found guilty, though he had the king’s pardon in his pocket, which he produced upon the sentence being pronounced against him. A party of the Essex fencibles burnt the house and furniture of one Potter, a respectable farmer, because his wife, who had seven infant children, either would not or could not tell where her husband was. Another party of the same regiment quartered at Enniskillen, broke open the house of Farmer Durman, at two o’clock, murdered one and wounded another of his sons whilst in bed. The like outrages were committed at Coolairill upon one Price an innkeeper, and his daughter, who were both dangerously wounded.

proclamation published by general Lake on the 13th of March, 1797,* which was made in consequence of a letter written to him by Mr. Pelham, setting forth the alarming and desperate state of the north. The newspaper, called the *Morning Star*, which was published at Belfast, was the paper into which all the bold attacks upon the ministers and publications in favour of liberty found their way: it was of course extremely obnoxious to government. The proprietors of it, Robert and William Simms, had been some time (i. e. from the 5th of February) committed to Newgate in Dublin, under the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus Act*. The person, who then conducted the paper having been required, refused to insert a paragraph in it, which reflected on the loyalty of the people of Belfast: the next morning a detachment of the military issued very orderly from the barracks, attacked the printing office, and utterly demolished every part of it.† Several other outrages were committed by the military on the inhabitants of Belfast: the house of Cunningham Gregg, esq. was destroyed with impunity, and without any pretext or provocation for such an outrage. The harshness of this military despotism drove many to desperation, who had till then been loyally and peaceably disposed. No European nation more keenly sympathizes with the sufferings of their unoffending relatives than the Irish; none more prompt to make the resentment of them a common cause. It has been before‡ remarked, by the king's attorney general, that there is no nation under the sun, that love equal and indifferent justice better than the Irish; or will rest better satisfied with the execution thereof, although it be against themselves. If these sentiments still mark the national characteristic (experience daily shews they do) it is difficult to prove, that the system of sending unarraigned persons on board the tenders, and flagellating and torturing untried individuals to extort confessions either of themselves or others, of burning and destroying the houses and property of persons either slightly suspected, or maliciously charged, of inflicting punishments on men, committing outrages on women, and devastating houses, villages, and whole districts with impunity, under the semblance of law and countenance of government, should not goad a people of warm and quick sensibility into hatred, revenge, and frenzy, rather than reclaim them from rashness, or reduce them to mildness and obedience. It was

* Both this letter and the proclamation may be seen in the Appendix, No. CIV.

† It is credibly reported, that after the destruction of the *Morning Star* printing office, an officer, high in command, exclaimed in triumph, "We may now do as we please, for as the *Star* is demolished, no other paper dares to publish any act we may do."

‡ Viz. Sir John Davies, 1 Vol. p. 22.

however the avowed opinion of government, that the treason was in the course of the winter 1796, and the spring of 1797, too deeply rooted to yield to the remedy of the law, even where it was put in force by the magistrates with activity.* Such an assumption was prominently calculated to open the door to the strongest measures, and the general command given to the civil and military officers by proclamation to use the exertions of their utmost force, and to oppose with their full power all such as should resist them in the execution of their duty, which was to search for and seize concealed arms, admitted of a latitude of power, not very likely to be temperately regulated by raw troops let in upon a country denounced rebellious, and devoted to military rigour, as a necessary substitute for the inefficacy of the municipal law. A regiment of cavalry, called the *Ancient Britons*, commanded by sir Watkin William Wynne, were at all times prominently conspicuous for the rigorous execution of any orders for devastation, destruction, or extermination. They were marked for it by the rebels, and in the course of the rebellion they were cut to pieces almost to a man.

In this convulsed state of the nation, the difference of opinion between the two parties in parliament was not upon the necessity, but upon the likeliest mode of restoring tranquillity. The opinions and measures of government were uniformly adopted, and unexceptionably acted upon: they therefore produced their effects. Whether or no an opposite system of conciliation, if acted upon, would have prevented the calamities, which afterwards ensued, still rests in doubt, as every theory essentially must.† The secret committee have made an assertion, though without any voucher for its truth, that contradicts the evidence of Mr. Stewart of Acton above referred to given on oath, namely, that since the establishment of the union the atrocities formerly so frequent in those parts had greatly subsided. Of the quantity of arms, which appeared by their own reports to be in the hands of the disaffected, comparatively few were obtained by the search then made in Ulster by general Lake's orders; and it is also to be ob-

* Report of secret committee in 1788. 17 Com. Journ. p. 899.

† If an individual from close attention to all the circumstances of the late transactions may presume to offer his opinion, it is, that a system of conciliation would not have diverted some of the leading and most inveterate traitors from their ambitious and nefarious projects; but it would have defeated them by regaining and securing to government the great mass of the people, without whose concurrence these arch-rebels must have dropped their iniquitous designs. They consequently wished for nothing more than a continuance and even aggravation of that system of coercive irritation. The alienation of every heart from government was an accession to their strength. I do not attribute this determined malice to every one of the gentlemen, who unfortunately engaged in the union. I believe that a change of system would have reclaimed several.

served, that previously to, and during the circuit which took place in the month of April, 1797, acts of violence of every description became more frequent, and were at the same time so systematically directed, with a view to stop the course of criminal justice against the United Irishmen, that the crown prosecutions in the disturbed counties proved from their failure an encouragement rather than a restraint upon the treasonable projects of the party.

The report of the secret committee was soon after followed by a proclamation, which after reciting many acts of outrage and rebellion that had been committed, and offering pardon, with certain exceptions, to all persons guilty of the said offences, who should surrender within the period of a month, and give security for their future good behaviour, declared, that the civil power had proved ineffectual, and that it became necessary to employ the military force for the immediate suppression of such rebellious attempts. Notwithstanding which measure of mercy and warning to the disaffected, in the latter end of May, a general insurrection in Ulster was decided on, and the plan of attack for each county arranged.

That proclamation, which was published on the 17th of May, was sent to lord Carhampton, with a letter from Mr. Pelham, on the 18th of May, in consequence of which his lordship immediately published the following order. "In obedience to the order of the lord lieutenant in council, it is the commander in chief's commands, that the military do act* without waiting for directions from the civil magistrates in dispersing any tumultuous or unlawful assemblies of persons threatening the peace of the realm, and the safety of the lives and properties of his majesty's loyal subjects wheresoever collected."† We are further informed by the secret committee, that the intention of a general insurrection transpired, and was defeated by the active exertions of the army; notwithstanding which a partial rising did take place near the mountains in the county of Down,

* A very savage abuse of this latitude of power appears in the following instance. Information had been lodged, that a house near Newry contained concealed arms; a party of the Ancient Britons repaired to the house; but not finding the object of their search, they set it on fire: the peasantry of the neighbourhood came running from all sides to extinguish the flames, believing the fire to have been accidental; it was the first military conflagration in that part of the country. As they came up they were attacked in all directions, and cut down by the fencibles: thirty were killed, among whom were a woman and two children. An old man of seventy years of age, seeing the dreadful slaughter of his neighbours and friends, fled for safety to some adjacent rocks; he was pursued, and though on his knees imploring mercy, his head was cut off at a blow.

† The proclamation and Mr. Pelham's letter, which preceded and occasioned this order, are to be seen in the Appendix, No. CV.

where the insurgents, finding themselves unsupported, soon dispersed. The effect of the measures then adopted was immediately felt; the arms of the disaffected by necessary acts of coercion were collected throughout the province in great numbers; the loyal were encouraged to declare themselves; such as had been misled, came in crowds to take the benefit of the proclamation of pardon, which was now extended for another month; outrage ceased, and public confidence was so far restored throughout Ulster in the course of the months of July and August, that the laws were administered with effect in the different counties during the Summer circuit, and the manufacturing industry of the country was restored to its usual vigour during the remainder of that year: and during and subsequent to the Summer assizes, the civil authority was found throughout Ulster fully adequate to the preservation of the public peace, and all military interference was generally discontinued from that period.

Henceforward also the inferior societies of United Irishmen, in general, discontinued their meetings; the people applied themselves to their ordinary occupations; and though some of the higher committees were kept alive by the active leaders in the treason, yet for several months only a proportion of the counties of Ulster were represented in the provincial committee; the others refused to send delegates; little money was collected; they could not succeed in reviving the inferior societies; although they encouraged each other in the hopes of bringing the lower orders of the people again into action in case the enemy should land, they were not able to make any impression of consequence till the insurrection in Leinster was on the point of breaking forth; such the committee stated to be the beneficial consequences arising from the measures adopted in the year 1797. The leaders of the treason, apprehensive lest the enemy might be discouraged from any further plan of invasion, by the loyal disposition manifested throughout Munster and Connaught on their former attempt, determined to direct all their exertions to the propagation of the system in those provinces, which had hitherto been but partially infected. With this view emissaries were sent into the south and west in great numbers, of whose success in forming new societies and administering the oaths of the union, there were in the course of some few months, but too evident proofs in the introduction of the same disturbances and enormities into Munster, with which the northern province had been so severely visited.

In May, 1797, although numbers had been sworn both in Munster and Leinster, the strength of the organization, exclusively of Ulster, lay chiefly in the metropolis, and in the neighbouring counties of Dublin, Kildare, Meath, Westmeath, and

the King's county. It was very observable, that the counties in which defenderism had prevailed, easily became converts to the new doctrines; and in the Summer of 1797, the usual concomitants of this species of treason, namely, the plundering houses of arms, the fabrication of pikes, and the murder of those who did not join their party, began to appear in the midland counties.

In order to engage the peasantry in the southern counties, particularly in the counties of Waterford and Cork, the more eagerly in their cause, the United Irishmen found it expedient in urging their general principles, to dwell with peculiar energy on the supposed oppressiveness of tithes, which had been the pretext for the old *White Boys*' insurrections. And it is observable, that in addition to the acts of violence usually resorted to by the party for the furtherance of their purposes, the ancient practice of burning the corn, and loughing the cattle of those, against whom their resentment was directed, was revived, and very generally practised in those counties.

With a view to excite the resentment of the Catholics, and to turn that resentment to the purposes of the party, fabricated and false tests were represented as having been taken to exterminate Catholics, and were industriously disseminated by the emissaries of the treason throughout the provinces of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught. Reports were frequently circulated amongst the ignorant of the Catholic persuasion, that large bodies of men were coming to put them to death. This fabrication, however extravagant and absurd, was one among the many wicked means by which the deluded peasantry were engaged the more rapidly and deeply in the treason.

This honourable testimony of the loyalty of the Catholics of the three provinces of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, is an authentic admission by the secret committee, that the Catholic body was not at all implicated in that rebellion and treason, which had then been so repeatedly proclaimed to exist in the north. It also proves the execrable hypocrisy, with which those leaders of the rebellion endeavoured to connect themselves with every description of persons, to seize on their passions, and direct them to their own traitorous purposes. Their objects were to prepare the people by disaffection to unite with the enemy in case of a future landing, and to dispose the enemy to take advantage of the discontents of the people, whilst they were in actual fermentation.

In the spring of 1797 the executive of the union thinking the French dilatory in their preparations, dispatched Mr. Lewins as a confidential person to press for assistance. This agent left London in March, and proceeded to Hamburgh, but did not

reach Paris till the end of May or beginning of June, from which time he continued to be the accredited minister of the Irish union to the French Directory. And in the summer of 1797 the executive of the union, apprehensive lest a premature insurrection in the north before the promised succours from France could arrive might disappoint their prospects, thought it necessary to send a second agent to the French government, to urge with increased earnestness, that the promised assistance should be immediately sent. He left Dublin in the end of June, and presented himself with the necessary letters of credence to the French minister at Hamburgh. Meeting with some difficulty in obtaining a passport to proceed to Paris, he delivered to the minister of the Republic a memoir to be forwarded to the Directory.

This agent was authorized to give France assurances of being repaid the full expenses of any future armament she might send to Ireland, as well as of the last, which had miscarried; to be raised by the confiscation of the lands of the church, of the property of all those who should oppose the measures of the party. He was also particularly charged to negotiate, if possible, a loan on the above security to the amount of half a million, or at least three hundred thousand pounds, for the immediate purposes of the union; and directions were given to him, that in case France could not be prevailed on to advance so large a sum, he should address himself to the court of Spain for that purpose.

It appeared to the committee, that the executive of the union, though desirous of obtaining assistance in men, arms, and money, yet were averse to a greater force being sent than might enable them to subvert the government, and retain the power of the country in their own hands; but that the French shewed a decided disinclination at all times to send any force to Ireland, except such as from its magnitude might not only give them the hopes of conquering the kingdom, but of retaining it afterwards as a French conquest, and of subjecting it to all the plunder and oppressions which other countries, subdued or deceived by that nation, had experienced. A remarkable illustration of which sentiment in the Directory of France occurs in the substance of a letter said to have been received from Lewins, the Irish agent at Paris, and shewn by lord Edward Fitzgerald to John Cormick, a colonel in the rebel army, who fled from justice on the breaking out of the rebellion, and whose voluntary confession upon his apprehension in Guernsey before sir Hugh Dalrymple, is to be seen in the papers annexed to that report. This letter, although written apparently on money business, which is the cloak generally made use of by the party to conceal their real views, was perfectly intelligible when connected with and explained by the me-

moir presented by dr. M'Nevin,* the Irish agent to the French Directory. The letter states, that the trustees, that is, the Directory, would not advance the five thousand pounds, that is, the smaller number of troops asked for in M'Nevin's memoir, say-

* It is a most remarkable circumstance, that the memoir to the French Directory, with which dr. M'Nevin was charged, should have fallen into the hands of government : it is a proof either of their vigilance or of the perfidy of the Irish traitors, or of the French allies. Messrs. O'Connor, Emmett, and M'Nevin tell us in the memoir, p. 21 (they were in fact petrified at their first examination to see it lie on the table before them), that government *had some how or other obtained* their original memoir, to which they therefore refer ; and the account, which the secret committee has given us of that memoir is as follows. The next communication of consequence was in June, 1797, when an accredited person went from hence to communicate with the French Directory by their desire : he went by Hamburgh, where he saw the French minister, who made some difficulty about granting a passport, and demanded a memorial, which was written by the accredited person, and given to the French minister under the impression that the passport was not to be granted.

The memoir was written in English, and contained the objects of his mission according to the instructions which he had received from the executive. It began by stating, that the appearance of the French in Bantry Bay had encouraged the least confident of the Irish, in the hope of throwing off the yoke of England with the assistance of France : that the event of that expedition had proved the facility of invading Ireland : that in the event of a second expedition, if the object were to take Cork, Oyster Haven would be the best place of debarkation ; that the person who had been before accredited was instructed to point out Oyster Haven as the best place of debarkation ; and it stated the precautions which had been taken by throwing up works at Bantry, Fermoy, and Mallow. It further stated, that the system of the United Irishmen had made a rapid progress in the county of Cork, and that Bandon was become a second Belfast ; that the system had made great progress in other counties, and that the people were now well inclined to assist the French ; that 150,000 United Irishmen were organized and enrolled in Ulster, a great part of them regimented, and one third ready to march out of the province. It detailed the number of the king's forces in Ulster, and their stations ; recommended Loughswilly as a place of debarkation in the north, and stated, that the people in the peninsula of Donegal would join the French. It stated also the strength of the garrison in Londonderry, and that one regiment which made a part of it was supposed to be disaffected. It mentioned Killybegs also as a good place of debarkation, and stated that the counties of Tyrone, Fermanagh, and Monaghan, were amongst the best affected to the cause. In case of a landing at Killybegs, it recommended a diversion in Sligo, and stated, that a force of 10,000 United Irishmen might be collected to fall upon Enniskillen, which commanded the pass of Lough Erne : that it was easy to enter the bay of Galway, but very difficult to get out of it : that the counties of Louth, Armagh, Westmeath, Kildare, King's county, and city of Dublin, were the best organized : that the Catholic priests had ceased to be alarmed at the calumnies which had been propagated of French Irreligion, and were well affected to the cause : that some of them had rendered great service in propagating with discreet zeal the system of the union. It declared that the people of Ireland had a lively sense of gratitude to France for the part which she took, and also to Spain for the interests she took in the affairs of Ireland. It engaged on the part of the National Directory, to reimburse the expenses of France in the expedition which had failed, and of another to be undertaken. The number of troops demanded was a force not exceeding 10,000, and not less than 5000 men. It stated, that a brigade of English artillery had been already sent over, and that a large body of troops would

ing, they would make no payment short of the entire sum of, that is the larger force, which they always declared their intention of sending, and that this payment could not be made in less than four months from that time.

The demands of the party by their first agent went to a force not exceeding ten thousand nor less than five thousand men, with forty thousand stand of arms, and a proportionate supply of artillery, ammunition, engineers, experienced officers, &c.

A still larger supply of arms was solicited by the second messenger, on account of the growing number of their adherents, and of the disarming of the north, in which province above ten thousand stand of arms and as many pikes had been surrendered to the king's troops.

Attempts were certainly made to procure the assistance of such Irish officers then in foreign service as might be prevailed upon, by receiving high rank, to engage in the service of the union, and a negotiation was actually set on foot for that purpose; but it has been stated, that from the over caution of the agent who was employed in conducting this transaction, nothing in consequence of it was effected.

A second memoir was presented by this confidential agent

probably be sent if Ireland were attacked. A considerable quantity of artillery and ammunition, with a large staff, and a body of engineers, and as many Irish officers as possible, whose fidelity they were assured of, were demanded as necessary to accompany the expedition. A recommendation was given to separate the Irish seamen who were prisoners of war from the British, supposing they would be ready to join in an expedition to liberate their country. It further recommended a proclamation to be published by the French general, on his arrival there, that the French came as allies to deliver the country, not to conquer it: it also recommended to the Directory to make the independence of Ireland an indispensable condition of the treaty of peace then depending; and stated, that a proceeding so authentic could not be disguised or misrepresented, and would very much encourage the people of Ireland. It contained also an assurance, that the Irish militia would join the French if they landed in considerable force.

Immediately after this memoir was given in to the French minister, a passport was granted to the writer to go to Paris, where he had several conferences with people in authority, some of them members of the Directory: the object of these conferences was to obtain some assurances of succour from them that their agents had before given. The negotiation for peace was then going on at Lisle. He was told by persons in authority, that he did not think the English cabinet sincere, but that if France could get the terms she had a right to expect, the Directory would make peace.

A second memoir was presented at Paris by the same person soon after his arrival there; its object was to impress on the Directory the necessity of expediting the armament for Ireland by every argument which the writer could use.

After the breaking off of the negotiation, and Lord Malmesbury's return to England, assurances were given, that the French government would send a new expedition to Ireland, and that they would never abandon Ireland till she was separated from Great Britain, and these assurances were afterwards renewed.

upon his arrival at Paris, in which he urged such arguments as he conceived most likely to induce the Directory not to postpone the invasion. He endeavoured to demonstrate, that so favourable a disposition as then existed in the Irish mind was in no future contingency to be expected; and he artfully represented, that the delusions held out by reform might cease from delay, and thus render more difficult to France and the true republicans of that country their endeavours to separate the two kingdoms, and to establish a republic in Ireland.

Previous to that mission from Ireland, a confidential person was sent over by the French Directory to collect information respecting the state of Ireland. Failing to obtain the necessary passports in London to pass into Ireland, he wrote over to request that one of the party might meet him in London. Lord Edward Fitzgerald was sent over, and did not fail to furnish the French agent with every necessary intelligence.

The Directory gave the Irish agents sent to Paris the strongest assurances of support, and did accordingly, during the summer, make preparations of very extensive nature, both at the Texel and at Brest, for the invasion of Ireland; and in the autumn, intelligence was received by the executive of the union, that the troops were actually embarked in the Texel, and only waited for a wind.

In consequence of this communication, great exertions were made by the party, and in the beginning of October, when the Dutch fleet was on the point of sailing, the approach of the enemy was announced to the societies as at hand.

The troops had been actually on board, commanded by Gen. Daendells, but were suddenly disembarked. The Dutch fleet, contrary to the opinion of their own admiral, as is believed generally, was, at the instance of the French government, obliged to put to sea, which led to the ever memorable victory of the 11th of October, 1797, gained by lord Duncan.

The traitorous triumvirate, who have given to the public their own report of the case and examination before the secret committee, have appeared uncommonly anxious, that their negotiations with the enemy should not be misrepresented; particularly that they should not be supposed to have intended to throw their country under the dominion or power of France. By both their agents say they, (p. 20) rather a small number of men, with a great quantity of arms, ammunition, artillery, and officers, were required; a small force only was asked for, because the executive, faithful to the principle of Irish independence, wished for what they deemed just sufficient to liberate their country, but incompetent to subdue it. This most determined resolution, and that of the whole body being collected as far as its opinion could be taken, always has been in no event to let Ireland come under

the dominion of France, but it was offered to pay the expenses of the expedition. The number required was 10,000 men at the most, and at the least 5000. The executive inclined to the larger number; but even with the smaller, the general opinion among them was, there could be no doubt of success: as to the quantity of arms, by the first messenger 40,000 stand were specified, but by the second, as much more as could be sent; the difference arose from the disarming that had gone on in the north, and the increasing numbers who were ready to use them. The executive also instructed its agent to negotiate for a loan of money, if it could be had in France; if not, to negotiate with Spain; the sum was half a million. Ireland would infallibly become the seat of war, if they did not previously remove their grievances, the existence of which would naturally invite and prove a powerful auxiliary to the enemy. Such a rupture, it was observed, must be in the contemplation of the British cabinet, as several of its most leading members declared, that they considered the existence of the British monarchy incompatible with that of the Republic. Conciliation, then, according to every rule of policy and common sense, should be ultimately adopted: and though it should fall short of the wishes of the people, it was asserted, if once possessed of a reasonable share of liberty they would not be brought to run the chance of a revolution in order to obtain a more perfect system of freedom.

We have seen from the authority of the secret committee, that in the spring and summer of 1797, the mass of the people were not infected with the union in the provinces of Leinster, Munster and Connaught: and that in the north tranquillity was fast returning. It is well known, that the United Irishmen, who existed in the north, were chiefly Presbyterians and other Protestants; there were comparatively few Catholics amongst them: and henceforth it is observable, that although the rebellion or traitorous conspiracy, which had then been repeatedly reported and proclaimed to exist, was engendered, nurtured and established in the north, the heaviest consequences of it evidently fell upon other parts of the kingdom. The general coercion* in which

* In some places the sheriffs refused, in others they complied with the requisitions. An account of these proceedings in Dublin, Cork, and county of Kildare, may be seen in Appendix, No. CVI. The like were had almost throughout the kingdom. Of this period Mr. Grattan has given the following picture. (Pet. W. C. p. 9.) "The effect this had on their minds is manifest from a general resolution to bring home the crops of the persons so imprisoned; and the dispersal of the neighbours so assembled, added considerably to that effect, still further increased when they saw most of those sufferers either triumphantly acquitted, or without prosecution enlarged after having been seized in their town, torn from their families, led as traitors through their counties, and for above a year confined in a gaol, and now *come*

the kingdom was holden during the spring of 1797, induced several counties, corporations and districts, to apply to the sheriffs and other legal officers to convene meetings, in order to prepare addresses to the throne for the removal of his majesty's ministers from his councils for ever. These efforts of the people at large were no measures of the United Irishmen; at least of such of them as at that time had any treasonable views in their engagement: for by far the greater part of the United Irishmen at that period had no criminal intent in acceding to the union. The real traitors would have been sorry that the ministers should have been changed; for they always considered them as promoters of their own views, by creating disaffection and discontent amongst the people; they exerted themselves in forwarding the resistance of the petitions of the people, and triumphed in their failure and rejection.

The business of the union did not proceed during the remainder of the year 1797, with the same rapidity that it had from the middle of the year 1796. For* as it appeared to the committee the steps then taken, as mentioned in the proclamation, had an almost immediate effect in repressing the audacity of the rebels and restoring tranquillity. The loyal inhabitants were enabled in many places to return in safety to their houses; murders be-

"rying about in their own persons, the living evidence of a convicted government and an expired constitution.

"To this oppression we submit to his majesty the dispersal or prevention of county meetings, called for the purpose of addressing the king to remove his ministers.

"The people of Ireland had been greatly misrepresented; they were neither slaves nor rebels; the powers of understanding, or of mental energy, had in some degree passed from the highest to the middle order, who had rescued their liberty from the parliament of Great Britain, and would not be cheated out of it by the parliament of Ireland. They were not to be put down by venality, nor to be divided by religion; nor to be barked out of their freedom by the senseless cry and forked tongue of his ministers.

"That minister who determines to enslave the people, must renounce his project, or wade through their blood. The people accordingly in the spring of 1797, resorted to the constitutional ways of petition, and applied to the different sheriffs to summon their counties, and on refusal by the sheriff, (a dangerous courtly artifice to stop the prayers of the people from reaching the throne) they summoned themselves. What was the consequence? The petitioners were (we beg to represent to his majesty) confounded with rebels, and the enemies of his ministers were represented as the enemies of his person; the petitioners were answered by fresh troops from England and Scotland; in some instances the meetings were dispersed by the army, and in others, were deterred by the threat of military force; and thus did his majesty's ministers ratify the justice of the petitions against them, by adding this great and impeachable offence to all their other transgressions; and thus did his majesty's ministers reduce Ireland to the state of a miserable province, whose ministers had stopped totally and absolutely the utterance of the people in parliament by corruption, in the nation by a convention bill, and in the counties by the army."

* 17 Jour. Com. Appendix D, CCC, XXXIII.

came less frequent; in many counties, particularly in Kildare and Tipperary, the people, sensible of the madness and wickedness of their conduct, began openly to acknowledge their crimes, surrender their arms, and point out their leaders and seducers; a submission which invariably obtained for them pardon and protection.

In April and the beginning of May, the delusion of the people was so fast and so widely yielding to the measures of government, which, while they treated with severity the obstinate guilty, in all cases held forth mercy to the repentant, that the leaders of the treason both in Dublin and in the provinces began to perceive, that their cause was losing ground.

After various adjournments, during which no business of moment was transacted, on the 3d of July, 1797, the commons were summoned to attend his excellency in the House of Peers, when the royal assent was given to several bills, and his excellency after a long speech* appropriate to the alarming circumstances of the

* The following was his Excellency's speech.

“ MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

“ I HAVE the satisfaction of being at length enabled to relieve you from your laborious attendance in parliament, and am commanded by his majesty to express the just sense he entertains of that firm temper and vigorous determination, which you have uniformly manifested in supporting his majesty's government and protecting our happy constitution from the attempts of every foreign and domestic enemy.

“ I have much pleasure in announcing to you, that the British parliament has passed acts for abolishing the bounty on sail cloth exported to Ireland, and for prohibiting the importations of cambric from all countries except this kingdom.

“ GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

“ I am to thank you in his majesty's name for your unanimity in voting the extraordinary supplies which the public exigencies demanded. However unprecedented those supplies might have been in extent, and however difficult they may have been rendered from the state of public credit, you have wisely attended to the superior consideration of national safety. Such an exertion is the surest proof that you are truly sensible of the invaluable blessings which we are contending to preserve, and that the best means of effecting an honourable peace, and of restoring all the comforts of tranquillity, are by displaying at once your determination and your power, and by convincing your enemies of the extent of your resources as well as of the extent of your courage.

“ The ready assistance which has been received from the sister kingdom in facilitating the loan of the year, whilst it is a sure demonstration of her friendly cordiality, cannot fail to shew how inseparable are the mutual interests of the two kingdoms, and how necessary their connexion is for their mutual prosperity.

“ Your humanity in directing your attention to the present distress among the manufacturers, does not less command my approbation than your prudence in the mode of conveying relief by increasing the means of their employment.

“ MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

“ The powers with which you entrusted me by the suspension of the habeas corpus act, have enabled me to bring to light and to disconcert the formidable and secret conspiracy, which had been formed for the total

country, prorogued the parliament to the 10th of August; which was afterwards dissolved by proclamation on the 11th of July, 1797.

On the 22d of June, 1797, a proclamation had been issued,

“ overthrow of your establishments, the destruction of property, and the dissolution of government. This conspiracy has been so fully unfolded by your wisdom, that it can no longer spread itself under the insidious pretence which it had artfully assumed, of improving the constitution. In the measures, whether of vigilance or of coercion, which you have recommended for its extinction, I shall not relax. It will be my study to temper the necessary acts of severity and rigor, by conciliatory offers of clemency and pardon, to exhort the infatuated and deluded to abandon their deceivers, and to summon the guilty to repentance, but at the same time it is and will be my fixed purpose to proceed with vigour against those, who, regardless of every warning and admonition, shall continue their desperate efforts to involve this flourishing country in all the horrors of insurrection and invasion, of bloodshed and of anarchy.

“ I have already the satisfaction to acquaint you, that great numbers who had been unfortunately seduced have returned to a sense of duty and been admitted to his majesty's clemency, and I trust that by perseverance and energy every vestige of disaffection will be effaced, and universally give way to the return of that spirit of loyalty, which has so long been the distinguishing characteristic of this kingdom.

“ I cannot omit to congratulate with you on the unimpaired lustre of that spirit, which so conspicuously shone forth when the enemy's fleet appeared on our coasts, nor can I too often repeat my full sense of your wisdom in the establishment of district corps. I have the most satisfactory accounts of their improvements in discipline as well as of their exertions in quelling and preventing insurrection, and I have myself witnessed the unexampled exertions, good conduct, and military appearance of the corps of the metropolis, whose unceasing and unwearied vigilance at a most important crisis, checked every attempt to produce confusion by riot and tumult, at the same time that it destroyed the hopes of our enemies, and restored confidence to the country in general.

“ Your judicious augmentation of pay to his majesty's regular and militia forces, which must render their situation so highly comfortable, is at once a seasonable and honourable acknowledgment of their steadiness and loyalty.

“ The traitorous efforts which have been made to entice them from their allegiance have had a fatal effect in a few lamentable examples. I trust, however, they have excited in the minds of others so timely a repentance, and in the rest such indignation and abhorrence, that in future no danger can be apprehended.

“ Your wise institution of a sinking fund, in the midst of financial difficulties, cannot be too much applauded, and will prevent any ruinous depreciation of funded stock, and being established before the national debt has accumulated to any oppressive magnitude, will tend to prevent its becoming dangerous. A measure so truly calculated for preserving the resources of the state and supporting public credit, must secure to you the gratitude of an enlightened people.

“ His majesty is exerting every proper effort to produce a speedy and secure peace. It will be our duty to assist those efforts by convincing our enemies, from the state of our preparation and the unanimity of our spirit, that they can hope for no advantage by prolonging the calamities of war.

“ Wherever your abilities, your influence and exertions, can be most advantageously employed on your return to your several counties, I am confident they will be most conspicuously displayed. A constant intercourse with your immediate neighbourhoods must give you an opportunity of affording

for extending the time for the United Irishmen to come in and take the oaths of allegiance to the 24th of July. The result of the summer circuits was unsatisfactory both to government and to the people. An unusual number of offenders at all the assizes were found guilty: but in the northern counties, where many had been confined for the greater part of the year upon the charge of being United Irishmen, they were mostly acquitted when brought to trial. Such was the case at Antrim. For after several of them had been put on their trial and acquitted, Mr. Marcus Beresford produced a warrant filled with the names of all the prisoners and several other obnoxious persons charged with high treason, by virtue of which the commission of gaol delivery was superseded, and those unfortunate wretches, who with a fond hope had looked up to their day of trial as that of their delivery, were remanded back to prison without any trial, and thence removed to a military prison in Belfast. The illegality of such detention in military confinement was declared by the king's bench in the next Michaelmas term.*

"to the people both assistance and example, of reclaiming thereby the deluded and ill-disposed, and confirming the well affected in their fidelity and allegiance. A forward spirit of loyalty, which in most parts of the kingdom has successfully checked the progress of treason, will be strengthened and diffused by your presence and exertions. It will be my ambition to second your activity and zeal, and to co-operate with your efforts for restoring the tranquillity and prosperity of the kingdom.

"We have a common and sacred cause to defend, the independence and constitution of Great Britain and Ireland, from which both kingdoms have derived innumerable blessings under his majesty's auspicious reign. They were purchased by the dearest blood of your ancestors in a crisis not less formidable than the present; I trust we shall not fail to imitate their great example, and that we shall be enabled by similar courage and continued firmness to transmit to posterity inviolable, that invaluable inheritance which their valor rescued and their perseverance preserved.

* In B. R. 20th Nov. 1797: Proceedings in the case of Thomas Huson, and eleven other prisoners who had been brought up by *Habeas Corpus* from the artillery barracks at Belfast, to have the legality of their detention by general Lake and colonel Barber examined by the court.

The return of the writ of *Habeas* was made by general Lake, who had the prisoner, Thomas Huson, in custody, and was in substance, "that he held the body of the prisoner by virtue of a warrant under the hand and seal of his excellency the lord lieutenant, directed to him (general Lake) to colonel Barber and all other his majesty's officers, civil and military." A copy of which warrant was annexed to the writ.

The copy of the warrant was read, which was directed as above, and stated that, "whereas information had been received by his excellency, that Thomas Huson had been concerned in treasonable practices, that warrant therefore was to authorize the said, &c. to arrest him the said Thomas Huson, wherever he might be found, and to hold him in safe custody until discharged by due course of law, &c. (signed) Camden."

Mr. Emmet, as counsel for the prisoners, submitted to the court, it was his duty to move, that the prisoners at the bar be discharged: and if the court should think, on the arguments which he should offer, that they ought not to discharge the prisoners, he would then move, that they be admitted to bail,

Wherever the strong measures of government are pushed to a vigour beyond the law, it becomes essential, that the necessity of such overstretched rigor should not only exist, but that it should be known and felt by the people, on whom that superlegal severity may fall. Much mischief was produced in Ireland by the people's not being convinced of the necessity of subjecting the

He concluded by suggesting to the court that they should remand the prisoners, and leave it to general Lake to confer with the law officers of the crown, and move by them that the custody of the prisoners should be changed.

The court said, that if he meant the court should commit the prisoners, they were not sure that they must not admit them to bail.

Mr Emmet moved the court to commit them conditionally to the Marshalsea, until the point should be determined, or that at least their agent should be permitted to see them, as, if he were rightly instructed, they had to complain of the most astonishing and horrible treatment.

The attorney general said he knew not how they were treated.

Solicitor general said, the keeping these men had been committed to the first magistrate of the state,—that he alone was responsible for their safety, and that the court could not therefore interfere in their custody, in any manner ;—they could not even be brought up to trial without an order from the privy council.

It was at length agreed between the parties, and the court ordered accordingly, that the prisoners should be kept in Newgate until the argument on the case should be determined. When the prisoners were brought up to await the opinion of the court, the judges delivered their opinions *seriatim*. They were unanimous : 1st, That it was not necessary nor right the original warrant should be returned, but that a copy of it was sufficient : 2d, That the warrant ought to be sealed, but that enough appeared on the face of the return to induce them to believe it was sealed : 3d, That the offence stated in the warrant as the cause of detention, viz. being concerned in treasonable practices, was sufficiently precise to justify a committal under the act, or holding to bail at common law : 4th, That though it be necessary, that at common law there should be an information on oath to justify a committal, yet under this act which justifies committal even on suspicion, it did not seem necessary there should be information on oath, and even at common law where information on oath is required, it was not necessary that the warrant should state that the information was on oath : 5th, That the objection made for the prisoners on the confinement being in a place not a legal prison, and the warrant under which they had been committed, not being to a known officer of the law, but to a military man, was fatal, that in some cases a private person may legally hold a man in confinement, but it must be only for a reasonable time, until his examination be completed or until (as in the case of Kendal and Rowe) he be transmitted to the proper prison ; but such confinement by a private person or in a place not a prison, cannot legally exceed the space of three days. In the present case there was no colour for supposing, that the prisoners were detained only for further examination, or until they should be transmitted to a known prison, for the warrant expressly charged the persons to whom it was directed, to detain them until discharged by due course of law, that the prisoners therefore not being in a legal prison, did not fall within the act for suspending the *Habeas Corpus* act, it being necessary, in order to bring them within the operation of that act, that they should be in prison, and committed by a warrant from his excellency, &c. for high treason, suspicion of treason, or treasonable practices,—and finally, that not being within that act, and nothing appearing against them but the charge of treasonable practices, which at common law was bailable, the court was bounden to admit them to bail.

Each of the prisoners was then bailed to appear at the next assize for the county of Antrim, and discharged.

law to the sword, and their discontents increased with every instance, in which the law counteracted the efforts of the government to harrass and oppress them : for in that light did they consider the confinement under warrants for high treason of those United Irishmen who had been tried and acquitted under the charge of treasonable practices ; it was a detrimental triumph, which increased their confidence in the cause of union and their contempt and disaffection for government, to see Huson and his united associates liberated on bail by the court of law out of the military power of the government. Individual oppression from the great found also redress at law in some few instances,* and

* It has been often said, that history in general is no other than the melancholy record of human crimes and calamities. That is in part true ; as virtue and felicity are so much more rare to be met with through life than vice and wretchedness. Yet if the recording of bad actions take the right bearing, posterity may receive as useful a lesson from the rehearsal, as from the most highflown panegyrics of extraordinary deeds of heroism. Horror and disgust of certain vices often operate more powerfully upon individuals, than the love and admiration of the opposite virtues. In modern history every detail of an action that is not meritorious become in some degree invidious. History is written for nations not for individuals : and national justice supersedes private feelings. This work is intended, as its title announces, to be an Historical View of the state of Ireland : it never was designed to be a Newgate Calendar of misdemeanors and crimes, to work upon the fickle, various, momentary, and not always well directed passions of the readers. My view is to shew as far as authority will bear me out, what have been the efficient causes of national effects. If a general assertion be hazarded, it may be necessary to allege a particular instance to confirm or illustrate the statement. The following case is stated to prove how in various ways the lower mind became estranged from and worked up to resentment and revenge against the government. Such a precedent must from the natural workings of human nature (and much as it may have been the fashion to brutalize the Irish peasantry, they are peculiarly sympathetic and sensitive to their own concerns) have advanced the cause of the union more in one week, than the most active emissaries from their arch-rebel leaders could have done in six months.

A very remarkable action for false imprisonment was tried at the assizes of Roscommon, before the honourable justice Finucane and a very respectable jury, wherein Alexander Colvil was plaintiff, and the right honourable Charles lord viscount Dillon, defendant.

" The case stated was, that the plaintiff was on Sunday the 12th of January, arrested on a pretended charge of felony by two constables, who bound the plaintiff with hempen ropes, and brought him a prisoner to Loughlin, before his lordship. That his lordship told plaintiff, there were informations sworn against him for sheep stealing, and his lordship further told plaintiff, that he had an order from government to transport any person of bad character to Botany Bay, and that he would send plaintiff there the next day ; that his lordship then gave verbal orders to said constables to take plaintiff to the *black hole* ; as they were conducting plaintiff to the *black hole*, they were met by a serjeant of captain Dillon's company, who offered plaintiff a shilling to enlist him in said company ;—that plaintiff having refused to enlist, or accept of the shilling, was then very severely bound with ropes and put into the *black hole* ; that the *black hole* is a dark, damp, arched vault, situate under old ruins in the demesne of his lordship, to which there was neither light or air admitted, but through a small spike hole cut through a single stone : that the *black hole* is not a public prison or bridewell, but used as a place of confinement by lord Dillon only. That the person called captain Dillon is the supposed natural son of

the multitude greedily connected the particular grievance with the general system of government. Every such instance greatly tended to promote the union.

From the before mentioned causes it is evident, that towards the close of the year 1797, the union rather abated than increased. One unequivocal symptom of its decline was the renovation of dissention between the Dissenters and the Catholics in the north. Sir Richard Musgrave* from an anonymous acquaintance, reports, that most of the Presbyterians separated from the Papists in the year 1797 ; some from " principle, some because they " doubted the sincerity of persons in that order: and others " foreseeing, that the plot must fail and end in their destruction, " took advantage of the proclamation of the 17th of May, and " renounced their associates. Numbers withdrew because they " doubted of success without foreign assistance. The Presbyterians of the counties of Down and Antrim, where they are

his lordship, and that his lordship procured for him some commission in the army on the terms of his raising men, to effect which, his lordship used such means as his rank and power in the country enabled him to put in execution. That on the 13th of January, plaintiff was brought from the *black hole* into lord Dillon's presence, and after several efforts to intimidate plaintiff by charges of felony, his lordship declared there was evidence sufficient to hang the plaintiff ; and then ordered him to be brought to captain Dillon's barracks, where he was kept about two hours, then hand-cuffed, and again put into the *black hole*. From Sunday the 12th of January to Saturday the 1st of February plaintiff was kept a prisoner without any lawful authority, and for the most part confined in the *black hole*, but sometimes in the barracks—that he was bounden with ropes, and otherwise treated with great cruelty, particularly, that he was for twenty-five hours of his said confinement in the *black hole*, hand-cuffed to one Henry Darr, who among several others, were sent there by the said lord Dillon.

" That plaintiff, by his confinement in the *black hole*, found himself grown very weak, and his health otherwise much impaired; that during plaintiff's said confinement several efforts by threats and promises were made by captain Dillon, his serjeant, and some of his recruiting party, and by lord Dillon personally, to induce the plaintiff to enlist, which he obstinately refused; that Mr. Charles Costello, who is the plaintiff's landlord, hearing of his confinement, sent his agent to lord Dillon, to know for what offence plaintiff was confined, but if there were informations sworn against him for felony, that he might be sent to the county gaol; upon which application, and no information of any kind appearing against the plaintiff, he was set at liberty. In some time after, at the plaintiff's instance, Mr. Costello personally applied to his lordship, and requested he might make some compensation to plaintiff for his illegal confinement and great sufferings, which his lordship declined, and said, " *What signifies a fellow of that kind, or what can he do?*". This case was stated by counsellor Boyd, with much energy and force of argument, and fully proved to the astonishment of the learned judge, and of the jury, who after a very eloquent and impressive speech to evidence from counsellor Webber, gave a verdict of sixty pounds with full costs to the plaintiff. who is a poor industrious mechanic, with a wife and several children, totally dependent on his industry for support.

" This case is literally copied from the brief, and such were the proceedings.
" E. COSTELLO."

* Memoir, page 194.

“ very numerous, and where they are warmly attached to the union from pure republican principles, thought they could succeed without the Papists.” Certain it is, that the northern unionists generally held back from this time: the Protestants of Ulster were originally Scotch, and still retain much of that guarded policy, which so peculiarly characterizes the inhabitants of North Briton. Some barbarous murders in different parts of the kingdom were committed: but they do not appear to have been perpetrated by members of the union or persons in any manner connected with them. By the report of the secret committee, it appears, that from the summer of 1797 the disaffected entertained no serious intention of hazarding an effort independent of foreign assistance, until the middle of March. Their policy was to risk nothing so long as their party was gaining strength. Whatever were the immediate cause of the union’s falling off, we find that from the autumn of 1797 the Roman Catholics first in the north and afterwards successively throughout the kingdom published *addresses and resolutions expressive of their horror of the principles of the United Irishmen, and pledging themselves to be loyal and zealous in the defence and support of the king and constitution. The northern addresses admitted the fact, and lamented that many of the Catholic body had been seduced into the union, and they deprecated the attempts which were made to create dissention amongst persons of different religions. This example was followed by the generality of the Dissenters. If addresses were tests of loyalty, his majesty had not more loyal subjects throughout the whole extent of the British Empire, than the Irish in the beginning of 1798. Scarcely a parish throughout the kingdom, scarcely a dissenting meeting house, from which an address of loyalty was not issued signed by the priest or minister of the flock.

So critically alarming for some time had the situation of Ireland appeared to that true and undaunted patriot, the earl of Moira, that on the 22d of November, 1797, he renewed his application to the British House of Lords, hoping to interest them in favour of the Irish people, and induce them to recommend measures of lenity and conciliation. He opened a very interesting, instructive, and eloquent speech, by taking a general view of the situation of the British empire; and lamented that the prospective view of his country, which he had given in the last session, had been more than realized. By the lord mayor of Dublin’s application for relief, it appeared, that above 37,000 manufacturers in that city alone were reduced to the extremity of distress: and in the towns of Newry and Belfast, where the sus-

* Some of these are to be seen in Appendix, No. CVII.

sums had usually produced 15,000*l.* per annum, not one-fifteenth of that sum had in the last year been received. His lordship then continued :*—" When I troubled your lordships with my observations upon the state of Ireland last year, I spoke upon documents certain and incontestible. I address you upon this day, my lords, upon documents equally sure and stable. Before God and my country, I speak of what I have seen myself. But in what I shall think it necessary to say upon this subject, I feel that I must take grounds of a restrictive nature. It is not my intention to select any individual, in order to adduce a charge against him. It is not my wish to point a prejudice against any one. What I have to speak of, are not solitary and isolated measures, not partial abuses, but what is adopted as the system of government. I do not talk of a casual system, but of one deliberately determined upon, and regularly persevered in. When we hear of a military government, we must expect excesses, which are not all, I acknowledge, attributable to the government; but these I lay out of my consideration. I will speak only of the excesses that belong to, and proceed from, the system pursued by the administration of Ireland. I am aware it may be urged that a statement, such as I am about to lay before your lordships, is calculated to interfere too much with the internal government of the sister kingdom. In answer to this assertion, I would, if necessary, begin by laying it down as an incontrovertible opinion, that we have so direct a concern and connexion with Ireland, that any error of government in that country, is a fit subject for our attention; and if circumstances required it, for an address to his majesty for the removal of the chief governor. My lords, this observation applies not in any manner to the present lord lieutenant; on the contrary, I will pay him the tribute which I think due to him, that to much private worth and honour, his lordship adds I believe, very sincere wishes for the happiness of the kingdom, which has been placed under his government. My lords, I have seen in Ireland the most absurd, as well as the most disgusting tyranny, that any nation ever groaned under. I have

* The testimony, which the noble earl here gave of the personal feelings and sentiments of the lord lieutenant, are confirmed by the general report and belief, that his excellency had for some time been disgusted with the imperious, overbearing, and relentless ferocity of the majority of the Irish cabinet: that having in vain attempted to assuage their rage for severity, he had so secretly negotiated his recal, that the actual appointment of his successor was the first suspicion those gentlemen had of a change. The British minister, though late, found the necessity of a firmer governor, who should neither be seduced nor intimidated into the sanguinary system of provocation, which had brought the country to that dire calamity, under which it then laboured. 4 *Par. Reg.* p. 238.

“ been myself a witness of it in many instances ; I have seen it
“ practised and unchecked ; and the effects that have resulted
“ from it have been such, as I have stated to your lordships. I
“ have said, that if such a tyranny be persevered in, the conse-
“ quence must inevitably be, the deepest and most universal dis-
“ content, and even hatred, to the English name. I have seen in
“ that country a marked distinction made between the English
“ and Irish. I have seen troops that have been sent full of this
“ prejudice, that every inhabitant in that kingdom is a rebel to
“ the British government. I have seen the most wanton insults
“ practised upon men of all ranks and conditions. I have seen
“ the most grievous oppressions exercised, in consequence of a
“ presumption, that the person who was the unfortunate object of
“ such oppression, was in hostility to the government ; and yet
“ that has been done in a part of the country as quiet and as free
“ from disturbance as the city of London. Who states these
“ things, my lords, should, I know, be prepared with proofs. I
“ am prepared with them. Many of the circumstances I know
“ of my own knowledge ; others I have received from such chan-
“ nels, as will not permit me to hesitate one moment in giving
“ credit to them.

“ His lordship then observed, that from education and early
“ habits, the *Curfew* was ever considered by Britons as a badge
“ of slavery and oppression. It then was practised in Ireland
“ with brutal rigor. He had known an instance, where a master
“ of a house had in vain pleaded to be allowed the use of a can-
“ dle to enable the mother to administer relief to her daughter
“ struggling in convulsive fits. In former times, it had been the
“ custom for Englishmen to hold the infamous proceedings of the
“ inquisition in detestation : one of the greatest horrors, with
“ which it was attended, was, that the person, ignorant of the
“ crime laid to his charge, or of his accuser, was torn from his
“ family, immured in a prison, and in the most cruel uncertainty
“ as to the period of his confinement, or the fate which awaited
“ him. To this injustice, abhorred by Protestants in the practice
“ of the inquisition, were the people of Ireland exposed. All
“ confidence—all security were taken away. In alluding to the
“ inquisition, he had omitted to mention one of its characteristic
“ features : if the supposed culprit refused to acknowledge the
“ crime with which he was charged, he was put to the rack, to
“ extort confession of whatever crime was alleged against him by
“ the pressure of torture. The same proceedings had been in-
“ troduced in Ireland. When a man was taken up on suspicion,
“ he was put to the torture ; nay, if he were merely accused of
“ concealing the guilt of another. The rack, indeed, was not at
“ hand ; but the punishment of picqueting was in practice, which

“ had been for some years abolished, as too inhuman, even in
“ the dragoon service. He had known a man, in order to ex-
“ tort confession of a supposed crime, or of that of some of his
“ neighbours, picqueted till he actually fainted; picqueted a se-
“ cond time till he fainted again; and as soon as he came to him-
“ self, picqueted a third time till he once more fainted; and all
“ upon mere suspicion! Nor was this the only species of tor-
“ ture: men had been taken and hung up till they were half dead,
“ and then threatened with a repetition of the cruel treatment,
“ unless they made confession of the imputed guilt. These were
“ not particular acts of cruelty, exercised by men abusing the
“ power committed to them, but they formed a part of our sys-
“ tem. They were notorious, and no person could say, who
“ would be the next victim of this oppression and cruelty which
“ he saw others endure. This, however, was not all; their
“ lordships, no doubt, would recollect the famous proclamation
“ issued by a military commander in Ireland, requiring the peo-
“ ple to give up their arms: it never was denied that this procla-
“ mation was illegal, though defended on some supposed neces-
“ sity; but it was not surprising, that any reluctance had been
“ shewn to comply with it, by men who conceived the constitu-
“ tion gave them a right to keep arms in their houses for their
“ own defence; and they could not but feel indignation in being
“ called upon to give up their right. In the execution of the or-
“ der, the greatest cruelties had been committed: if any one was
“ suspected to have concealed weapons of defence, his house, his
“ furniture, and all his property, was burnt: but this was not all;
“ if it were supposed that any district had not surrendered all
“ the arms which it contained, a party was sent out to collect the
“ number at which it was rated; and, in the execution of this
“ order, thirty houses were sometimes burnt down in a single
“ night. Officers took upon themselves to decide discretionally
“ the quantity of arms; and upon their opinions these fatal con-
“ sequences followed. Many such cases might be enumerated;
“ but, from prudential motives, he wished to draw a veil over
“ more aggravated facts, which he could have stated, and which
“ he was willing to attest before the privy council, or at their
“ lordships’ bar. These facts were well known in Ireland, but
“ they could not be made public through the channel of the news-
“ papers, for fear of that summary mode of punishment which
“ had been practised towards the Northern Star, when a party of
“ troops in open day, and in a town where the general’s head-
“ quarters were, went and destroyed all the offices and property
“ belonging to that paper. It was thus authenticated accounts
“ were suppressed. His lordship concluded, with entreating the
“ house to take into serious consideration their present measures.

“ which, instead of removing discontents, had increased the number of the discontented. The moment of conciliation was not yet passed ; but if the system were not changed, he was convinced Ireland would not remain connected with this country five years longer.”

Lord Grenville, in reply, said, that it was a matter of no small difficulty to enter into the question now brought forward, on the vague grounds and isolated facts, upon which it was supported. He expressed his surprise to hear this government accused of hostile dispositions towards the sister country, or eager to keep up in it a system of coercion. He confidently appealed to the house, whether we had ever abandoned measures of concession or conciliation ? For the whole space of thirty years, his majesty's government had been distinguished by the same uniform tenderness of regard, by the same adherence to the principles of a mild system. Amongst the various instances exhibited of liberality and kindness on the part of this country towards Ireland, he adverted to the establishment of its parliament into an independent legislature, and a wide extension of its commercial privileges. It was no arduous task to exonerate government from any charges of inhumanity. Bravery, clemency, and good nature, were the characteristic features of the English disposition. That there might be individual exceptions, he pretended not to say ; but, if such excesses were perpetrated, were there no courts of justice, no laws, no magistrates, no tribunals, open to the complaints of the oppressed ? Ireland had its juries as well as this country ; and the same safeguards were provided for the lives of the Irish as for Englishmen. Indeed, if a system so rigorous as was described, had been pursued, it must naturally be resented by a spirited and independent people. But what was the object for which these troops were sent over ? To protect the great body of the people against conspiracy and assassination ; to overawe and counteract the machinations of a set of men, who were actively plotting the destruction of their country, and favouring the designs of our most inveterate enemy. If against such men they had been at times incited to acts of harshness and severity ; if they had been occasionally warmed into a sense of indignation, which broke out into insults and outrages, no one, who understood the heart of man, would wonder. What was more natural, than that a large body of Englishmen should be enraged against the abettors of a conspiracy, to deliver up the country to the French invaders ? No public man, placed in so critical a situation as lord Camden, had ever displayed more exemplary moderation in the discharge of a painful duty. If severe measures had been adopted, the circumstances of the country had required it ; and if any partial abuses existed, we had only to lament them.

Of the press, which was said to be abridged of all its freedom most unjustly, he held now in his hand a paper printed, the contents of which were too shocking to read : its avowed object was to point out innocent men, by name, to the poignard of assassins. It loaded his majesty with the most opprobrious epithets, and reviled the English nation with every term of contumely, affirming it to be the duty of every Irishman to wrest from the hands of English ruffians, the property which these English ruffians had wrested from their ancestors. The question was, would their lordships interpose on the present occasion, and tell the parliament of Ireland, and the Irish magistracy, that we were more careful of the interest and happiness of their people than they themselves were ; and that the English military were not to obey the Irish laws, but the arbitrary instructions of the British parliament ? Earl Moira said, that no sentiment had fallen from him to that effect. He had not reprobated the troops in Ireland for obeying the law, but the conduct of the executive government, which was repugnant to the feelings of the Irish people, inconsistent with the British character, and highly injurious to the real interests of both countries.

The chancellor warmly supported lord Grenville, as he said it was his duty to do. He justified all acts of rigor, by the actual existence of an horrid conspiracy in Ireland against all those whose duty it was to preserve order in that country, and by the printed list* of the individual objects of future assassination. The debate was put an end to by a motion for adjournment.

That the public had lost or renounced all confidence in parliament, is evident, from the apathy and coolness with which the elections went over in the autumn : they felt no interest in the return of particular members, having been so repeatedly foiled in all their efforts to obtain legislative redress from the rank ma-

* As this proscribed list was never acted upon, and the individuals named in it never found it necessary to resort to any extraordinary caution, or means of self preservation ; as secrecy was the baneful principle of the union, and as such a publication would have defeated the horrid project, had it ever been really formed, much credit must be given to lord Moira's reply to the chancellor on this point. As to the paper to which the noble and learned lord, and the noble secretary had alluded, concerning the names of persons who were marked out for future assassination, he confessed, he suspected it to be an invention to justify or to support the measures, which had been adopted in Ireland, and of which he had already complained. He suspected this the more, because no printer of a newspaper could have had it from any authentic source, for no man concerned in a conspiracy for assassination, would communicate the intention of himself and colleagues. He wished to speak of assassins as he felt, with the greatest indignation and abhorrence ; but he must also add, that he believed that they originated in Ireland from private malice and revenge, and would do so from any party that happened to be predominant, while the present dreadful system continued. It was not by a general system of terror that it was to be prevented,

majorities, which had been lately increased in proportion to the popular exertions to procure the two objects of their wishes, parliamentary reform and Catholic emancipation. True it is, that these two points were made pretexts, catch words, and stalking horses by the traitorous conspirators; but for no other reason, than because they knew them to be the genuine favourite, and not unjust objects of the popular affections and expectations: objects which flattered their civil and religious propensities and prejudices: objects which satisfied their reasoning, which interested their feelings, and worked up their passions to enthusiasm: objects which these perfidious traitors now wished to be opposed with coercion, oppression, and persecution, in order to stimulate the people to discontent and resentment. Mr. Grattan had not a little increased or confirmed this diffidence of the people in the legislature, by declining to accept a seat in the new parliament.* His colleague lord Henry Fitzgerald concurred with him, and accordingly published an address to his constituents, setting forth the reasons which had induced him to secede from parliament. The diffidence and contempt of the people out of doors for the parliament was much increased by the leaders of the union, who thus artfully drew their attention to their two favourite objects, parliamentary reform and Catholic emancipation, to which parliament had given so decided an opposition.

The new parliament met, according to proclamation, on the 9th of January, 1798; Mr. Foster was re-elected speaker. On the 15th his excellency went to the House of Peers, where he made a

* Mr. Grattan's speech to a meeting of freemen and freeholders of the city of Dublin, assembled at the Exchange on the 20th of July, 1797, together with lord Henry Fitzgerald's address, are to be seen in the Appendix, No. CVIII.

Dr. Duigenan almost immediately published a very violent and bitter answer to Mr. Grattan's address to his fellow citizens of Dublin. Upon its appearance, Mr. Grattan wrote the following note to dr. Duigenan:

"Mr. Grattan has seen a very gross, a very unprovoked, and a very ludicrous performance written against him, and signed Patrick Duigenan.

"Mr. G. don't explain his public conduct to individuals.

"The statute book and the journals of the House of Commons are open.

"Were he to make his public conduct a subject of explanation, it would not be to such a person as dr. D.

"But as the above mentioned attack mixes in its folly much personal rudeness, Mr. G. judges it not wholly beneath him to take some sort of notice of it; and he is sorry to be forced to observe, that the author has

"departed from the manners and language of a gentleman, and has

"thought proper to adopt a strain so false, so vile, and so disgusting, as

"to render dr. D. a too and ludicrous to give an affront, or to make an apology.

"Mr. Grattan remains in Dublin for three days, and is to be heard of at ^{at} Kearn's hotel, Kildare-street."

speech from the throne.* The earl of Roden moved the address in the lords, which was as usual an echo of the speech. The earl of Bective, in a maiden speech, disclaimed every idea of vexatious opposition; but he could not agree to that part

* The following is his excellency's speech.

"MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

"I HAVE his majesty's commands to assemble you in parliament at this important period, and resort to your deliberation and advice.

"When I reflect on the tranquillity which attended the late general election, I have just ground to believe, that the wisdom and firmness which were manifested by the late parliament were felt and approved by the nation at large, and that your conduct will be actuated by similar principles in defence of our happy constitution.

"It must have given you great concern to learn, that his majesty's endeavours to restore the blessings of peace have been again frustrated by the desperate ambition of the French government. I have his majesty's commands to lay before you his royal declaration, and the various papers which passed in the course of the late negotiation, in which the magnanimity and moderation of his majesty were so eminently displayed as to leave no pretext or colour for the insidious conduct and fallacious statements of the enemy.

"His majesty relies with confidence on the spirit of his people of Ireland, who are sensible of their duty to their God, their sovereign, and their country. He knows they are incapable of being intimidated by any threats, or deluded by any offers; and he implicitly depends on the valour of his regular and militia forces, the active loyalty of the district corps, the courage of the nation, and the prowess of his fleets and armies for defeating every hostile attempt, which may be made on this kingdom.

"The late signal victory of admiral lord Duncan over the Dutch squadron, achieved on their own coasts with such professional skill and heroic gallantry has not only added fresh lustre to the glory of his majesty's navy but has given new strength and security to all his majesty's dominions."

"GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

"I HAVE ordered the public accounts and the estimates for the ensuing year to be laid before you: I lament, that additional burthens are still necessary in order to maintain the honour and security of the empire in the present exigency; and although from the state of preparation in which this kingdom stands some of the demands of former periods will not recur, yet I fear the general expense of the ensuing year will not admit of any considerable reduction. When you reflect on all you have to preserve, and all you have to expect from the enemy you have to combat with, I doubt not the supplies will be cheerfully granted. I shall endeavour on my part that they shall be faithfully applied."

"MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

"IN consequence of the addresses of the Houses of Lords and Commons in May last, I directed immediate and vigorous measures to be taken for repressing disaffection in the northern parts of the kingdom, and for restoring security and confidence to the loyal and well disposed; the effect of which has been manifested in the return of subordination and industry in that quarter. Other attempts have since been made by the leaders of the disaffected in some parts of the midland and southern districts with too much success, and emissaries have been employed, and publications have been circulated by them to revive religious animosities, and to open prospects of plunder, by which means the lower classes have been excited to commit acts of the most horrid outrage and barbarity. I have to lament, that the diligence and activity of the magistrates though assisted by the troops

of the address which approved of the measures of administration. He reprobated the system of coercion; thought Ireland was only to be reclaimed by timely concession; and strongly recommended Catholic emancipation and temperate reform. The chancellor, in a very animated reply, insisted that these objections were but catch words for revolt and rebellion: What did the noble lord mean, by using the phrase, "imparting to the Roman Catholic body the blessings of the constitution?" There was not a Roman Catholic in Ireland, to whom the benefits of its constitution were not extended as amply as to the noble lord, or any other peer who heard him. The Roman Catholics of Ireland laboured under no disability, to which the Protestants were not equally subject; except the qualification to keep arms, of being a freeholder, or having a certain personal property, can be so construed. The measures of emancipation and reform were far short of the designs of the disaffected: the separation of that country from her imperial connexion with Great Britain, and a fraternal alliance with the French Republic, were the obvious purposes of the insurgents. The government of Ireland had, by measures necessarily strong, at length quieted that part of the country in which the conspiracy originated. *These measures were, to his knowledge, extorted from the nobleman who governed that country:* they had been successful, and the state of the north at that day was a proof of their wisdom. The county from which he had lately returned, and which had formerly been a loyal, industrious county, was infested by emissaries from the north, exciting the peasantry to insurrection. Emancipation and reform were not the means which they employed for the seduction of the peasant. The suppression of tithes, the abolition of taxes, and exemption from the payment

"which have been ordered into that part of the kingdom, have not yet been able entirely to put a stop to those disturbances. Constant vigilance, and unremitting exertions continue to be necessary when all means are tried to excite the people to rebellion and revolt; when a systematic plan of assassination is adopted and encouraged, and when the most audacious attempts are made to impede and prevent the administration of justice.

"Amidst your exertions for the defence of the kingdom, I must not omit to recommend to you not to relax your attention to its commerce, its agriculture, and its manufactures, and especially to that of the linen; nor will your liberality be less conspicuous in continuing that protection to the Protestant charter-schools, and the other charitable institutions, under which they have so long flourished.

"His majesty has commanded me to declare to you, that his firm resolution is taken in the present arduous contest. He will not be wanting to his people, but with them will stand or fall in the defence of their religion, and in the preservation of the independence, laws, and liberties of his kingdoms.

"It will be a source of infinite satisfaction to my mind, if, in the execution of my duty, I can contribute to support the generous determination of my sovereign and maintain the safety and prosperity of his people. I rely upon your advice and co-operation, and, aided by them, I look forward with confidence to a happy issue of the contest in which we are engaged."

of rent, were the rewards they promised. Emancipation and reform were only used to delude the better classes.

The question being put on the address, was carried in the affirmative.

The avowal which Lord Clare made in that speech was most pointedly illustrative of this delicate and important period of Irish history, and conclusively demonstrative of the benefit which Ireland must reap from an incorporate union with Great Britain, were it only to be relieved from the ferocious severity, with which an Irish government has never failed, when permitted, to oppress and aggrieve their countrymen. His lordship's assertion, that the strong measures of government had then quieted the north, was not generally admitted : but inasmuch as he was the dictator of those very strong measures which must have been against the judgment, feelings, and sentiments of the chief governor, from whom they were *extorted*, the confession of that noble lord purifies earl Camden and the British cabinet from the ocean of blood, which was let out after, if not by means of those *very strong measures*.

In the commons also some ineffectual opposition was made to the address, upon similar grounds as in the lords. Mr. Smith moved, by way of amendment to the address, an additional clause, by which the house should recommend to his majesty such measures as were likely to conciliate the people, and unite them for the safety of the realm against the common enemy. There was indeed nothing like a serious opposition in parliament, since the secession of the Whig party in the last session.

Various causes combined to bring the conspiracy of the unionists to an earlier issue, than was originally intended. Their Gallic friends had long neglected them, and had gone by every opportunity of succouring them with effect. The vigilance and activity of government had increased : the greatest and most respectable part of the population of the kingdom had in their addresses given fresh pledges of their loyalty, and renounced and reprobated the principles of the union. The leaders therefore of the union, wearied out by the tardiness of their allies, and perceiving their opponents increasing in strength, and their own party visibly on the decline, towards the beginning of the year 1798, resolved upon a desperate effort. In the month of February a military committee was appointed by the executive council of the rebels ; detailed instructions were issued to the adjutant-generals ; and thanks were voted to the several colonels for their assiduity in embodying and organizing the people. In the mean time, the Irish executive prepared a dispatch for the French Directory, pressing, in the most earnest terms, for the promised succours ; but it was found impossible to convey it to France.

In the months of February and March, many parts of Leinster and Munster were in the actual possession of the United Irishmen, and other parts were secretly under their control. Nocturnal insurrections were innumerable throughout the kingdom. In one instance, an attack was made in the open day. The town of Cahir, in the county of Tipperary, was infested by a party of 800 men, chiefly cavalry : it was retained in their possession till a regular search was made for arms, and they were suffered to evacuate it in order and without molestation. Acts of murder and barbarity, committed on these occasions, were numerous ; and such was the terror generally excited, that the report of the committee of the commons states, that very many of the loyal inhabitants of the counties of Cork, Limerick, Tipperary, Kilkenny, Carlow, King's county, Queen's county, Kildare, and Wicklow, fled for safety to the garrison towns.

One more humane effort was made by the earl of Moira, supported by all those who were at once the friends of order and of liberty, to restore the tranquillity of the kingdom by measures of conciliation : and on the 19th of February, 1798, his lordship submitted a motion to that effect, to the consideration of the Irish House of Lords. In a long and impressive speech he repeated nearly the same facts which he had stated in his place in the British House of Peers. He related, "that many individuals had been torn from their families, and locked up for months in the closest confinement, without hearing by whom they were accused, with what crime they were charged, or to what means they might recur to prove their innocence ; that great numbers of houses had been burned, with the whole property of the wretched owners, upon the loosest supposition of even petty transgressions ; that torture, by which he meant picqueting and half hanging, continued to be used to extort from the sufferer a charge against his neighbours." If he should be contradicted with respect to these facts, he professed himself prepared to "produce the affidavits of them," and declared his intention of moving "for the examination of the deponents at the bar. If there be delinquencies, there must be delinquents. Prove their guilt, and punish them ; but do not, on a loose charge of partial transgression, impose infliction on the whole community. The state of society was dreadful indeed, when the safety of every man was at the mercy of a secret informer, when the cupidity, the malevolence, or the erroneous suspicions of an individual were sufficient to destroy his neighbour."

His lordship proposed an address to the lord lieutenant, to urge his excellency to pursue such conciliatory measures as might allay the apprehensions and extinguish the discontents unhappily prevalent in that country.

Lord Glentworth remarked, that the motion appeared to him to be calculated to dishearten and dismay the loyal, and to animate and invigorate the disloyal. The noble earl (he said) in his statement seemed to mistake the effect for the cause. The measures of which he complained, were the consequences, and not the cause of dissatisfaction; government was certainly to blame, but it was for not having resisted those measures sooner.

The lord chancellor, after paying a just compliment to the character of the noble earl, attributed to his residence out of his own country his ignorance of the actual state of it. He asserted, that the system of government had been a system of conciliation; that in no place had the experiment been so fairly tried as in Ireland; in none had it so completely failed.

In the course of his speech, the chancellor passed some reflections on the bishop of Down, who had promoted a petition to his majesty in favour of conciliatory measures. From the charge of disaffection, the learned prelate very satisfactorily exculpated himself. He professed, that he was a friend to conciliation: coercion, he said, had been tried long enough. He attributed much of the calamities of the country to the recal of earl Fitzwilliam. With respect to Catholic emancipation, he considered it as a matter of right, not of favour: and a reform of parliament as an act of policy, which the state of the country rendered absolutely necessary. The motion was also supported by lord Dunsany, who asserted, that the present system was the cause of the existing discontents. It had been asked of the noble earl who made the motion, why he had not now brought before the house a catalogue of those enormous cruelties, which he had detailed in the British House of Peers? Instead of being asked such a question, the noble and learned lord should rather have thanked him for the conciliating and pacific manner in which he proposed to act. But if noble lords wanted such a catalogue, he could furnish them; he could relate to them not simply the burning of houses, but the murder, in cold blood, of their inhabitants: he could give them an account of three men particularly, who, after having had their houses burned to the ground, were shot by the military, after having been for some time prisoners: and he could add to these accounts, the much more numerous instances of men torn from their family and country, and, without the form of a trial, transported for life.

The earl of Moira made a very ample reply, and again offered to substantiate his facts at the bar of the house. He admitted that a conspiracy did exist in the country against the government, but he attributed that conspiracy to the severe and unconstitutional measures, which government had adopted, and to that most impolitic and lamentable measure, the recal of earl Fitz-

william. The motion of earl Moira was negatived by a large majority.

About the beginning of February, 1798, Mr. A. O'Connor was called on his recognizance by the court of King's Bench to take his trial, when it appeared he was gone over to England, as he alleged, on his private concerns; but it afterwards turned out, that the affairs of the union had carried him thither. The attorney general upon his non-appearance moved the court, that his recognizance, which was in 2000*l.* and that of his bail (lord E. Fitzgerald and counsellor Emmett), in 100*l.* each, should be estreated. Notwithstanding a very stiff opposition from the attorney general, the court consented to respite the recognizance till the next term. The parliament continued indeed to sit, and to do business, but so little interest did the public take in the debates, that the galleries were wholly deserted, and scarcely sufficient members attended to make up a house.* The debate this session which most interested the public, was, that in the lords upon lord Moira's motion, in which the chancellor spoke for four hours, and the house divided between two and three o'clock in the morning, 9 for and 44 against the motion. On the 27th of February, when the House of Commons was in a committee of supply, a very interesting conversation arose out of an over heated philippic of dr. Duigenan, against the establishment of the Catholic seminary at Maynooth, and the character of dr. Hussey, the Catholic bishop of Waterford. This prelate had in the preceding year published a pastoral letter to the Catholic clergy, of the united diocese of Waterford and Lismore, in which he exhorted them to attend to the spiritual duties of the flock committed to their care. He pointedly reprobated the too frequent usage

* Whilst the commons were debating the taxes on the 12th of February, Mr. Browne (of the college) congratulated the house on the appearance of some diversity of sentiment that night. He said, government must rejoice at it: for the sullen silence and cold indifference which had so long prevailed, were more alarming than any opposition whatsoever; and he could not help observing, that even on that important occasion, the remarkable thinness of the galleries shewed how little interest the public took in their debates upon any thing. Such were the effects of the triumphant majorities, in which administration once rejoiced. The minister called on gentlemen who found fault with those taxes, which he proposed, to state others; several had been proposed; a voluntary contribution had indeed been coldly received by the house and the country, and it was either a very shameful, or a very alarming circumstance, that there was such apathy on that subject: but why had not administration adopted a tax on absentees? He concluded by observing, that though the civil list were now limited, and new pensions could not be granted, yet in the present list great retrenchments might be made: what pretence had great and noble and rich lords to pensions? How many places might be abolished, many of them in his own profession? How many dispositions to convenience particular men avoided? The retrenchments that might be made in the civil establishment would amount to the taxes required. While this was the case, the people would grumble at any tax.

and indifference of parents educating their children in the charter schools, and the soldiers attending the Protestant service at church. He represented the physical consequence of the Catholic body as much more considerable than it is usually considered, viz. as nine tenths of the nation at large, and ninety-nine hundredths of his diocese. This he did with a spirit of more independence, and in language more free and energetic, than was relished by the castle: it gave particular offence to the great advocates and supporters of the system of coercion. It was considered by many of his brethren as too bold and strong for the then-distempered state of the public mind, and calculated to give a fresh handle to their enemies to renew and sharpen their asperity against them.* The motion, which dr. Duigenan opposed with so much virulency, was made by the chancellor of the exchequer, viz. that a sum of 10,000*l.* should be granted to the trustees of the Roman Catholic college at Maynooth, to defray the expenses of certain additions to the buildings, and also for the maintenance of the establishment for a year, viz. the professors, with fifty free scholars for half a year ending in September next; and for the professors and two hundred free scholars from the 29th of September next to the 25th of March, 1799. Mr. Pelham, in support of the original motion, replied to the arguments of dr. Duigenan, and gave a succinct history of the college from its foundation. He asserted, that the members of the college were not open to blame for any imprudence of dr. Hussey, as they had displaced him for non-residence. With respect to the emoluments of each scholar, he shewed, that they were much inferior to those of the scholars of Trinity College, Dublin, as the 2*5**l.* given to those at Maynooth, included their maintenance and all other necessaries, while at T. C. D. there was a yearly emolument sometimes of 20*l.* a year over their maintenance. As to the number of 200, he said it was not considered as a fixed number of regular scholarships, but as a temporary arrangement for the convenience of those young men, who, by the war

* Few ecclesiastics ever possessed more extensive knowledge, profane and ecclesiastical, than dr. Hussey. He had long enjoyed the good opinion and peculiar confidence of the British ministry, as well as the favour of several foreign courts, particularly that of Spain. Upon his first entrance into his pastoral function, his great object was to impress his flock with a dignified sense of their religion, and to establish a free, unchecked, and open exercise of it, after the legislature had given it toleration. He frequently officiated to the Catholics in the militia regiments, which were encamped at Lehavinstown: he incurred much displeasure at the castle from having lodged a strong remonstrance against the punishments inflicted upon some Catholic soldiers for having disobeyed orders, by refusing to attend the Protestant service when their regiments were ordered to church. The pastoral letter is to be seen in the Appendix, No. CIX. together with some interesting letters of Mr. Edmund Burke upon this prelate's conduct.

with France, had been deprived of their situations in that country. Besides the number of Catholic priests occupied in the care of the ministry in that country were 2000, and to recruit that number continually, 200 were few enough to be educated at one time in college. He then defended the measure of establishing a Catholic seminary for education as at once a measure of justice to the people, and liberal policy of the state. The original motion was carried without a division. Mr. J. C. Beresford opposed it, but upon a very different ground, namely, because the existence of a distinct seminary for Catholic education was calculated to keep the Catholic and Protestant from uniting, and becoming one people. He observed, that it had always been the policy of the British cabinet to divide the people of that country by exciting religious differences, and he began to perceive that system was likely to continue.

Complaints were very justly made of the licentiousness and mischievous malice of the press. Towards the end of February, Mr. O'Donnel called the attention of the house to some publications in the paper called *The Press*. After stating the mischiefs which he asserted that paper had produced in the country, and urging the necessity there was for putting it down, not by military force, but by law, if any law existed that could effect that purpose, and if not, that parliament should enact a law for the purpose, he proceeded to read several passages, upon which he commented, and declared, that if they were suffered to pass unnoticed, it must be supposed the licentiousness of the press was not restrained in that country by any law: he disclaimed having been induced to bring forward this subject by any personal attack, which had been made on himself, or from any personal animosity to the gentleman who professed himself the editor of that paper; on the contrary, he felt for him a sincere friendship, which had commenced in early life: he professed as strong a friendship for the brother of that gentleman (Mr. Roger O'Connor), then a prisoner at Cork, and whose sufferings he would be happy to mitigate, even by sharing with him the miseries of a prison: he brought the business before parliament merely from a conviction, that his duty to that house and to the country called on him so to do. He concluded by moving, "That a committee be appointed to inquire into the nature and tendency of the publication called *The Press*, and to report their opinion to the house."

The United Irishmen, in order to repair the loss they had sustained by the military demolition of the Northern Star office at Belfast, which has been noticed to have been under the direction of Mr. Neilson, had established this paper called *The Press*; but the intemperate language of this publication subjected it to a

prosecution: the publisher was imprisoned, and the paper in danger of being suppressed. In this crisis Mr. A. O'Connor came boldly forward, and announced himself as the proprietor and editor of the obnoxious paper. He had lately been elected member of the Irish Directory, in conjunction with lord Edward Fitzgerald, Mr. Oliver Bond, a gentleman in a considerable commercial business in Dublin, Mr. M'Nevin, who had been actively concerned for the Catholics during lord Fitzwilliam's administration, and counsellor Emmet. Strong suspicions however fell upon Mr. O'Connor, and also upon his brother. Mr. Roger O'Connor was apprehended, and lodged in Cork gaol, on a charge of high treason, from which, however, he was liberated at the spring assizes, from a total want of evidence against him. Thus circumstanced, in the beginning of the year 1798, Mr. Arthur O'Connor came to England, with an intention, as it afterwards appeared, of proceeding to France, in conjunction with John Binns, member of the London Corresponding Society, James Coigley, an Irish priest, and a person of the name of Allen. In the latter end of February they went to Margate, intending to hire a small vessel to convey them to France. Some circumstances in their conduct, however, exciting suspicion, they were all apprehended, and first committed prisoners to the Tower, and afterwards to Maidstone gaol. At Maidstone they were tried by a special commission on the 21st and 22d of May, and all of them acquitted, except Coigley, on whom had been found a treasonable and most absurd paper, purporting to be an address from "the Secret Committee of England to the Executive Directory of France." Coigley was condemned and executed; and Mr. O'Connor and Binns, after their acquittal, were detained on another charge of treason preferred against them. In the mean time, and in consequence of the motion of Mr. O'Donnel, an act had passed the Irish parliament, authorizing grand juries to present any newspaper, containing seditious or libellous matter, as a nuisance; and also authorizing the magistrates, on such presentation, to suppress the paper, and seize and destroy the printing materials, &c. The paper called *The Press* was therefore suppressed, and some of its principal supporters taken into custody; but no discovery of importance resulted from this transaction.

In the debate in the commons upon the abuses of *The Press*, Mr. Vandeleur introduced the subject of the Orangemen, stating, that other papers were under as mischievous a control of the Orangemen, as *The Press* was of the United Irishmen. He was astonished that they should be still countenanced and supported by ministers, though the first law officer of the crown held their expenses, and the conduct of those magistrates who countenanced

them, so much in hatred, that he declared, could he have found other men of sufficient loyalty in the county to fill their places, he would have removed every one of them from the magistracy. But if the measure were necessary, he thought it should be left to the government to propose it; it was a delicacy due to them.

Mr. Duigenan could not help expressing his surprise at what had fallen from the honourable gentleman who spoke last, respecting Orangemen. He was not a friend to any separation of the people by marks or names of discrimination, but he could not help saying, that the Orangemen appeared by the declarations published lately in the public papers, particularly in a paper called *The Dublin Journal*, to be very good and loyal subjects; their declarations breathed nothing but loyalty, and a desire to protect all descriptions of persons that should behave themselves in a neighbourly and peaceable manner, as well Catholics as others; and therefore he wondered the honourable gentleman had taken occasion to introduce their names or insinuate any charge against them in this debate, particularly as whatever excesses might formerly have been committed by them, and which certainly could not be justified, however they might be extenuated by the spirit of loyalty, from which they sprung, were now at an end, and did not ever extend beyond the limits of a single county, and that a small one. The honourable gentleman must know that the name of Orangemen was made a pretext to sow dissention among the people, and that it was sedulously propagated, that their object was to exterminate the Catholics.

A remarkable instance of that occurred on the 11th of October last, when above 3700 men, all Catholics, assembled in arms at night, between Bray and Arklow, declaring, that they did so, because they were informed the Orangemen were coming to destroy them. In the same way there were risings in the counties of Wicklow and Wexford by the Catholics, under the pretence, that the Orangemen were coming upon them. What effect then must it have thus to introduce the name of Orangemen in this debate, as if they were men, who were declared enemies to the Catholics, when it was the fact, that they were willing to defend the Catholic as well as any other man, if he behaved himself like a good subject.

Mr. Vandeleur repeated his objections to those publications which held up Orangemen as the peculiar favourites of administration, and urged the danger that must result from letting any description of persons assume to themselves the tone of rulers, by declaring that they would protect others, &c. He agreed, that the name of Orangemen had been held out by the ill-disposed to create jealousies and dissention, and therefore thought it right, that such a denomination should receive no countenance.

Mr. Tighe said, that as Orangemen as well as Defenders had been mentioned, he would not inquire whether those had burned houses and expelled their inhabitants to save the constitution, or whether these had resisted them for the same reason; but he would say, that if any particular set of men were allowed to proclaim themselves as the protectors of this or that description of people, it would be a most dangerous precedent: if it were permitted to one body of men, every other would claim it.

Mr. Pelham assured the house, that no disturbances then existed between the Orangemen and the Catholics. Letters had been received from large bodies of both descriptions, informing government, that they were at last convinced both parties had been deceived by the United Irishmen, whose leading principles were a desire to see a French army in their country to effect a complete separation of Ireland from the crown of Great Britain. With respect to the Orangemen and Defenders, whom an honourable gentleman had in the inadvertence of debate called rebels, he did not for his part think, that either description of these men deserved that epithet. They were the United Irishmen only, to whom that name applied.

On the 5th of March, 1798, sir Lawrence Parsons after a very long and interesting speech made his promised motion, that a committee should be appointed to inquire into the state of the country, and to suggest such measures as were likely to conciliate the popular mind. Lord Caulfield in a maiden speech of much ability seconded the motion. Lord Castlereagh, with whom the majority of the house went, vehemently opposed it. He entered into a history of the country for some years back, and concluded from the events, that the United Irishmen were not men, who would be contented or conciliated by any measures of concession short of a separation from England, and fraternity with the French Republic; that they were in open rebellion, and therefore only to be met by force. He reasoned also to prove, that the coercive measures of the government had been the consequences not the causes of the discontents; that the excesses charged on the soldiery were naturally to be expected from the state of things, though he did not cease to lament them; and he also contended that where excesses had taken place, the laws were open and able to punish them; witness the last assizes of Drogheda.

His lordship was followed by a long train of members, who spoke against the motion on the ground of its being not likely to be effectual, because the professed designs of the United Irishmen, were such as left no hope they would be conciliated by such measures; because to yield to the measure at that time would be a dishonourable compromise with rebellion; and because conciliatory measures had already been tried by government in the

proclamation of offering a free pardon to all who should come in and submit. Some few gentlemen spoke for the question, amongst whom Mr. Plunket particularly stated his reasons for doing so, because much obloquy had been thrown on those who supported it; he felt strongly the awful situation of the country. He felt detestation for the wicked combination which had brought it into that situation. But that situation imposed on the house an imperious necessity of adopting every fair and honourable measure which might probably lead to lessen or avert the difficulties which pressed upon the state. There were in that country hundreds of thousands, who though not in favour with the administration, not being friends to their measures, were not with the United Irishmen, but entertained the strongest disapprobation of them and their plots. The United Irishmen dreaded nothing so much as their concession: they trembled at it, because it would tear off the mask, with which they had hitherto covered themselves, and strip them of those pretexts, by which they had crowded their ranks. It was by that mode they were to be put down.

At five o'clock in the morning the house divided upon sir Lawrence Parsons's motion, when there were only 19 for it and 156 against it.

It is important to remark, that in all the debates in parliament, whenever the abuses and outrages of the army were mentioned they were never contradicted; the gentlemen from the treasury bench replied, that they were to be expected: that they were the natural effusions of a loyal army in a rebel country: that such had existed at all times, particularly in America: and that the courts of law were open to redress, and none should complain, who refused to seek it. These were speculative not practical resources. Cottagers, labourers, and farmers, whose habitations had been destroyed, whose relatives had been transported, maimed, or murdered, found no solace or relief in the power, without the means of prosecuting either civilly or criminally. Every single instance of such outrage and cruelty created disaffection, hatred, and revenge in thousands, who knew and who execrated the deed. The ferocity of the system was engendered, cherished, and nurtured not by the British but by the Irish administration. Lord Clare avowed those very strong measures were extorted from the chief governor. The British cabinet had most judiciously appointed the gallant sir Ralph Abercrombie the commander in chief in Ireland, well knowing, that he would require the duties, without debasing the character of the soldier. Very soon after his arrival, that respected veteran found himself under the necessity of publishing the following general orders, which not only proved the licentious and disorderly state in which the army then was,

but reflected the strongest imputation upon those through whose connivance, neglect, or criminality, they had been permitted or encouraged to run into that lamentable and disgraceful situation.

"Adjutant General's Office, Dublin, February 26, 1798.

"GENERAL ORDERS.

"THE very disgraceful frequency of courts martial and the many complaints in the conduct of the troops in this kingdom, having too unfortunately proved the army to be in a state of licentiousness, which must render it formidable to every one but the enemy: the commander in chief thinks it necessary to demand from all generals commanding districts and brigades, as well as commanding officers of regiments, that they exert themselves, and compel, from all offices under their command, the strictest and most unremitting attention to the discipline, good order, and conduct of their men; such as may restore the high and distinguished reputation the British troops have been accustomed to enjoy in every part of the world. It becomes necessary to recur, and most pointedly to attend to the standing orders of the kingdom, which at the same time, that they direct military assistance to be given at the requisition of the civil magistrate, positively forbid the troops to act (but in case of attack) without his presence and authority; and the most clear and precise orders are to be given to the officer commanding the party for this purpose.

"The utmost prudence and precaution are also to be used in granting parties to revenue officers, with respect to the person requiring such assistance and those employed on the duty; whenever a guard is mounted, patrols must be frequently out to take up any soldier who may be found out of his quarters after his hours.

"A very culpable remissness having also appeared on the part of officers respecting the necessary inspection of barracks, quarters, messes, &c. as well as attendance at roll-calls, and other hours: commanding officers must enforce the attention of those under their command to those points, and the general regulations: for all which the strictest responsibility will be expected from them.

"It is of the utmost importance, that the discipline of the dragoon regiments should be minutely attended to, for the facilitating of which the commander in chief has dispensed with the attendance of orderly dragoons on himself, and desires that they may not be employed by any general or commanding officers but on military and indispensable business.

"G. HEWIT,

"Adjutant General

*"Lieut. Gen. Craig,
"Eastern District Barracks, Dublin."*

The liberal and genuine spirit of the British soldier, so prominent on the face of these orders, was repugnant to the coercive system of the Irish ministry: but the inflexible firmness of that gallant veteran repelled every idea of extorting from him measures he did not approve of: he soon after resigned. Until the arrival of lord Cornwallis, the extorted system of very strong measures, so much boasted of by the earl of Clare, was revived as extensively as possible. The effect of a principal part of sir Ralph Abercrombie's orders was soon defeated by Mr. Pelham's letter of the 3d of March, 1798, in which he informs the officers, that his excellency further authorised them to employ force against any persons assembled in arms, not legally authorised so to do, and to disperse all tumultuous assemblies of persons, though they might not be in arms, without waiting for the sanction and assistance of the civil authority, if in their opinion the peace of the realm, and the safety of his majesty's faithful subjects might be endangered by waiting for such authority.

The parliament in the mean while prepared the money and some other pressing bills with little or no opposition, and when they received the royal assent on the 24th of March, the speaker made an impressive speech* on the unprecedented magnitude of

* "MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

"LARGE as the supplies of the last session were beyond all former grants, these which the commons now offer to his majesty are not inferior; they go to the fullest extent of every service proposed by government, and are given with an unanimity and zeal which mark the unalterable determination of this kingdom to stand or fall with Great Britain, and shew that our vigour rises as the vaunting menaces of the enemy increase.

"With the same unanimity we have voted the maintenance of an army far greater than was ever kept up by this kingdom during any preceding war; and we have continued to them the augmentation of pay which was granted by the last parliament, and which your excellency did justly state to that parliament to be a seasonable and honourable acknowledgment on their part of the steadiness and loyalty of that army; the present parliament feels the same sentiment towards them. Repeated experience of the order and alacrity which they have shewn on every occasion that has offered, confirms his majesty's faithful commons in those sentiments, and we join most cordially with his majesty in his firm reliance on the valour of his regular and militia forces in this kingdom, which his majesty has been pleased to express in his gracious answer to our address this session.

"While the courage, the vigour, and the discipline of those forces, must render them formidable to the enemy and insure his defeat, should he be desperate enough to attempt invasion, their zeal, and that of the yeomen to put down rebellion, to crush insurrection, and to assist the executive power in protecting the loyal, the innocent, and well disposed, affords the most convincing proofs of their ardent and unshakeable attachment to the best sovereign and best constitution that ever blessed a free and happy people. We are free, and we will not tamely give up our happiness. The loyal spirit of the nation is able to crush rebellion to atoms wherever it shall dare to show itself, and with the firmness which so strongly marks your excellency's character, with the constant success which has attended every vigorous measure that necessity has called on your excellency to adopt, we have no-

the supplies, with several strong observations on the critical situation of the kingdom at that juncture.

The rebellious leaders of the union about this time received a letter from France, stating that succours might be expected in April. But they never learned why that promise was not fulfilled. It is indeed admitted on all hands, that the French government had so little confidence in the Irish rebels, that in all their communications with the rebel directory, they never intimated to them the place where they meant to land, or except in the first the force they would bring. There appears too much reason to believe what Messrs. O'Connor, M'Nevin, and Emmet have observed in the memoir,* that the French never will abandon the plan of separating that country from England, so long as the discontents of the people would induce them to support an invasion.

It more frequently falls within the duty, than the power of the faithful annalist to trace the true causes of changes both in men and measures. It is notorious, that in Ireland, the active minis-

" thing to fear. We have indeed to lament that traitorous conspiracies can still continue, and that any men can be found in the land so lost to every sense of patriotism, of humanity, of duty to themselves, their country and their God, as to degrade the nation and the name of Irishmen, by acts of ingratitude, barbarity, and assassination, which would debase a savage, acts which call for the heavy hand of justice, and which the ordinary power of the laws has proved inadequate to prevent the melancholy and frequent repetition of.

" But while we lament such a mortifying calamity, we have the satisfaction of seeing how little its malignant influence or the efforts of an exasperated and revengeful enemy, have affected our commercial prosperity.

" Notwithstanding the largeness of the supplies, we have continued the usual bounties and encouragements to the trade, the agriculture, and the manufactures of the kingdom, and we see with sincere gratification the desirable effects of those encouragements, in the great increase of trade during the war, in the general confidence which attends private as well as public credit, in the usual plenty which our agriculture supplies, and in the prosperous state of all our manufactures, but most particularly of our great staple the linen."

* Memoir 23. There appears no plausible reasoning for doubting the sincerity of the proffered opinion of those Memorialists: at all events *fas est et ab hoste doceri*. " Let us then (say they) whilst Ireland is yet our country, be induced in a few remarks, which we deem extremely important to its future prosperity; now that we have given these full and faithful details of the past, we cannot be suspected of any but pure disinterested motives in what we are about to say, ere we leave it for ever. The parts we have acted have enabled us to gain the most intimate knowledge of the dispositions and hearts of our countrymen. From that knowledge we speak, when we declare our deepest conviction, that the penal laws which have followed in such doleful and rapid succession, the house burnings, arbitrary imprisonments, and free quarters, and above all, the tortures to extort confessions, neither have had, or can have, any other effect but exciting the most lively rancour in the hearts of almost all the people of Ireland, against those of their countrymen who have had recourse to such measures for maintaining their power, and against the connexion with Great Britain, whose men, and whose aid had been poured in to assist them."

ter, upon whom the odium or merit of the government measures personally fell, was the first secretary of the lord lieutenant. Through his mouth did his excellency speak to the House of Commons: from him did the nation expect the reason, and upon him chiefly rested the responsibility of the government measures in the belief of the public. His sentiments were of course concluded to be in perfect unison with the lord lieutenant, as his voice was the organ of his excellency. To this particular period of time must be referred the resignation of general sir Ralph Abercrombie and the extorted renovation and extension of the system of coercion and terrorism. It appears then, that Mr. Pelham, however earnest and firm he had been in opposing Catholic emancipation and parliamentary reform, which two questions earl Camden had avowedly been sent to oppose, was very far from approving the harsh and sanguinary means of dragooning the people into submission, which had been for some time practised and were intended to be persevered in; a system* *extorted from the chief governor*. He resolved therefore to retire from a situation, in which he was under the necessity of giving official countenance and support to a system, which in principle he abhorred, and which he knew to have been extorted from the chief governor, whose immediate and responsible agent he was before the public. The last time he spoke in public was on sir Lawrence Parsons's motion, which he opposed in a manner that evidently betrayed the uneasiness of his own situation.† He soon

* This system at this time (viz. 5th April, 1798,) Mr. Grattan has thus described. (Pet. W. C. p. 12.) "Here we perceive and lament the effects of inveteracy, conceived by his majesty's ministers against the Irish. "Irritable and quellable, devoted to superstition, deaf to law, and hostile to property;" such was the picture, which at different times his ministers in Ireland have painted of his people, with a latent view to flatter the English by the degradation of the Irish, and by such sycophantship and malice, they have persuaded themselves to consider their fellow subjects as a different species of human creature, fair objects of religious proscription and political incapacities, but not of moral relationship, or moral obligation; accordingly they have afforded indemnity for the rich, and new pains and penalties for the people; they have given felonious descriptions of his majesty's subjects, and have easily persuaded themselves to exercise felonious practices against their lives and properties; they have become as barbarous as their system, and as savage as their own description of their country men and their equals; and now it seems they have communicated to the British minister, at once, their deleterious maxims and their foul expressions, and he too indulges and waltzes in villainous discourses against the people of Ireland, sounding the horrid trumpet of carnage and separation. Thus the language of the ministers becomes an encouragement to the army to murder the Irish.

"We leave these scenes, they are dreadful: a ministry in league with the abettors of the Orangeboys and at war with the people: a people unable to procure a hearing in either country, while the loquacity of their enemies besieges the throne."

† On that occasion the right honourable secretary spoke as follows. "An insinuation had been let fall, as if some military orders of the commander in

after retired; lord Castlereagh was appointed to succeed Mr. Pelham, and we find, that on the 23d of April, 1798,* his lordship acquainted the House of Commons, that his excellency had ordered a message to be delivered to the house, that his majesty had under the alarming circumstances of the nation, ordered over two regiments of foreigners, in order to increase the regular force of that kingdom. And on the same day Mr. Vandeleur made a motion that lord Castlereagh having since his election for Down, accepted the office of chief secretary to his excellency the lord lieutenant, his seat in that house was thereby vacated.† It

* chief, sir Ralph Abercrombie, who was not recalled, (he resigned) bore the
 "complexion of difference with the cabinet; those orders had merely for
 "their object the discipline of the army, than which to perfect there was not
 "an officer existing better qualified, nor one who had more and better soldiers
 "for the empire. He credited the good intentions of the honourable mover,
 "but did he think that in applying to him measures of coercion, that they em-
 "braced the whole nation, God forbid! He had always a confidence in the ma-
 "jority of the Irish people, and he trusted that the dispositions and efforts of
 "the country gentlemen would soon render that majority more decisive in the
 "expression of its sentiments. The honourable baronet had but lightly touch-
 "ed on the two objects of conciliation: was it because an examination would
 "make them less defensible? Adverting to part of sir Lawrence Parsons's
 "speech, which asserted that the popular acts, since 1783, were only given to
 "stave off reform, Mr. Pelham observed, that the granting those was a progres-
 "sive reform, and therefore the wisest that could be adopted. The honoura-
 "ble baronet dated the discontents of this country from the recal of earl Fitz-
 "william: this was a subject on which he (Mr. Pelham) felt delicate; the
 "consequence of that recal was his arrival in the country, the state of which
 "at that time could not be supposed to render his situation peculiarly pleasing
 "or inviting, but he did his duty. The war also was stated as a cause of dis-
 "content; how then could these be reconciled? or was it to be supposed, that
 "if the war were a cause of discontent, the people of Ireland should feel sa-
 "tisfied with a nobleman who was uniformly one of the most strenuous sup-
 "porters of that war? Mr. Pelham, then, in justification of the measures of
 "the present administration, entered into a retrospection of the disturbances
 "prevailing in that kingdom since the year 1793, and the laws, to which they
 "gave birth.

"He adverted to the autumn of 1796, when the idea of an invasion prevailed,
 "and when the hopes and daring conduct of the northern insurgents made it
 "necessary to issue the orders, under which general Lake acted: he read the
 "proclamation of that officer, which had been so much and so often the sub-
 "ject of misrepresentation, proving from its language, the dispositions which
 "directed it to have been the protection of his majesty's peaceable and well
 "disposed subjects, and it must be allowed that a measure so strong was ne-
 "ver carried into execution with so much tenderness to those against whom
 "it applied. He disclaimed any wish on the part of government to irritate
 "the public mind, or any portion of it; on the contrary, every member of that
 "government deeply regretted that any such feelings should obtain for a mo-
 "ment; but they were determined to oppose rebellion by every means which
 "they were empowered to use, and which the public welfare demanded."

* 17 Com. Jour. p. 314.

† In a debate of the commons on the 24th of April, it was objected to Mr Vandeleur, that the question had been set to rest by the vote of that house neg-
 gating the motion for lord Castlereagh's seat having been vacated by the
 acceptance of office, on the 6th of the month, which was Good Friday, (17 Com

was strongly insisted upon by Mr. Vandeleur, and the few gentlemen who supported him, that from the usage of parliament since the passing of the place bill, from reason, analogy, and the words and spirit of that act, the place of the secretary came within the purview of it: it was resisted by the majority of the house, and of course the question was lost.

It has ever been the fatal bane of Ireland to be torn by some internal dissention or disunion. Scarcely had the foul spirit of discord began to be extinguished in the kingdom at large, (that singular epoch dates its origin from the administration of the marquis of Buckingham) than it enkindled a fresh and more scorching flame in some particular districts. Armagh for some years kept up the execrable spirit: from thence it extended, and it is to be feared, will be found still to infect the society of Orangemen in its present enlarged establishment. Those who composed that society for some years had signalized themselves by a ferocious system of severity and revenge against their opponents, whether Defenders or United Irishmen, under the assumption of the countenance or the actual connivance of government. There existed at this time a party, on whom the great weight of political influence and power had devolved, which was only to be kept up by the disunion of those whose coalition must naturally outweigh and crush that monopoly of power, whether it were acquired by accident or design. Once the Orangemen had been encouraged by government in taking upon themselves the tone and function of affording protection, it became necessary for them to do away the odium which they had incurred (rightly or wrongly no matter) with the mass of the people, who were Roman Catholics, from their past conduct. Some gentlemen therefore of that society at this time came forward and published an address to the public, which strongly disclaimed all the imputa-

Jour. p. 313.) He acquitted himself of having been absent from the house through negligence of his duty on the day on which this resolution, eversive of the law of the land, passed. It was a day set apart in every christian state for a solemn observance of religious duties; and he challenged the right honourable member to say, whether on the journals of parliament there was to be found a single instance of public business having been done by the house on Good Friday. Had he believed it possible, that on such a day the house would have proceeded to decide a question of such importance without any notice having been given to gentlemen of that intention, he should, ill as he was on that day, have attended in his place, and given his warmest opposition to the resolution. With respect to the measure itself, the right honourable gentleman had conceded that it was contrary to the spirit of the act, and he justified it only by entering into a subtle distinction between the "crown" and the "executive power:" but he was convinced, that every man of plain and sound understanding would see that the legislature when they passed this act, meant by the word "crown," the executive power of the state, and that their object was to preserve the independence of parliament from the growing influence of that branch of the government.

tions and charges of their enemies, and expressed the most purified loyalty.* Certain it is, that the opposite parties availed themselves alternately of the advantage of misrepresenting their antagonists. In one district reports prevailed, that the Papists intended a general massacre of all the Protestants: in another, the Papists assembled and armed in great numbers under the threats, apprehensions, and terrors of having their throats cut by the Orangemen. Mutual recrimination and false charges became

* This was the form of their address.

" *To the Loyal Subjects of Ireland.*

" FROM the various attempts that have been made to poison the public mind, and slander those who have had the spirit to adhere to their king and constitution, and to maintain the laws,

" We the Protestants of Dublin, assuming the name of Orangemen, feel ourselves called upon, not to vindicate our principles, for we know that our honour and loyalty bid defiance to the shafts of malevolence and disaffection, butopenly to disavow these principles and declare to the world the objects of our institution.

" We have long observed with indignation, the efforts that have been made to foment rebellion in this kingdom, by the seditious, who have formed themselves into societies under the specious name of United Irishmen.

" We have seen with pain the lower orders of our fellow subjects forced or seduced from their allegiance, by the threats and machinations of traitors.

" And we have viewed with horror the successful exertions of miscreants to encourage a foreign enemy to invade this happy land, in hopes of rising into consequence, on the downfall of their country.

" We therefore thought it high time to rally round the constitution, and pledge ourselves to each other to maintain the laws and support our good king against all his enemies, whether rebels to their God or to their country, and by so doing, shew to the world that there is a body of men in this island, who are ready in the hour of danger, to stand forward in the defence of that grand palladium of our liberty, the constitution of Great Britain and Ireland, obtained and established by the courage and loyalty of our ancestors, under the great king William.

" Fellow subjects, we are accused of being an institution founded on principles too shocking to repeat, and bound together by oaths, at which human nature would shudder; but we caution you not to be led away by such malevolent falsehoods, for we solemnly assure you in the presence of the Almighty God, that the idea of injuring any one on account of his religious opinion never entered into our hearts! We regard every loyal subject as our friend, be his religion what it may, we have no enmity but to the enemies of our country.

" We further declare, that we are ready at all times, to submit ourselves to the orders of those in authority under his majesty, and that we will cheerfully undertake any duty which they should think proper to point out for us, in case either a foreign enemy shall dare to invade our coasts, or that a domestic foe should presume to raise the standard of rebellion in the land; to these principles we are pledged, and in support of them we are ready to shed the last drop of our blood.

" Signed by order of the several lodges in Dublin, for selves and other masters.

" Thomas Verner,
" Edward Ball,
" John Claudius Beresford,
" William James,
" Isaac Dejoncourt."

meritorious with each party : and the preparations made to resist these fictitious alarms generally produced mischief from the mere circumstance of an armed multitude assembling. The mischief of the association of Orangemen consisted in the principle of national disunion, which it essentially went to establish in perpetuity,* that it gained no credit with the lower classes of Roman Catholics. It is impossible, that in a large community any particular society or collection of individuals, who meet with the countenance and encouragement of government, shutting out the great bulk of their fellow subjects from their society, should not create jealousy and discontent amongst the excluded. As the now avowed object of this confederated body of Orangemen was to preserve public order, and to make head against the United Irishmen and all other enemies to the state, the exclusion of the Catholics from their society was considered by the generality of the people (however it may have been really intended by the Orangemen) as an indirect charge or open intimation, that the Catholics made a common cause with the United Irishmen, and abetted those principles, to combat which the Orangemen now professed to have united. This presumption or insinuation necessarily created civil and political rivalry, jealousy and dissension : the annexing of the condition of Protestantism to the admission into their society, was rivetting the old, or creating a new ground of religious dissension, and consequently of rancour and animosity, which our beneficent sovereign had so often parentally and majestically recommended to his people to dispel and entomb for ever. As long as Orangemen or any other society of Irishmen form into societies under this religious distinction, it is impossible, that disunion, disaffection, jealousy, resentment, and all the black train of internal discord, should not thrive and rankle throughout the nation. Whilst such societies exist, religious distinctions can never subside.†

* Reverend Mr. Gordon's history of the Irish Rebellion, p. 32. " I took," says this author, " once in particular, an opportunity to read the declaration to a number of my neighbours of this description, adding some comments from myself to persuade them into a belief of its sincerity. They said among themselves, ' see there now ; it is not as we were told ; ' and other words to the same purpose ; and all seemed satisfied that they had been deceived. Yet, when I met some of them the following day, and spoke on the subject, they said that no reliance could be placed in such declarations, as Orangemen had entered into engagements, one with another, which were kept profoundly secret from all other people."

† Many attempts have been made to defend the principles of the Orange confederacy from the charges of cruelty, yet has it appeared to several of their opponents, that government had no doubt of the original existence of such an oath of extermination, at least amongst some of the lower fanatics of that society, from their examination of Mr. O'Connor ; although not by the means or with the concurrence of government, (*Mem.* p. 52.)

Notwithstanding the rigour and severity of the measures adopted by government to put down or correct the turbulence and discontent of the nation, and to prevent it from rising into open rebellion : the discoveries which led to the developement and disappointment of the traitorous designs of the conspirators, were rather fortuitous and unexpected, than the result of any preventative measures on the part of government. They appear to have arisen from pecuniary motives in one Thomas Reynolds, a silk mercer of Dublin, who had purchased an estate in the county of Kildare, called Kilkea Castle, and from the fortune he had acquired, commanded considerable influence with his Catholic brethren. Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Oliver Bond, two leaders in the conspiracy, having, for these reasons, considered him a proper person to assist in forwarding their treasonable designs, easily attached him to their cause ; and having succeeded, he was soon after sworn an United Irishman, at the house of Oliver

Committee. If you did not organize for the purpose of effecting a revolution, what other object had you in view ?

O'Connor. We saw with sorrow the cruelties practised by the Irish government had raised a dreadful spirit of revenge in the hearts of the people ; we saw with horror that to answer their immediate views, the Irish government had renewed the old religious feuds ; we were most anxious to have such authorities as the organization ready constituted to prevent the dreadful transports of popular fury. We hoped that by having committees, by holding out the benefits of the revolution to those who supported it, and by withholding its benefits from those who should disgrace it by popular excesses, we should have been able to restrain the people. But those who had monopolized the whole political power of the constitution, finding, that they stood in need of some of the population, and that from their monopoly so directly opposite to the interest of all classes of the Irish nation, they could not hope for the support of any (be their religion what it may) on the score of politics, except those in the pay of government. Finding how necessary it was to have some part of the population on their side, they had recourse to the old religious feuds, and set an organization of Protestants, whose fanaticism would not permit them to see they were enlisted under the banners of religion, to fight for political usurpation they abhorred. No doubt, by these means you have gained a temporary aid, but by destroying the organization of the union, and exasperating the great body of the people, you will one day pay dearly for the aid you have derived from this temporary shift.

Committee. Government had nothing to do with the Orange system, nor their extermination.

O'Connor. You, my lord (Castlereagh) from the station you fill, must be sensible that the executive of any country has it in its power to collect a vast mass of information, and you must know from the secret nature, and the zeal of the union, that its executive must have the most minute information of every act of the Irish government. As one of the executive, it came to my knowledge, that considerable sums of money were expended throughout the nation, in endeavouring to extend the Orange system, and that the oath of extermination was administered ; when these facts are coupled, not only with general impunity, which has been uniformly extended towards the acts of this infernal association, but the marked encouragement its members have received from government, I find it impossible to exculpate the government from being the parent and protector of these sworn extirpators.

Bond, in Dublin; in the year 1797, he accepted the commission of colonel, the offices of treasurer and representative of the county of Kildare, and at last that of delegate for the province of Leinster. He had money dealings about a mortgage of some lands at Castle Jordon with a Mr. Cope, a Dublin merchant, who having lamented to him, in the course of conversation, the crimes and atrocities which were constantly committed, and which were undoubted symptoms of an approaching rebellion, Mr. Reynolds said, that he knew a person connected with the United Irishmen, who he believed, would defeat their nefarious projects, by communicating them to government, in order to make an atonement for the crime he had committed in joining them. Mr. Cope assured him, that such a person would obtain the highest honours and pecuniary rewards that administration could confer. But Mr. Reynolds said, nothing could tempt him to come forward and avow himself. However, after the most earnest and pressing solicitations repeatedly made on the part of Mr. Cope, he said, that his friend would appear in person, and disclose the particulars of the plot, on the following conditions: That he should not prosecute any United Irishman; that the channel through which the information came should be kept a secret, at least for a time; that as his life would be in danger upon its being known, and he must leave the country and go to England till matters were settled, which would derange his affairs, and put him to considerable expense, he expected to receive some compensation. Mr. Cope then told him, that he might draw on him for any sum not exceeding five hundred guineas. On that, he told Mr. Cope, that the Leinster delegates were to meet at Oliver Bond's on the 12th of March, to concert measures for an insurrection, which was shortly to take place, but did not at that time acknowledge that the information came directly from him, but insinuated it was imparted by a third person.

In consequence of this, justice Swan, attended by twelve sergeants in coloured clothes, arrested the Leinster delegates, thirteen in number, while sitting in council in the house of Oliver Bond, in Bridge-street, on the 12th of March, 1798; and seized several of their papers, which led to the discovery of the plot, and the intended insurrection; and on the same day Messrs. Emmett, M'Nevin, Bond, Sweetman, Henry Jackson, and Hugh Jackson were arrested, taken into custody, and warrants were granted against lord Edward Fitzgerald and Messrs. M'Corrick and Sampson, who having notice thereof made their escape.

The leaders of the conspiracy did not intend to bring forward an insurrection till the French came to their assistance, and they meant in the mean time to continue to increase their numbers,

and to add to their stock of arms; but in the spring of 1798, the loyalty of the people was so strongly marked, that the chief conspirators began to perceive that their cause was losing ground, and that they had no alternative but to hazard a general rising, or to relinquish their hopes.

To prevent a despondency amongst the members of the union on the occasion of this discovery and seizure, a hand bill was circulated with industry, and had the effect of keeping up their spirits in a great degree.*

The seizure of the delegates was a death blow to the schemes of the United Irishmen. A new directory was chosen, but they soon experienced the fate of the former; and, indeed, the rashness of their own conduct, in all probability, hastened the catastrophe. Their proceedings were developed and disclosed by another informer; this was a captain Armstrong, of the king's county militia, who had pretended to enter into the conspiracy with the intention of discovering their schemes, and betraying them to the government. It appears, that a part of their plan was to gain over as many of his majesty's troops as possible to their side, and particularly of the militia regiments, previous to their making a general attack upon the royal camp of Loughlinstown. For this purpose captain Armstrong appeared a fit instrument. He had been in the habits of frequenting the shop of a bookseller, of the name of Byrne, in Grafton-street, Dublin, who was generally regarded as one of the literary agents of the rebel faction. Among the leading members of the United Irish-

* As an instance of the feelings of the rebels at this period the form of this hand bill is given. "For us the keen but momentary anxiety, occasioned by the situation of our invaluable friends, subsided, on learning all the circumstances of the case, into a calm tranquillity, a consoling conviction of mind, that they are as safe as innocence can make them now; and to these sentiments were quickly added a redoubled energy, a ten fold activity, of exertion, which has already produced the happiest effects. The organization of the capital is perfect. No vacancies existing, arrangements have been made, and are still making, to secure for our oppressed brethren, whose trials approach, the benefit of legal defence, and the centinels whom you have appointed to watch over your interests, stand firm at their posts, vigilant of events, and prompt to give you notice and advice, which, on every occasion at all requiring it rely on receiving. This recital, Irishmen, is meant to guard those of you who are remote from the scene of the late events, against the consequences of misrepresentation and mistake. The most unfounded rumours have been set afloat, fabricated for the double purpose of delusion and intimidation. Your enemies talk of treachery, in the vain and fallacious hope of creating it; but you, who scorn equally to be their dupes or their slaves, will meet their forgeries with dignified contempt, incapable of being either goaded into untimely violence, or sunk into pusillanimous despondency. Be firm, Irishmen,—but be cool and cautious; be patient yet a while: trust to no unauthorized communication; and above all, we warn you—again and again we warn you—against doing the work of your tyrants, by premature, by partial, or divided exertion. If Ireland shall be forced to throw away the scabbard, let it be at her own time, not theirs."

men were two young barristers, of the name of Sheares, both men of excellent talents, and of unsullied reputation, who had, both of them been elected members of the Irish executive after the arrest of the old members on the 12th of March. To the acquaintance of these gentlemen Byrne proposed to introduce captain Armstrong, whom he had from various conversations, been led to consider as a convert to their cause, and Armstrong had soon the address to insinuate himself completely into their confidence. * Recourse was soon after had to a general proclamation and military execution.† The proclamation, which was published on the 30th of March declared, that a traitorous conspiracy, existing within the kingdom for the destruction of the established government, had been considerably extended, and had manifested itself in acts of open violence and rebellion; and that in consequence thereof the most direct and positive orders had been issued to the officers commanding his majesty's forces to employ them with the utmost vigour and decision for the immediate suppression of that conspiracy, and for the disarming of the rebels and all disaffected persons, by the most summary and effectual measures. To sir Ralph Abercrombie, then chief commander of the forces, orders were issued from the lord lieutenant to proceed with his army into the disturbed countries, vested with full powers to act according to his discretion for the attainment of the proposed object. A manifesto, dated from his headquarters at Kildare, the 3d of April, was addressed to the inhabitants of the county by the general, requiring them to surrender their arms in the space of ten days from the date of the notice, threatening, in case of non compliance, to distribute large bodies of troops among them to live at free quarters—promising rewards to such as would give information of concealed arms or ammunition—and denouncing his resolution of recurring to other severities if the county should still continue in a disturbed state.

On the advance of the military into each county, the same notice was given to its inhabitants, and at the expiration of the term prescribed, the troops were quartered on the houses of the disaffected or suspected, in numbers proportioned to the supposed guilt and ability of the owners, whose pecuniary circumstances were often deeply injured by the maintenance of the soldiery, and the waste which was otherwise made of their effects. Numbers of houses, with their furniture, were burned, in which concealed arms had been found, in which meetings of the union had been holden, or whose occupants had been guilty of the fabrication of pikes, or had been suspected of other practices for the

* Gordon's history of the Irish Rebellion, p. 34.

† 17 Journ. Com. DCCCCXI.

promotion of the conspiracy. Numbers were daily scourged, picqueted, or otherwise put to pain to force confessions of concealed arms or plots. Outrageous acts of severity were often committed by persons not in the regular troops, some from an unfeigned, and others from an affected zeal for the service of the crown. These various vexations amounted on the whole to such a mass of disquietude and distress, that the exhortations of the chiefs to bear their evils with steady patience, until an opportunity of successful insurrection should occur, proved vain with the lower classes.

To authorize the burning of houses and furniture, the wisdom of administration may have seen as good reason as for other acts of severity, though to many that reason was not clear. These burnings, doubtless, caused no small terror and consternation to the disaffected, but they caused also a loss to the community at large, rendered many quite desperate who were deprived of their all, augmented the violence of hatred in those among whom these houseless people took refuge. Men imprisoned on suspicion, or private information, were sometimes half-hanged, or strangled almost to death, before their guilt or innocence could be ascertained by trial. Reflecting loyalists were much concerned at the permission or impunity of such acts, which tended strongly to confirm the prejudices already so laboriously excited by the emissaries of treason.

Among the causes, which in the troubled interval of time previous to the grand insurrection, contributed to the general uneasiness, were the insults practised by pretended zealots, to the annoyance of the truest loyalists as well as malcontents, on persons who wore their hair short, or happened to have any part of their apparel of a green colour, both of which were considered as emblems of republican or of a revolutionary spirit. The term *croppy* was adopted to signify a revolutionist, or an enemy to the established government. Persons of malevolent minds took advantage of these circumstances to indulge their general malignity or private malice, when they could with impunity. On the heads of many who were selected as objects of outrage, were fixed by these pretended loyalists caps of coarse linen or strong brown paper, smeared with pitch on the inside, which in some instances adhered so firmly as not to be disengaged without a laceration of the hair and even skin. On the other side, several of the united party made it a practice to seize violently such as they thought proper, or were able, and cropt or cut their hair short, which rendered them liable to the outrage of the pitched cap of those pretended strenuous partizans of the constitution. Handkerchiefs, ribbons, even a sprig of myrtle and other parts of dress marked with the obnoxious colour, were torn or cut away from females unconsci-

ous of disloyalty, and undesignedly bearing the imaginary badge. Various other violent acts were committed, so far as to cut away pieces of men's ears, even sometimes the whole ear, or a part of the nose: nor could the staunchest loyalist be certain always of exemption from insult by being clear of all imaginary marks of disloyalty; for on the arrival of a detachment of the army in any part of the country, where the inhabitants were known to the officers and soldiers, which was almost always the case, private malice was apt to convey in whispers false intelligence, marking individuals, perhaps the best members of society, as proper objects of military outrage, and they suffered accordingly.

By the system of secret accusation and espionage, perhaps rightly adopted with other extraordinary measures, in this dangerous crisis, government unavoidably made ample room for the exertions of private malice. Magistrates and military officers were empowered to receive informations, to keep the names of the informers profoundly secret, and proceed against the accused according to discretion. It should not be supposed that any magistrate could have pretended to receive information, which he had not received, for the indulgence of his private spite against an individual; but some of the gentlemen invested with these new powers were led into grievous errors by false informers, whose names notwithstanding have never been divulged. One particular instance gave cause to a debate in parliament. Thomas Fitzgerald, high sheriff of Tipperary, seized at Clonmel, a gentleman of the name of Wright, against whom no grounds of suspicion could be conjectured by his neighbours, caused five hundred lashes to be inflicted on him in the severest manner, and confined him several days without permitting his wounds to be dressed, so that his recovery from such a state of torture and laceration could hardly be expected. In a trial at law, after the rebellion, on an action of damages brought by Wright against this magistrate, the innocence of the plaintiff appeared so manifest, even at a time when prejudices ran amazingly high against persons accused of disloyalty, that the defendant was condemned to pay five hundred pounds to his prosecutor. Many other actions of damages on similar grounds would have been commenced, if the parliament had not put a stop to such proceedings by an act of indemnity, for all errors committed by magistrates from supposed zeal for the public service. A letter written in the French language, found in the pocket of Wright, was hastily considered a proof of guilt, though the letter were of a perfectly innocent nature.

As the conspiracy gained ground and notoriety, several leading gentlemen of the Roman Catholic persuasion, thought it requisite that some act of the body should go forth to the public, ex-

pressive of their abhorrence and detestation of such traitorous principles, and with an endeavour to recal such of that persuasion as had unfortunately been seduced to join in the rebellion or conspiracy against the government. Accordingly, on the 6th of May, lords Fingall, Gormanstown, Southwell, Kenmare, sir Edward Bellew, and 41 gentlemen and professors of divinity, and the president of the college of Maynooth, published a declaration* under their signatures, with a view of rescuing their body from the imputation of abetting and favouring rebellion and treason.

About the 10th of May, captain Armstrong, who had been introduced to the Messrs. Sheares, with the view and intent of

* Such is the form of that declaration.

" *Dublin, May 6, 1798.*

" To such of the deluded people now in rebellion against his majesty's government, in this kingdom, as profess the Roman Catholic religion.

" THE undersigned Roman Catholics of Ireland feel themselves earnestly called on to remonstrate with such of the deluded people of that persuasion as are now engaged in open rebellion against his majesty's government, on the wicked tendency and consequences of the conduct which they have embraced: they apprehend with equal horror and concern, that such deluded men, in addition to the crime committed against the allegiance which they owe to his majesty, have in some instances attempted to give to their designs a colour of zeal for the religion which they profess. The undersigned profess equally with them the Roman Catholic religion: some of them are bishops of that persuasion, others are heads of the leading families of that religion; and others are men of the same persuasion, who, by an honourable industry, have, under the constitution now sought to be subverted, raised themselves to a situation, which affords them in the most extensive sense, all the comforts of life. The undersigned of each description concur in intreating such of the deluded, who have taken up arms against the established government, or entered into engagements tending to that effect, to return to their allegiance: and by relinquishing the treasonable plans in which they are engaged, to entitle themselves to that mercy, which their lawful governors anxiously wish to extend to them; a contrary conduct will inevitably subject them to loss of life and property, and expose their families to ignominy and beggary; whilst at the same time it will throw on their religion, of which they profess to be the advocates, the most indelible stain: on this point, the unfortunately deluded will do well to consider whether the true interests and honour of the Roman Catholic religion are likely to be most considered by the bishops of that persuasion: by the ancient families who profess that religion, and who have resisted every temptation to relinquish it; by men, who at once professing it, and submitting to the present constitution, have arrived at a state of affluence which gratifies every wish; or by a set of desperate and profligate men, availing themselves of the want of education and experience in those whom they seek to use as instruments for gratifying their own wicked and interested views. At all events, the undersigned feel themselves bound to rescue their names, and as far as in them lies, the religion which they profess, from the ignominy which each would incur, from an appearance of acquiescence in such criminal and irreligious conduct: and they hesitate not to declare, that the accomplishment of the views of the deluded of their persuasion, if effected, must be effected by the downfall of the clergy, of the ancient families and respectable commercial men of the Roman Catholic religion, the undersigned individuals of each of

acquiring and communicating to government full knowledge of the designs and measures of the United Irishmen, had apprized lord Castlereagh, that a general rising, as it was termed by them, of the people, must immediately take place. The whole of the United Irishmen throughout the kingdom, or at least throughout the province of Leinster, were to act at once in concert; and it was their intention to seize the camp of Loughlinstown, the artillery of Chapel-izod, and the castle of Dublin, in one night, the 23d of May. One hour was to be allowed between seizing the camp of Loughlinstown, and the artillery at Chapel-izod; and one hour and a half between seizing the artillery and surprising the castle; and the parties who executed both of the external plans, were to enter the city of Dublin at the same moment. The stopping of the mail coaches was to be the signal for the insurgents every where to commence their operations. It was also planned, that a great insurrection should take place at Cork at the same time. The united men were, however, at that period, not exactly agreed as to the nature of the insurrection. Mr. Samuel Neilson, with some other of the leaders, were bent upon attacking first the county gaol of Kilmainham, and the gaol of Newgate, in order to set their comrades at liberty; and the project for attacking the latter was also fixed for the 23d of May, the night of the general insurrection. The Sheares, however, and others, were of a contrary opinion, and they wished to defer the attack of the gaols till after the general insurrection had taken place; and even threatened to give notice to government of the plot, if Neilson and his friends did not immediately desist.

Although the government had been long in possession, through the communications of Reynolds, Armstrong, and other informers, of all the particulars of the conspiracy, they had hitherto permitted or encourage its progress, in order, as it has been alleged that the suppression of it might be effected with more eclat and terror. As the expected explosion however now drew so near, it was found to be necessary to arrest several of the principal conspirators, who might give directions, energy, and effect to the insurrection. Lord Edward Fitzgerald had absconded

" which description hereby publicly declare their determination to stand or fall
 " with the present existing constitution.

" FINGALL,
 " GORMANSTOWN,
 " SOUTHWELL,
 " KENMARE,

" Sir EDWARD BELLEW, with 41 gentlemen and
 " professors of divinity, together with the reverend
 " PETER FLOOD, D. D. president of the Royal
 " College of St. Patrick Maynooth, for himself, the
 " professors, and students of said college."

since the 12th of March; and on the 18th of May, major Sirr having received information that he would pass through Watling-street that night, and be preceded by a chosen band of traitors, as an advanced guard, and that he would be accompanied by another, repaired thither, attended by captain Ryan, Mr. Emerson, of the attorney's corps, and a few soldiers in coloured clothes. They met the party which preceded him, and had a skirmish with them on the quay at the end of Watling-street, in which some shots were exchanged; and they took prisoner one of them, who called himself at one time Jameson, at another time Brand.

The arrest of lord Edward Fitzgerald, which was effected next day, the 19th of May, in the following manner, tended very much to defeat the malignant designs of the conspirators, as he was the chief projector of the intended insurrection, and they entertained the highest opinion of his courage and military abilities.

Government having received information that he had arrived in Dublin, and was lodged in the house of one Murphy, a featherman in Thomas-street, sent major Sirr to arrest him. He, attended by captain Swan, of the revenue corps, and captain Ryan, of the Sepulchre's, and eight soldiers disguised, about five o'clock in the evening repaired in coaches to Murphy's house. While they were posting the soldiers in such a manner as to prevent the possibility of an escape, captain Swan perceiving a woman run hastily up stairs, for the purpose, as he supposed, of alarming lord Edward, followed her with the utmost speed; and, on entering an apartment, found lord Edward lying on a bed, in his dressing jacket. He approached the bed, and informed his lordship that he had a warrant against him, and that resistance would be vain; assuring him at the same time that he would treat him with the utmost respect.

Lord Edward sprang from the bed, and snapped a pistol, which missed fire, at captain Swan; he then closed with him, drew a dagger, gave him a wound in the hand, and different wounds in his body; one of them under the ribs was deep and dangerous, and bled most copiously.

At that moment captain Ryan entered, and missed fire at lord Edward with a pocket pistol; on which he made a lunge at him with a sword cane, which bent on his ribs; but affected him so much, that he threw himself on the bed, and captain Ryan having thrown himself on him, a violent scuffle ensued, during which lord Edward drew a dagger, and plunged it into his side. They then fell on the ground, where captain Ryan received many desperate wounds; one of which, in the lower part of his belly, was so large, that his bowels fell out on the floor. Major Sirr having entered the room, saw captain Swan bleeding, and lord Edward advancing towards the door, while captain Ryan weltering in

blood on the floor, was holding him by one leg, and captain Swan by the other, he therefore fired at lord Edward with a pistol, and wounded him in the shoulder, on which he cried out for mercy, and surrendered himself. His lordship was then conveyed to the castle, but was on the point of being rescued before he left Thomas-street; for Edward Ratigan, a major of the rebels, assembled a great number of them, and gave them a considerable quantity of carbines and pikes out of St. Catharine's watch-house, of which he was a director, and called on them to rescue lord Edward; which would have been effected, but that major Sirr received the assistance of the Rainsford-street guard, and the picquet guard of the castle, consisting mostly of cavalry, for which he had seasonably sent a messenger.

Samuel Neilson confessed afterwards, that he was in another quarter with five hundred pikemen, and that he would have attempted a rescue, had not the guards arrived in due time.

On the 19th and 21st of May, several other arrests were made. Amongst others, Patrick Byrne, the bookseller, and Messrs. Sheares, were committed for high treason. In the house of Messrs. Sheares, in Baggot-street, was found a proclamation,* which was

* The above mentioned manifesto or proclamation was in the state of a rough copy, not yet finished for publication. It ran in the following terms, 17 Journ. Com. DCCCLXXX.—“ Irishmen, your country is free, and you are about to be avenged. That vile government, which has so long and so cruelly oppressed you, is no more. Some of its most atrocious monsters have already paid the forfeit of their lives,* and the rest are in our hands. The national flag, the sacred green, is at this moment flying over the ruins of despotism; and that capital, which a few hours past had witnessed the debauchery, the plots, and the crimes of your tyrants, is now the citadel of triumphant patriotism and virtue. Arise then, united sons of Ireland—arise like a great and powerful people, to live free, or die. Arm yourselves by every means in your power, and rush like lions on your foes. Consider, that for every enemy you disarm, you arm a friend, and thus become doubly powerful. In the cause of liberty, inaction is cowardice, and the coward shall forfeit the property he has not the courage to protect. Let his arms be secured and transferred to those gallant spirits who want and will use them. Yes, Irishmen, we swear by that eternal justice, in whose cause you fight, that the brave patriot who survives the present glorious struggle, and the family of him who has fallen, or hereafter shall fall in it, shall receive from the hands of the grateful nation an ample recompence out of that property, which the crimes of our enemies have forfeited into its hands; and his name shall be inscribed on the great national record of Irish revolution, as a glorious example to all posterity; but we likewise swear to punish robbery with death and infamy. We also swear that we will never sheath the sword till every being in the country is restored to those equal rights which the God of nature has given to all men: until an order of things shall be established in which no superiority shall be acknowledged among the citizens of Erin but that of virtue and talents. As for those degenerate wretches who turn their swords against their native country, the national vengeance awaits them. Let them find no quarter, unless they shall prove their repentance, by speedily exchanging the standard of slavery for that of freedom, under which their former errors may be buried, and they may share the glory and advantages that are due to the patriot bands of Ireland.

intended to have been published on the morning after the execution should have taken place: it manifested the bloody projects of the rebels, had the conspiracy succeeded. It has been observed, by the rev. Dr. Gordon (p. 66), that "in fact the severe and terrible measures, to which government, for the preservation of its existence, had been obliged to have recourse must naturally excite a spirit of revenge and cruelty in the contented faction; yet the former members of the direction among whom was Thomas Addis Emmett, had intended to avoid bloodshed as much as possible, and only to banish those who should prove refractory, allowing their families a maintenance out of their properties."*

"Many of the military feel the love of liberty glow within their breasts; they have joined the national standard. Receive with open arms such as follow so glorious an example: they can render signal service to the cause of freedom, and shall be rewarded according to their deserts. But the wretch who turns his sword against his native country, let the nation's vengeance be visited on him; let him find no quarter. Two other classes demand Rouze all energies of your souls: call forth all merits and abilities which a vicious government consigned to obscurity; under the conduct of your chosen leaders, march with a steady step to liberty. Heed not the glare of hired soldiery, or aristocratic yeomanry: we cannot stand the vigorous shock of freedom. Their trappings and their arms will soon be yours; and the detested government of England, to which we vow eternal hatred, shall learn, that the treasures it exhausts on its courted slaves, for the purpose of butchering Irishmen, shall but furnish enable us to turn their swords on its devoted head. Attack them in every direction by day and by night: avail yourselves of the natural advantages of your country, which are innumerable, and with which you are better acquainted than they. Where you cannot oppose them in full force, constantly harass their rear and their flanks: cut off their provisions and magazines, and prevent them as much as possible from uniting their forces: let wherever moments you cannot devote to fighting for your country, be passed in learning how to fight for it, or preparing the means of war: for war, alone must occupy every mind and every hand in Ireland, until its long pressed soil be purged of all its enemies. Vengeance, Irishmen! Vengeance on your oppressors! Remember what thousands of your dear friends have perished by their merciless orders. Remember their burnings, their rackings, their torturings, their military massacres, and their murders. Remember Orr.

* The examination of Mr. Emmett before the committee of the lords has given us the following account of the intentions of the executive: 17 Com Journ. DCCCCIX.

"Question. Was John Sheares a member of the executive before your arrest?

"Answer. He was not. Says the old executive never meant to spill blood, but rather to retain men of a certain rank as hostages, and if they found them hostile to the new government, to send them out of the country. That it was also determined, that if the wives of such persons did not act with hostility to the new government, they should be allowed a maintenance out of the husband's property, and that each child should have a portion, the residue to belong to the nation."

The before mentioned Memoir gives the following more enlarged account. *Mem. p. 31.*

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The speaker and all the members immediately waited on his excellency with the address; and to shew their zeal, and to increase the solemnity of the proceeding, they walked through the streets on foot, two and two, preceded by the speaker, the serjeant at arms; and all the officers of the house.

"do I know what value be annexed to those words in his proclamation: but I can answer, that while I was of the executive, there was no such design, but the contrary; for we conceived when one of you lost your lives we lost an hostage. Our intention was to seize you all, and keep you as hostages, for the conduct of England; and after the revolution was over, if you could not live under the new government, to send you out of the country. I will add one thing more, which though it is not an answer to your question, you may have a curiosity to hear. In such a struggle it was natural to expect confiscations: our intention was, that every wife who had not instigated her husband to resistance should be provided for out of the property, notwithstanding confiscations; and every child, who was too young to be his own master, or form his own opinion, was to have a child's portion. Your lordships will now judge how far we intended to be cruel.

"*Lord Chancellor.* Pray Mr. Emmett, what caused the late insurrection?

"*Emmett.* The free quarters, the house burnings, the tortures, and the military executions, in the counties of Kildare, Carlow, and Wicklow.

"*Lord Chancellor.* Don't you think the arrests of the 13th of March caused it?

"*Emmett.* No: but I believe if it had not been for these arrests it would not have taken place; for the people, irritated by what they suffered, had been long pressing the executive to consent to an insurrection, but they had resisted or eluded it, and even determined to persevere in the same line: after these arrests, however, other persons came forward, who were irritated, and thought differently, who consented to let that partial insurrection take place."

CHAPTER VII.

OF THE REBELLION IN 1798.

NOTWITHSTANDING the discoveries made by Reynolds and Armstrong, and the consequent arrests of the principal conspirators with their papers, from which circumstance the rebels were left without heads to plan, or officers to execute their designs, yet so deeply and widely was the flame of rebellion spread, that it was impossible to suppress the volcano from the eruption, which had been long settled for the 23d of May. It appears, that the plan of attack formed by lord Edward Fitzgerald had been communicated to most of the rebels; for their first open acts of hostility, though apparently fortuitous, irregular, and confused, bore evident marks of a deep laid scheme for surprising the military by separate, though simultaneous attacks, to surround in a cordon the city of Dublin, and cut off all succours and resources from without. On that day Mr. Neilson* and some other of the leading conspirators were arrested; and the city and county of Dublin were proclaimed by the lord lieutenant and council in a state of insurrection: the guards at the castle, and all the great objects of attack were trebled; and in fact the whole city was converted into a besieged garrison. Thus the rebels were unable to effect any thing by surprise. Without leaders, and almost without arms or ammunition, the infatuated multitude ventured on the bloody contest. Notwithstanding the apparent forwardness of the north, the first commotions appeared in different parts of Leinster. The northern and Connaught mail coaches were stopped by parties of the insurgents on the night of the 23d of May; and, at about twelve o'clock on the morning of the 24th, a large body of rebels attacked the town and gaol of Naas, about fourteen miles from Dublin, where lord Gosford commanded.* As the guard had been seasonably increased, in expectation of such an attack, the assailants were repulsed, and driven into a narrow avenue, where, without order or discipline, they sustain-

* Mr. Neilson was seized between nine and ten in the evening, by Gregg, the keeper of Newgate, as he was reconnoitring the prison: a scuffle ensued, and Neilson snatched a pistol at him: by the intervention of two yeomen, he was secured and committed. It is reported, and appears probable, that a large number of the conspirators who were awaiting his orders, having lost their leader, dispersed for that night.

ed for some time the attack of the Armagh militia, and of the formidable corps raised by sir Watkins William Wynne, and known by the name of the Ancient Britons. The king's troops lost two officers, and about thirty men; and the rebels, as was reported, lost 140 in the contest and their flight. They were completely dispersed, and several of them taken prisoners. On the same day, a small division of his majesty's forces were surprised at the town of Prosperous; and a detachment at the village of Clane cut their way through to Naas, with considerable loss. About the same time, general Dundas encountered a large body of insurgents on the hills near Kilcullin, and 130 of these misguided persons were left dead upon the field.

On the following day, a body of about 400 rebels, under the command of two gentlemen of the names of Ledwich and Keough, marched from Rathfarnham, in the neighbourhood of Dublin, along the foot of the mountain towards Belgatt and Cloudalkin: in their progress, they were met by a party of thirty-five dragoons, under the command of lord Roden. After some resistance, the rebels were defeated, great numbers were killed and wounded, and their leaders Ledwich and Keough were taken. They were immediately tried by a court martial, and executed, having pleaded in vain, that they had been forced into the service.

Although the first effort of the rebels had been thus defeated, still they entertained the most sanguine hopes of succeeding in another attempt. General Lake, who, upon the resignation of sir Ralph Abercrombie, had been appointed commander in chief, published the following notice on the morning of the 24th of May:

“ Lieutenant general Lake, commanding his majesty's forces in this kingdom, having received from his excellency the lord lieutenant, full powers to put down the rebellion, and to punish

* The preparation to receive the rebels at Naas proceeded from the following circumstance: lord Gosford, who commanded the Armagh militia, a part of which was quartered at Naas, was on that day in Dublin, and whilst he was conversing with Mr. Cook, in the castle, an anonymous letter was received, announcing the intended attack of Naas on that night by a numerous band of rebels, who were then hovering about that town. Lord Gosford was more stricken with the letter than the under secretary; he took it with him, and instantly set out for Naas. On his arrival there, his son, who commanded the regiment in his absence, shewed him a similar letter, in the same hand-writing, which he had that day received at Naas. Upon this double information the sincerity of the anonymous informer seemed no longer questionable, and the garrison was immediately prepared for defence, which the rebels, who lay concealed at the backs of the houses, did not expect: this fortunate preparation saved the garrison from surprise. This discomfiture of the rebels in their first attack, gave confidence and spirit to the army, and by several of the rebels was considered as ominous.

“ rebels in the most summary manner, according to martial law, does hereby give notice to all his majesty’s subjects, that he is determined to exert the powers entrusted to him in the most vigorous manner, for the immediate suppression of the same ; and that all persons acting in the present rebellion, or in any wise aiding or assisting therein, will be treated by him as rebels, and punished accordingly.”

“ And lieutenant general Lake hereby requires all the inhabitants of the city of Dublin (the great officers of state, members of the houses of parliament, privy counsellors, magistrates, and military persons, in uniform, excepted), to remain within their respective dwellings from nine o’clock at night till five in the morning, under pain of punishment.”

On the same morning also, for better securing the peace of the city, the lord mayor published the following proclamation :

“ THOMAS FLEMING.

“ WHEREAS the circumstances of the present crisis demand every possible precaution, these are therefore to desire all persons who have registered arms, forthwith to give in (in writing) an exact list or inventory of such arms at the town clerk’s office, who will file and enter the same in a book to be kept for that purpose ; and all persons who have not registered their arms, are hereby required forthwith to deliver up to me, or some other of the magistrates of this city, all arms and ammunition of every kind in their possession : And if, after this proclamation, any person having registered their arms shall be found not to have given in a true list or inventory of such arms ; or if any person who has not registered, shall be found to have in their power or possession any arms or ammunition whatever, such person or persons will, on such arms being discovered, be forthwith sent on board his majesty’s navy, as by law directed.

“ And I do hereby desire, that all housekeepers do place upon the outside of their doors a list of all persons in their respective houses, distinguishing such as are strangers from those who actually make part of their family : but as there may happen to be persons who, from pecuniary embarrassments, are obliged to conceal themselves, I do not require such names to be placed on the outside of the door, provided their names are sent to me. And I hereby call upon all his majesty’s subjects within the county of the city of Dublin immediately to comply with this regulation, as calculated for the public security ; as those persons who shall wilfully neglect a regulation so easy and salutary, as well as persons giving false statements of the inmates of their houses, must, in the present crisis, abide the consequences of such neglect.”

These measures of government so far appeased the turbulence of the insurgents, and tranquillized the metropolis, that the House of Commons met amidst the surrounding din of arms, and uninterruptedly went through the business of the day. Lord Castle-reagh presented to them a message from the lord lieutenant, that he thought it his indispensable duty, with the advice of the privy council, under the present circumstances of the kingdom, to issue a proclamation,* which he had ordered to be laid before the House of Commons, to whom he remarked, the time for speaking was now gone by, and that period at last come, when deeds and not words were to shew the dispositions of members of that house, and of every man who truly valued the constitution of the land, or wished to maintain the laws, and protect the lives and properties of his majesty's subjects. Every thing which courage, honour, fortune, could offer in the common cause, was now called for. The rebels had openly thrown off the mask, and avowed themselves in open arms; and notwithstanding their numbers and desperation, he found no reason to tremble for the issue of the contest, but expected that in a few days it would be decided; to their utter discomfiture and destruction.

Afterwards the chancellor of the exchequer rose and said, that the events which had so recently occurred had fully proved the

* The following is the form of that proclamation.

" By the lord lieutenant and council of Ireland—A proclamation.

" CAMDEN.

" HIS excellency the lord lieutenant, by and with the advice of the privy council, has issued orders to all the general officers, commanding his majesty's forces, to punish all persons acting, aiding, or in any manner assisting in the rebellion, which now exists, within this kingdom, and has broken out in the most daring and violent attacks upon his majesty's forces, according to martial law, either by death or otherwise, as to them shall seem expedient, for the punishment and suppression of all rebels in their several districts, of which all his majesty's subjects are hereby required to take notice.

" Given at the council chamber in Dublin, the 24th day of May, 1798.

" W. Armagh,	Ely,	J. Beresford,
" Clare, C	Dillon,	J. Parnell,
" Charles Cashell,	Perry,	H. Cavendish,
" W. Tuam,	O'Neill,	J. Blaquiére,
" Waterford,	Carleton,	H. Langrishe,
" Drogheda,	Castlereagh,	Theo. Jones,
" Ormond & Ossory,	H. Meath,	Jos. Cooper,
" Westmeath,	G. L. Kildare,	D. Latouche,
" Shannon,	Muskerry,	J. Monck Mason,
" Bellamont,	Glintworth,	Arthur Wolfe,
" Roden,	Rossmore,	Robert Ross,
" Altamont,	Tyrawley,	Isaac Corry,
" Glandore,	John Foster,	Lodge Morres.
" Farnham,		

" GOD save the KING."

measures taken by government were right, and fully justified the house in the support which it had already given with so much spirit and promptitude to his excellency on the occasion. He then moved the following resolution : " That an humble address " be presented to his excellency the lord lieutenant, to express " our cordial acknowledgment for the message sent this day by " his excellency to the house. We entirely approve the decisive " measure his excellency has taken by the advice of the privy " council, however we may lament its necessity. We renew our " engagement of support, we reflect on the general firmness and " vigour which are manifested, we feel the fullest assurance, that " the rebellion will be speedily crushed."

Colonel Maxwell rose to express his hearty assent to the address, and to second the motion. He sincerely gave credit to the government for the measures they had adopted through the whole of that business. He observed, the rebels were now in open arms against his majesty's forces, and against them the proclamation of that day was directed. The principal fomenters and leaders of the rebellion were in prison, and as the object of vesting confidentially an absolute authority in the executive, was for the purpose of crushing rebellion as speedily as possible, and insuring the security of the state, he would submit to the wisdom of the house, whether it would not be right and necessary, that military executions should have retrospect to those persons that were then confined, and that they should be disposed of as expeditiously as possible, in order that the rebels, who looked up to them as leaders, might no longer derive any encouragement from the expectation of rescuing them at a future day from their captivity.

Lord Castlereagh most earnestly besought gentlemen, that they would not suffer the zeal and warmth of their feelings on this occasion to run away with their good sense : that they would not proceed to that which would be unconstitutional indeed ; but above all, he conjured them not to press a measure upon his excellency, which must brand his administration with the imputation of cruelty, and sink it to the same degraded and sanguinary level with that government which sought to destroy the happiest constitution. For heaven's sake, let not gentlemen press a general and indiscriminating system of unnecessary vengeance, nor call upon his excellency to violate the great duty of the executive, that of administering justice in mercy. He most earnestly conjured them not to think of clogging the address by any such amendment as that suggested, nor in their laudable zeal for the repression of rebellion to close the door of mercy against the deluded inhabitants of Ireland, disposed to return to their allegiance,

and whom the state was anxious once more to embrace in its parental arms.

The question being put, was carried *nem. con.* and on the motion of lord Castlereagh, ordered to be presented as expeditiously as possible to his excellency, by such members as were of his majesty's privy council.

The house on the motion of lord Castlereagh adjourned to that day se'nnight.

The rigorous vigilance of government within the capital kept such of the conspirators from rising, who remained in the city for the purposes of internal insurrection: but the seizure of so many of their leaders prevented any concert or command, and consequently effect in their movements. The country was in the mean time beset in every direction for twenty or thirty miles around with different corps of this undisciplined and ferocious rabble, acting for the most part half armed, and without plan or command. They generally awaited the signal, which they expected, of the castle, the barracks, and the whole city of Dublin, being in their possession. It was a most melancholy proof of the progress of rebellion, that every person almost without distinction, in and about Dublin, whose situation in life put him in the occasion of retaining any number of men either as servants, artificers, workmen, or labourers, was suddenly left and abandoned by those persons attending their respective posts for the general rising. These are awful lessons of the powerful force of secret combinations, in a people linked together at first upon fair principles, cemented by a common cause of unquestionable grievance, at last goaded into revenge and despair by cruelty. The determined secrecy, and silence, and energy, and confidence, and boldness of some hundred thousands of every description, mostly in the lowest orders of society, fill the mind with the most alarming gloom, that the roots of such an inveterate hold of the passions may be still gaining strength in the ground, above which they have for a season ceased to send forth any shoots. Future prevention and remedy must be radical, if unfortunately again these evils should return. The pruning knife in lopping off a single twig gives germination to a little forest. This cautious reserve or malignant check upon the passions of a ferocious multitude, whilst it fills the mind with dread, loudly acquits the body of the base charge of systematic assassination. Had such been their design, the admission into families must have been their first object: and yet it is lamentably true, that scarcely was there a family of consequence throughout the nation, in which several sworn members of the union were not to be found. War having now been openly commenced by the rebels, government proceeded to the strongest measures of coercion. Although by no public official act

were the picquetings, stranglings, floggings, and torturings, to extort confessions, justified or sanctioned, yet it is universally known, that under the very eye of government, and with more than their tacit permission, were these outrages practised, in defiance of the constitution as admitted by all, in defiance of humanity and policy as maintained by most men. In mentioning the Irish government, it is not meant, that this system proceeded from its chief governor : it was boasted to have been extorted from him. And to this hour it is not only defended and justified, but panegyriized by the advocates and creatures of the infuriate drivers of that system of terrorism.

So far from there being any doubt of the existence of any such practices a short time previous to and during the rebellion, that sir Richard Musgrave has, in an additional appendix to his memoirs of the different rebellions in Ireland, given to the public his observations upon whipping and free quarters. He admits indeed, that whosoever considers it abstractedly, must of course condemn it as obviously repugnant to the letter of the law, the benign principles of our constitution, and those of justice and humanity ; but he was convinced, that such persons as dispassionately considered the existing circumstances, and the pressure of the occasion under which it was adopted, would readily admit them to be, if not an excuse, at least an ample extenuation of that practice. " Suppose," says he, " the fullest information could have been obtained of the guilt of every individual, it would have been impracticable to arrest and commit the multitude. Some men of discernment and fortitude perceived, that some new expedient must be adopted to prevent the subversion of government, and the destruction of society ; and whipping was resorted to.

" As to the violation of the forms of the law by this practice, it should be recollected, the law of nature, which suggested the necessity of it, supercedes all positive institutions, as it is imprinted on the heart of man for the preservation of his creatures, as it speaks strongly and instinctively, and as its end will be baffled by the slowness of deliberation.

" When the sword of civil war is drawn, the laws are silent. As to the violation of humanity, it should be recollected, that nothing could exceed the cruelty of this banditti ; that their object was the extirpation of the loyalists ; that of the whippers, the preservation of the community at large.

" This practice was never sanctioned by government, as they on the contrary, used their utmost exertions to prevent it ; and the evidence extorted from the person whipped never was used to convict any person, and was employed for no other reason but to discover concealed arms, and to defeat the deleterious

" schemes of the traitors. Free quarters was confined merely to the province of Leinster.

" When government were possessed of the evidence, that the inhabitants of a village or a town, who had taken the usual oaths to halt and deceive the magistrates, were possessed of concealed arms, and meditated an insurrection and massacre, they sent amongst them a certain number of troops, whom they were obliged to maintain by contributions levied on themselves. This took place a few days before the rebellion broke out.

" It has been universally allowed, that the military severities practised in the county of Kildare occasioned a premature explosion of the plot, which the directory intended to have deferred, till the French effected a landing; and one of them, Mr. Emmett, declared, in his evidence upon oath, before the secret committee of the lords, that, but for the salutary effects of those military severities, there would have been a very general and formidable insurrection in every part of the country."

This warm advocate for the torture has not with his usual minuteness favoured his reader with any instances of innocent persons having undergone this severe trial from wanton suspicion, personal revenge, or malevolent cruelty. Yet many such there were; as must necessarily be the case, where the very cast of a countenance that displeased a corporal or common yeoman sufficed to subject the unfortunate passenger to this military ordeal. No man can give credit to the assertion, that *government used their utmost exertions to prevent it*, who knows any thing of the state of Ireland at that disastrous period. In Beresford's Riding House, Sandy's Prevot, the Old Custom House, the Royal Exchange, some of the barracks, and other places in Dublin, there were daily, hourly notorious exhibitions of these torturings, as there also were in almost every town, village, or hamlet throughout the kingdom, in which troops were quartered.*

Many attacks were made by the rebels on the second day of the rebellion (the 24th of May), generally with ill success; the chief of which were those of Carlow, Hacketstown, and Monastereven. There were also several skirmishes near Rathfarnham, Tallagh, Lucan, Luske, Dunboyne, Barretstown, Collon, and Baltinglass. At Dunboyne and Barretstown the insurgents are allowed to have had the advantage. But in all the other rencontres, though greatly superior in numbers, they were easily defeated with incredible loss of their men.

* It is too large a credit to be allowed to this author's assertion, that *the evidence extorted from the person whipped never was used to convict any person*. If the security of the monarch be to be found in the affectionate hearts of his people, it is matter of important consideration how far these practices tended more to unite or separate the two kingdoms.

The non-arrival of the mail coach at the usual hour of eight o'clock in the morning at Carlow, was to be the signal for rising there and its vicinity. This town lies about forty miles south west of Dublin. Of the intended attack, the garrison was apprised by an intercepted letter, and from lieutenant Roe, of the North Cork militia, who had observed the peasants assembling in the vicinity late in the evening of the 24th of May. The garrison consisted in the whole of about four hundred and fifty men, commanded by colonel Mahon, of the ninth dragoons, and they were very judiciously posted for the reception of the assailants. A body, perhaps amounting to a thousand or fifteen hundred, having assembled before the house of sir Edward Crosbie, a mile and a half distant from Carlow, marched into the town at two o'clock in the morning on the 25th of May, in a very unguarded and tumultuary manner, shouting as they rushed into Tullow-street, with vain confidence, that the town was their own, they received so destructive a fire from the garrison, that they recoiled and endeavoured to retreat; but finding their flight intercepted, numbers took refuge in the houses, which were immediately fired by the soldiery. About eighty houses with some hundred men were consumed in this conflagration. As about half this column of assailants had arrived within the town, and few escaped from that situation, their loss can hardly be estimated at less than four hundred; while not a man was even wounded on the side of the loyalists.

After the defeat, executions commenced here, as they did elsewhere in this calamitous period, and about two hundred in a short time were hanged or shot, according to martial law. Among the earliest victims was sir Edward Crosbie, before whose house the rebel column had assembled, but who certainly had not accompanied them in their march; he was condemned and shot as an United Irishman; his friends affirm, with apparent truth, that he fell a sacrifice to the confusion, which necessarily attends a trial by military law, in the rage of a rebellion, and that his innocence would have been manifested, if certain circumstances had been made public, which were suppressed from delicacy to administration, then supposed to be dangerously situated.* It

* Sometimes apparently trifling incidents disclose points of the highest importance to the state. Mr. Elliot, going from Carlow, after the repulse of the rebels, to visit his house, three miles from the town, saw a group of peasants, his neighbours, assembled in the road at the end of his avenue, whom he supposed to have met for the mutual inquiries about the news. He was advancing without apprehension of danger, when observing two guns levelled at him, he galloped off, and fortunately escaped both shots. Hearing a shout from them, with a declaration that he might come to them with confidence of safety, he returned, and called to them to meet him without arms. Finding that they declined this proof of pacific intention, he again galloped away,

is reported, that sir Edward Crosbie had no further connexion with the rebels, than that they exercised on a lawn before the house, which of course sir Edward could not prevent.

In the attack upon Slane, a mere handful of troops about seventeen yeomen and forty of the Armagh militia, although surprised in the houses on which they were billeted, fought their way separately to their rallying post, and then made so vigorous a stand, that some hundreds of the rebels were with considerable slaughter repulsed, and put to a most dastardly flight. Several of the assailants of this small town appeared dressed in the uniforms of the Cork militia and Ancient Britons; which appearance, in this and several other instances, proved a fatal deceit to the king's troops. They were the spoils taken at Prosperous; at which place the success of the rebels, amongst other causes, was owing to their having been headed or led on to the attack by an officer; as their defeats in most other places, with immense superiority of numbers, were to be attributed to the want of some intelligent person to control and direct them. Their discomfitures in general were not the effect of fear or cowardice, but of want of discipline and organization. The unfortunate dr. Esmond, a Roman Catholic gentleman of good family, independent fortune, and uncommon accomplishments, had drank so deeply of the intoxicating poison of this rebellious union, that in him it had extinguished all religious and moral rectitude, so that to the high crime of treason he superadded the turpitude of the rankest duplicity and deceit. He was lieutenant of the Clane cavalry commanded by captain Griffiths, and on the 23d of May spent some hours over the bottle with captain Swayne of the North Cork militia, who commanded at Prosperous. They parted but a very short time before Esmond set out for his traitorous attack upon Prosperous: he had seduced several of the corps to attend him on that fatal occasion.

After the repulse of the rebels at Clane, captain Griffiths had orders to march with his corps to Naas; but at the moment before he set out he received from one of his corps (named Mite), who had been missing the preceding night, a letter informing him of the conduct of Esmond, who, he said, had commanded at the attack of Prosperous; and that he (Mite) had accompanied him to the entrance of that town, and then made his escape.

and escaped some more shots. When he returned soon after with a body of yeomanry, the peasants, expecting no mercy, fled to places of concealment; but perceiving that, quite contrary to their expectations, their cabins were not burned, nor any severe punishment intended, they returned to their occupations, and remained perfectly quiet. A contrary conduct in this gentleman would have sent those and others to augment the rebel forces.

He had scarcely received the letter when Esmond appeared and joined the troop, with his hair dressed, his boots and breeches quite clean, and fully accoutred. The captain prudently suppressed his indignant emotions till he arrived at Naas.

As the rebellion may be properly said to have broken out at Naas, it will be proper to be more particular in the detail of that transaction, than of others, in order to put the reader into the fair possession of the spirit, principles, and conduct, upon which the rebellion was begun and resisted, and how far they effected the progress of that dreadful warfare. It is to be presumed, as the rebels were uniform in their mode of attack on this first day, that the horrid plan had been long preconcerted by those who at a distance from the place of execution had issued their inhuman mandates to imbrue their country in blood and slaughter. The chief part of the inhabitants of Naas were strongly disaffected, or the intended attack would have been otherwise communicated to lord Gosford, who commanded three hundred of the Armagh militia in the town, than by the anonymous letters before mentioned. For numerous rebels were concealed during the greater part of the day in houses and gardens of the town; so that on the first onset the streets were suddenly filled by their rushing out of the front doors of the houses, in or behind which they had lain concealed. The alarm was given by a violent and barbarous shout, that the town was their own. Several shots were instantly fired into the apartments of lord Gosford, before any thing else was attempted. It was afterwards acknowledged by prisoners, and it appeared by several written orders found in the pockets of the slain and wounded, that their orders were to put to death without quarter every officer, regular lists of whom were written upon these papers; then to disarm such of the soldiery as would not instantly join them, and reserve them for further deliberation, presuming it is to be imagined, that their expected success and cooler reflection would bring them over to their cause. The savage attempt to carry these sanguinary orders into execution, although it providentially failed at Naas, too fatally succeeded at Prosperous and elsewhere, from want of timely information of the intent of the rebels. In the general confusion, government had neglected to send to the different posts (for they knew of each intended attack): this omission was the cause of much blood having been spilled on the fatal night of the 23d of May, and tended to render the contest more ferocious and cruel on both sides. Not only was quarter refused to all rebels, who had arms in their hands, but many others were put to death, who had given no symptoms of disaffection; and after the heat of battle others were coolly executed without any form

of trial whatever.* To the thinking mind it becomes a matter of most awful alarm, that such sanguinary plans should have been so long kept secret by such numbers of a promiscuous multitude, and that so few efficient means were taken to eradicate and extinguish that determined spirit of disaffection, secrecy, and conspiracy, with which there is but too fatal evidence, they were once possessed. The incorporate union of the two countries affords the ready and sure means: but the non-application of them may be irretrievably fatal to the British empire.

On the very day, on which the unfortunate Esmond was disgracing the cause of his king, country, and religion, the chief of

* The truth of this appears from the case of dr. Esmond, who escaped in this instance, and that of Walsh and others, who fell victims to these deliberate military executions. Lord Gosford, upon the representations of captain Griffith, who till the 24th of May, 1798, had been most grossly deceived by dr. Esmond's insidious conduct and false appearances of loyalty, confirmed by written and oral evidence of his having headed the fatal attack on Prosperous, ordered him under arrest; whether some time after his lordship went with Mr. Burgh, who resided within a quarter of a mile of Naas, and was like most of his neighbours in habits of intimacy and friendship with dr. Esmond, whose private character was eminently engaging, to question him as to the charges laid against him. Upon their arrival, dr. Esmond accosted Mr. Burgh with great affability, and for some minutes observed a disdainful reserve towards lord Gosford. He then rather sternly interrogated his lordship, by what authority he had confined him. The answer was, that having received such serious charges from so respectable a quarter, as the commanding officer then at Naas, he was called upon by his duty to act as he had done: at which dr. Esmond, snapping his fingers, replied with affected indifference, that if any one respectable man of the county could support the charge, he was ready at that hour to mount the scaffold. The arrival in the mean time of generals Dundas and Wilford with the forces under their command, disembarassed lord Gosford of any further responsibility. General Dundas made some inquiries about dr. Esmond of some officers and gentlemen of the country, and upon the strength of their opinions had instantly given orders for his execution within half an hour. Fifty men and an officer were actually under these orders at the door of the apartment where he was confined, when lord Gosford, and Mr. Burgh were with him. Lord Gosford, who though he had found it his duty to put dr. Esmond under arrest, never conceived the idea of his being executed without a trial, undertook to take with him to general Dundas the officer (by name Robinson) who had received the order to see to the execution of dr. Esmond. His lordship submitted to the general the propriety of not proceeding to those lengths without putting the prisoner on his trial: that it would otherwise be direct murder: to which the general readily assented, but feared it was too late, and that his first hasty commands had been obeyed. Upon assurance to the contrary, they were instantly countermanded, and dr. Esmond was sent up to Dublin under an escort in lord Gosford's carriage, where under a fair trial he met the fate, which his aggravated guilt deserved. On the next morning, upon lord Gosford's attending general Dundas for orders, he was asked whether the persons, who were then hanging in the sight of the general's window, had been executed by his lordship's orders. Lord Gosford observed, that his command having ceased upon the arrival of the general, he had given no order, and knew nothing about the execution. General Dundas observed, that it had been very regularly and coolly done, for he had with his glass been watching the whole progress. No further notice was taken of the affair.

the Catholics in and about Dublin,* were exerting their utmost endeavours to assert the unshaken loyalty of themselves and the respectable part of their body, against the malevolent attempts of their enemies to affix the guilt of rebellion upon the whole Catholic body, and to render the present disastrous contest the more bloody and ferocious by throwing in the deadly venom of religious acrimony.

In the raging violence of open hostilities between a powerful army and an incensed, licentious, and vindictive populace, without discipline or command, many of them unprovided with arms, and more unaccustomed to use them, it was to be expected, that every latent spark of diffidence, animosity, or hatred, should mutually be blown into a flame, and rendered as malevolently active against the adverse party as the vindictive ingenuity of depraved ferocity could devise. The original founders, the chief promoters and conductors of the rebellious union were all Protestants, (except Esmond, M'Nevin, and some few others) but the great mass of the unfortunate and wretched peasants, who had been seduced or goaded into insurgency, undoubtedly were mostly Roman Catholics. There were some corps of Catholic yeomanry, as lord Fingal's; there were several Catholics in some of the Protestant corps of yeomen; most of the Irish militia-men were Catholic, but the rest of the army were to a man Protestant. Unfortunately the virulency of the contest was sharpened by the infusion of all the embittered rancour and opprobrium respectively attached to the terms *Papist* and *Heretic*. These antiquated flambeaux of religious bigotry were lighted up anew by both parties, and used by them mutually as the most destructive weapons of their warfare. Without alluding to any justification or even palliation for treason, it falls to the duty of the faithful annalist to detail the real causes of that irritation, which on either side led to cruelties and outrages, which no circumstances whatever could countenance or attenuate. No nation feels more keenly and resents more highly than the Irish the sufferings and oppressions of their ancestors: none so personally make a common cause with them; because none hold them in so much respect and veneration. Their own sufferings under the penal code for a length of

* On the 24th of May, the following notice was given in the Dublin Journal and other papers. "*Roman Catholics*. An address to the lord lieutenant, intended to be immediately presented, and containing a declaration of political principles applicable to the circumstances of the present moment, lies, for signature, at Fitzpatrick's, bookseller, Ormond quay; at the earl of Fingal's, Great George's-street, Rutland-square; lord viscount Kenmare's, Great George's-street; Malachy Donelan's, esq. Mountjoy's square; and counsel-lor Bellow's, No. 6, Upper Gardiner's-street, Mountjoy's-square. All signatures must be given in on or before Saturday next."

Two addresses to the lord lieutenant from the Roman Catholics, are to be seen in Appendix, No. CX.

time, and the recent provocations which they had received from the picquetings, whippings, half hangings, burnings, ravishings, and free quarters of the army, all operated to inflame the Irish against those, whom they in their native language called Sasanagh, which* meant indifferently English or Protestants, and to which idea it was lamentably true, that recent circumstances prompted them to annex the most odious and sanguinary epithets. On the other hand every fiction, exaggeration, and obloquy of Popish superstition, Popish massacre, and Popish cruelty, perfidy, and inhumanity were eagerly collected, improved upon, and circulated through the ranks to deaden humanity and irritate the ferocity of the troops.

The misfortune of civil war and rebellion is, that whilst the loyalists commanded the superiority, they are too apt to follow up the rigour of the law, with more atrocity, than considerateness. It follows not, that because the law may justify the killing of a traitor with arms in his hands, that it is wise to carry on a war *ad internecionem* without quarter. Retaliation in such cases must be expected: and nothing so effectually blunts the edge of cruelty as retaliation. It is a truth beyond question, that the military executions which generally took place immediately after these engagements greatly irritated, and necessarily therefore increased the ferocity of the rebels. The bulletins, which daily announced the engagements with the rebels, seldom, if ever, represented the true numbers of the forces, or of the slain. These misrepresentations might have been well intended to inspire the loyalists with confidence in themselves and a contempt of the enemy. It is a serious evil, when the people becomes convinced of the insincerity of government. On the 25th of May, a letter from general Dundas to lord Castlereagh was published, in which it was asserted, that in an attack made upon a very large body of the re-

* The answer of doctor M'Nevin to the archbishop of Cashel in the secret committee of the lords, elucidates and confirms this statement. *Mem.* p. 71.

"*Archbishop of Cashel.* Can you account for the massacres committed upon the Protestants by the Papists in the county of Wexford?

"*M'Nevin.* My lord, I am far from being the apologist of massacres, however provoked: but if I am rightly informed as to the conduct of the magistrates of that county, the massacres you allude to were acts of retaliation upon enemies, much more than fanaticism: moreover, my lord, it has been the misfortune of this country, scarcely ever to have known the English natives or settlers, otherwise than enemies; and in his language the Irish peasant has but one name for Protestant and Englishman, and confounds them; he calls both by the name of Sasanagh; his conversation therefore is less against a religionist than against a foe, his prejudice is the effect of the ignorance he is kept in, and the treatment he receives; how can we be surprised at it, when so much pains are taken to brutalize him?

"*Lord Chancellor.* I agree with dr. M'Nevin; the Irish peasant considers the two words as synonymous, he calls Protestant and Englishman, indifferently, Sasanagh."

rebels near Kilcullen bridge, 130 of the rebels were slain, and not one of his majesty's troops was either killed or wounded. A like account was published from Hacketstown, received at the castle from the reverend James M'Ghee on the same day. In consequence of an information, that a large body of rebels were marching to attack the town, lieutenant Gardiner, with men under his command, and a party of yeomanry commanded by captain Hardy, went out to meet them. Having reconnoitred their force, which amounted to between three and four hundred, they took post on the hill under the church, and when the rebels came tolerably near, the officers and men made a feint, and retreated into the barracks. The rebels seeing this, came on with a great shout, imagining the day to be their own. In a few minutes captain Hume came up with about thirty of his troop, and instantly charged them, on which the rebels retreated. A general pursuit took place, and so complete was the rout, that above three hundred of the miscreants then lay dead on the field of battle. And not a man (Mr. Gardiner excepted, and one soldier who received a contusion in his arm) was in the least injured.

Wherever any rebels appeared in arms, an immediate attack and general pursuit usually ensued: in which none was spared. The armed rebels generally escaped, and the slaughter fell on the disarmed multitude, who fled from fear and consternation. On the 26th of May, some blood was really spilled in the field of battle. A body of about 4000 rebels which had taken post on the hill of Tarah in the county of Meath, was attacked by about 400 loyalists and completely routed, with the slaughter of three hundred and fifty of their men,* who according to the government account were found dead on the field of battle, together with their leader, in his uniform; but only with the loss of nine killed and sixteen wounded of the victorious party, which was composed of three companies of the regiment of Reay fencibles; lord Fingal's troop of yeoman cavalry; those of captain Preston and Lower Kells: and captain Molloy's company of yeoman infantry. The

* Musg. p. 297. This author also reports, that the king's troops would have remained on the field all night, "but that they had not a single cartridge left, either for the gun or the small arms." [The inference is then a most incredible panic in the rebels to flee from such inferiority of numbers, being ten to one, when the fire upon them had wholly ceased: to abandon their arms which could not have much encumbered a flight, made without pursuit, and to leave behind them their horses, which must have aided their escape, as it was frequent for two or three rebels to mount one horse for the sake of celerity. The same author informs us also, that the rebels "made three desperate onsets, and in the last laid hold of the cannon." These accounts will be marvellous to posterity, when ocular evidence will exist no more. Either the rebels had no ammunition, or the king's troops were not, according to this author, prevented from the want of it from keeping the field.]

army is also reported to have taken 300 horses, and all the ammunition, arms, provisions, and baggage of the rebels, together with eight of the Reay fencibles whom they had taken prisoners. This defeat of the rebels at Tarah disconcerted their design of falling upon Trim and Naas, and laying open the communication of the metropolis with the northern parts of the kingdom, as other successful movements produced the like effect in the west.

On the 26th of the month, in order to prevent a rising within the city, the lord mayor of Dublin published in the newspapers and handbills the following notice.

" A CAUTION

" Lest the innocent should suffer for the guilty.

" The lord mayor requests his fellow citizens to keep within their houses as much as possible they can, suitable to their convenience, after sun-set, in this time of peril, as the streets should be kept as clear as possible, should any tumult or rising to support rebellion be attempted, in order that the troops and artillery may act with full effect in case of any disturbance."

And the lord lieutenant in an official letter to the duke of Portland on the same day, assured his grace, that the city of Dublin had been perfectly tranquil, owing to the precautions which had been taken. It was impossible to describe, in terms sufficiently strong, the indefatigable zeal, patience, and spirit of the yeomanry corps. Too much praise could not be given to his majesty's regular and militia forces; and the latter had had opportunities of evincing their steadiness, discipline, and bravery, which must give the highest satisfaction to his majesty, and inspire the best grounded confidence in their exertion, should they have a more formidable enemy to contend with.

The same letter also stated, that a party of the rebels, to the amount of several hundred, were attacked by a part of the Antrim militia, a small party of cavalry, and captain Stafford's yeomanry; and that being driven into the town of Baltinglas, they lost about 150 men. And that on the same morning an account had been received from major Hardy, that the day before a body of three or four thousand had collected near Dunlavin, where they were entirely defeated, with the loss of five hundred men, by lieutenant Gardiner, at the head of a detachment of Antrim militia, and captain Hardy's and captain Hume's yeomanry. That lieutenant general Craig had left Dublin, in the hopes of meeting the body of rebels which had collected near Dunboyne, and parties were sent in different directions to surround them. They, however, fled in the night, on hearing the approach of the troops. That the general came up, with a party consisting of about 500, some of whom were put to the sword. And that by accounts from the north, it appeared that the province of Ulster was quiet.

So beset were all the roads and communications to and with the metropolis by the rebels, that it had the appearance of a besieged city. The mail coaches had ceased to run, and nothing could move with safety on the road without a strong military escort.* It would be painful to the reader to wade through the particular instances of outrage and barbarity committed during this rebellion, both by the soldiery and the insurgents, in burning, plundering, maiming, torturing, ravishing, and murdering. These barbarities were practised reciprocally: and it is allowed by the best informed and most impartial persons, that infinitely more cold blood was shed, more property destroyed, more houses burned, and more women abused† by the troops, than by the insurgents: and it must be noted, that whatever gloss, palliation, or justification we may derive from the law to throw over the conduct of the military, that same law would work but faintly upon the passions of a lawless multitude in open rebellion, toward the prevention of retaliation. *Inter arma silent leges.*

Discouraged by defeats, some of the rebels began to wish for leave to retire in safety to their houses, and resume their peaceful occupations. Of this a remarkable instance occurred on the 28th, and another on the 31st of May; lieutenant general Dundas, who had, in the afternoon of the 24th, defeated a rebel force near Kilcullen, and relieved that little town, received on the 28th, at his quarters at Naas, by Thomas Kelly, esq. a magistrate, a message from a rebel chief named Perkins, who was then at the

* The author of the memoirs (Musg. 288) gives us here also some more incredible instances of the extreme stupidity and cowardice of the insurgents: who having been informed of the intention of sending four waggons of ammunition to Naas, which were escorted by 24 men of the merchants corps, permitted them to proceed, although there were 1400 rebels in the woods ready to cut them off.

† As to this species of outrage, which rests not in proof, it is universally allowed to have been exclusively on the side of the military: it produced an indignant horror in the country, which went beyond, but prevented retaliation. It is a characteristic mark of the Irish nation, neither to forget nor forgive an insult or injury done to the honour of their female relatives. It has been boasted of by officers of rank, that within certain large districts a woman had not been left undefiled: and upon observation in answer, that the sex must then have been very complying, the reply was, that the bayonet removed all squeamishness. A lady of fashion, having in conversation been questioned as to this difference of conduct towards the sex, in the military and the rebels, attributed it in disgust to a want of gallantry in the croppies. By these general remarks, it is not meant to verify or justify the saying of a field officer, or a lady of quality, both of whom could be named: but merely to shew the prevalence of the general feelings and prepossessions at that time upon the horrid subjects: and consequently what effects must naturally have flowed from them. In all matters of irritation and revenge, it is the conviction that the injury exists which produces the bad effect. Even sir Richard Musgrave admits, (p. 429) that "on most occasions they did not offer any violence to the tender sex."

head of about 2000 men, posted on an eminence called Knockawlwin-hill, on the borders of the Curragh of Kildare, a beautiful plain, used as a race-course, twenty-two miles south-westward of the metropolis. The purport of this message was, that Perkins' men should surrender their arms, on condition of their being permitted to return unmolested to their habitations, and of the liberation of Perkins's brother from the gaol of Naas. The general having sent a messenger for advice to Dublin castle, and received permission, assented to the terms, and approaching the post of Knockawlwin on the 31st, received the personal surrender of Perkins, and a few of his associates, the rest dispersing homeward in all directions with shouts of joy, and leaving thirteen cart loads of pikes behind.

This disposition to surrender, which good policy would have encouraged among the insurgents, was blasted three days after by military ardour, which, when it eludes the salutary restraints of discipline, and is exerted against an unresisting object, ceases to be laudable. Major general sir James Duffe, who had made a rapid march from Limerick with 600 men, to open the communication of the metropolis with that quarter, received intelligence that a large body of men, assembled at a place called Gibbet-rath, on the Curragh, for the purpose of surrender, to which they had been admitted by general Dundas. Unfortunately, as the troops advanced near the insurgents to receive their surrendered weapons, one of the latter foolishly swearing that he would not deliver his gun otherwise than empty, discharged it with the muzzle upwards. The soldiers instantly considering this as an act of hostility, fired on the unresisting multitude, who fled with the utmost precipitation, and were pursued with slaughter by a company of fencible cavalry, denominated lord Jocelyn's fox hunters. Above two hundred of the insurgents fell upon this occasion; and a far greater number would have shared their fate, if a retreat had not been sounded with all possible despatch, agreeably to the instructions of general Dundas, who had sent an express from his quarters at Kilcullen to prevent such an accident. In the public prints, this body of insurgents is asserted to have assembled for the purpose of battle, and to have actually fired on the troops; but the truth ought to be related without respect of persons or party. The affair is well known to have been otherwise, and the rebels were crowded in a place neither fit for defence nor escape, a wide plain, without hedge, ditch, or bog, quite contrary to their constantly practised modes of warfare.

This eagerness of the soldiery for the slaughter of unresisting rebels, was often fatal to the loyalists; for frequently some of the latter were prisoners with the former; and being bound among

them by the troops, were not always distinguished from them. A remarkable instance, in the march of this army, was on the point of having taken place in the melancholy catalogue which might be authentically formed. A Protestant clergyman of an amiable character, Mr. Williamson, of Kildare, who had fallen into the hands of the insurgents, and been saved from slaughter by the humanity of a Roman Catholic priest, was, as having been spared by the rebels, deemed a rebel by the soldiery, who were proceeding instantly to hang him, when they were in a critical moment prevented, by the interference of his brother-in-law, colonel Sankey.*

All measures during such an infuriate contest, whether in the field or in the cabinet, will ever partake of the violence with which it is carried forward. The misrepresentation† of this

* The foregoing impartial account is taken from the rev. James Gordon's History of the Rebellion, p. 101: and melancholy is it to observe how widely it differs from the official account published by government of that affair.

" DUBLIN CASTLE, May 29, 1798, half past Nine, P. M.

" Extract of a letter from major general sir JAMES DUFF, to lieutenant general LAKE, dated Monastereven.

" I MARCHED from Limerick on Sunday morning with sixty dragoons, Dublin militia, three field pieces, and two curricule guns, to open the communication with Dublin, which I judged of the utmost importance to government. By means of cars for the infantry, I reached this place in 48 hours. I am now, at seven o'clock, this morning (Tuesday) marching to surround the town of Kildare, the head quarters of the rebels, with seven pieces of artillery, 150 dragoons, and 350 infantry, determined to make a dreadful example of the rebels. I have left the whole country behind me perfectly quiet, and well protected by means of the troops and yeomanry corps.

" I hope to be able to forward this to you by the mail coach, which I will escort to Naas. I am sufficiently strong. You may depend on my prudence and success. My guns are well manned, and all the troops in high spirits. The cruelties the rebels have committed on some of the officers and men, have exasperated them to a great degree. Of my future operations, I will endeavour to inform you."

" P. S. Two o'clock, P. M. Kildare.

" WE found the rebels retiring from the town on our arrival, armed; we followed them with the dragoons. I sent on some of the yeomen to tell them, on laying down their arms, they should not be hurt. Unfortunately, some of them fired on the troops; from that moment they were attacked on all sides—nothing could stop the rage of the troops. I believe from two to three hundred of the rebels were killed. We have three men killed, and several wounded. I am too much fatigued to enlarge."

† It is far from the author's intentions, and still further from his wishes, to enter into a scrutiny of the truth of all the facts related by cotemporary annalists. He feels it his duty to notice the falsity of some, and to submit in return to his reader the best evidence that he has been able to procure for other facts, which are material to develop the truth, and to render historical justice to the Irish nation. With this view he submits to the reader a letter written by an eye witness of the affair at Naas on the 24th, by a clergyman of respectability and credit, to his bishop, from whose hand writing the following copy is taken.

slaughter of the rebels, after they had surrendered, and had been received into protection by general Dundas, was deeply lamented by many considerate and loyal subjects, as a great discouragement to such surrender in future. Even the well-intended propaga-

" NAAS, June 25, 1801.

" MY LORD,

" I HAVE remarked, in the account which sir Richard Musgrave has given in his book on the late rebellion, that he has in the article regarding Naas, made very great mis-statements. He says, there was a captain Davis wounded, &c. not one word regarding that fact is true. There was no captain Davis in the garrison at that time. Captain Davis came in a short time after, and is yet alive. All the officers then in the garrison of Naas know this to be the fact. Sir Richard also states, that two hundred rebels were killed in the attack on Naas. The officers then alluded to can give testimony, as they were witnesses that more than nine or ten rebels did not fall on the occasion; but in the course of three or four hours after, fifty-seven of a croud in the street were killed. Many of these were shot when escaping from their huts, which were set on fire: others were taken out of their houses, from off their gardens, and brought to the ship, as the expression was, and hanged in the street. I know two men, Costelloe and Card, son and son-in-law of William Costelloe, who lives near Cruddostown, on the Ballimore road, who were called out of the field when they were at work, by a horseman, who getting ill on the road, was not able to go forward with his party to Ballimore. They relying on their innocence, and thinking they were only going to gaol, walked on quietly with this single dragoon. When they were brought to the inn at Naas, they were instantly conducted across the street to the ship, and hanged. The same day a young man of the name of Walsh, was brought into Naas, who was said by a female to be the person who shot captain Swayne, in the action at Prosperous. It is now well known that he was not within sixteen miles of Prosperous when the action took place there: nevertheless, he was taken without any form of trial to the ship, and there hanged, dragged naked through the street to the lower end of the town, and there set fire to; and when half burned, his body opened, his heart taken out and put on the point of a wattle, which was instantly placed on the top of a house, where it remained until taken down by one of the military, who marched into town about nine weeks after. When the body had been almost consumed, a large piece of it was brought into the next house where the mistress of it, Mrs. Nowland, was obliged to furnish a knife, fork and plate, and an old woman of the name of Daniel was obliged to bring them salt. These two women heard them say, 'that Paddy ate sweet,' and confirmed with a 'd—n their eyes.' These women are living, and worthy of credit, being judged honest and respectable in their line and situation of life. Another fact mis-stated, or rather falsely asserted by sir Richard: he says, there was one Cullen charged with firing three shots at a yeoman; and that a person called Kennedy, who was to prosecute said Cullen, was seen speaking to a priest by Mr. Kemmis the crown solicitor, through the bar of the gaol; and that in consequence of this conversation, said Kennedy denied what he had said before regarding Cullen. A more hardy falsehood than this could not be asserted. Mr. Kemmis, whose character entitles him to credit, will, I dare say, if asked, declare that not one word of the assertion, so far as it regards him, Kennedy, or the priest, is true. Neither is it possible it could be true, as no one of the name of Kennedy was in gaol to prosecute Cullen. The only prosecutor was serjeant James Talland, who said, that Cullen charged and fired three shots at him. But when asked by counsel, why he did not fire at Cullen whilst he, (Cullen) was charging and firing three shots at him, he answered, that Cullen was in

tion of notorious falsehood, under the sanction of authority must necessarily ulcerate those whom that same authority prevents from publishing the reality in justification. The Irish press had been for some time under that imperious control, that no printer dared to publish any thing not perfectly agreeable to the high powers. In fact, the licentiousness of the press had effectually destroyed its liberty; as every excess produces its opposite extreme.

The rebellion, notwithstanding the many and severe defeats of the insurgents, spread itself in all directions, and particularly to the south. Almost the whole of the county of Kildare was in open rebellion. Hitherto, notwithstanding the malevolent attempts of too many persons in high situations to identify the terms rebel and papist, it had not yet become absolutely a war of religious difference. Almost all the chiefs and leaders of the rebels were Protestants, though the greater part of the individuals concerned in it were Catholics, that being the religion of the lower orders of the people. The great and prevailing distinction, which was acted upon, was that of Orangemen and United Irishmen: the external emblems of which were orange and green cockades.* Throughout the rebellion, and ever since, it has

" a sand pit. The court, not satisfied with this answer, further asked the prosecutor, whether the same view which enabled him to see Cullen charge and discharge several shots, did not allow him also an opportunity to fire at least one shot at Cullen. It is perhaps to the unsatisfactory manner in which the prosecutor answered this question, that Cullen partly owes his life. This, when it could not be proved that Cullen was a yeoman, excited additional zeal in his counsel, who petitioned the court to save a point of law. The court humanely extended the royal clemency, under the amnesty act, with reference to the twelve judges. Cullen was brought forward at the following assize and acquitted. Thus the crown solicitor, Mr. Kemmis, Cullen's advocate, counsellors Charles Ball and R. Espinasse, baron Smith, his judge, the grand and petty juries of successive assizes at Naas, and others, bear testimony that Cullen's life was saved in this manner, and not by the pretended solicitation or interference of any priest.

" NAAS, June 25, 1801.

Signed DUNNE, R. P.

" Rev. Doctor TROY, Dublin."

* Thus at Enniscorthy on the 28th of May, so fluctuating for some was the success of the day, that to avoid the fury of each prevailing party in turn, persons alternately hoisted the orange and the green ribbon. (Gordon 96). Credit cannot be given to the numberless assertions of sir Richard Musgrave, that the rebels spared Catholics houses, property, and persons, and confined their outrages to Protestants. On the contrary, they were furious against some Catholic clergymen, who strongly opposed their principles and reprobated their conduct: they termed them orange priests. It is not true, as sir R. Musgrave states, (p. 315) that "all the Protestant houses from Baltinglass to Hackestown, Rathdrum and Blessington were burned; but that the property of a Roman Catholic did not receive the smallest injury in that extensive tract." The property of Protestants and Catholics was plundered indiscriminately by the rebels. They took away all the sheep of the rev. Mr. Devoy, Popish priest of Ballymore Eustace, and bullocks and sheep to a large

been unwise policy to resort to falsehood, in exaggerating the numbers of the rebels, in sinking those of the loyalists, in blackening the atrocities of the former, in softening those of the latter. If however any state reason could have been supposed to exist by the most alarmed, agitated, and impassioned loyalist, for thus resorting to fiction, falsity, or misrepresentation, that time is gone by, and it is necessary, that the light of truth, like the meridian sun, should shine equally upon Ireland, as upon the rest of the globe.

It has been observed, that whilst rebellion raged about the metropolis and to the southward, the north, which had heretofore been considered the hot-bed of disaffection and treason, was perfectly quiet: there both Dissenters and Catholics were prominent in conveying to government the strongest sentiments of loyalty and zeal for preserving the constitution against external and internal foes.* The ill success of the rebels in most rencontres had partly opened the communication with the capital, which in the first days of the rebellion had been kept in a species of blockade. But insurrection burst out in a part† where it was least expected, and was growing into so formidable a force, as to occasion the most serious alarms for the safety of government. The county of Wexford had been but recently and but partially organized, and many of its Roman Catholic inhabitants had addressed the lord lieutenant through the medium of the earl of Mountnorris, protesting their loyalty, and pledging themselves to arm, if permitted, in defence of government, whenever there should be occasion. Not above six hundred men, at most, of the regular army or militia were stationed in the county, the defence of which was almost abandoned to the troops of yeomen and their supplementaries, while the magistrates in the several districts were employed in ordering the seizure, imprisonment, and whipping of suspected persons: these yeomen, being Protestants, and mostly Orangemen, acted with a spirit ill fitted to allay religious hatred, or to prevent a proneness to rebel. To excite so violent an irritation by floggings, imprisonments, and a variety of insults, with-

amount from the rev. Richard Doyle of Welfield, which he claimed and received compensation for from the commissioners of suffering loyalists. The rebels burnt all Hacketstown (except that station defended by the military) and a great part of it was inhabited by the Catholics. Mr. Cullen, a respectable old gentleman of that town and a Roman Catholic, recovered compensation for his house and property destroyed on that occasion by the rebels. The rebels plundered and seized all property indiscriminately for support of their camp at Blackamore hill. Many other Catholics in different parts of the kingdom suffered, and received compensation from the commissioners.

* Amongst many such addresses a sample is given of both in the Appendix, No. CXI.

† Gordon, p. 86.

out sufficient means to enforce obedience, appears to have been an unfortunate mistake, as was also that of the institution of yeomen cavalry instead of infantry.

Whether any insurrection would in the then existing state of the kingdom have taken place in the county of Wexford, or, in case of its eruption, how much less formidable and sanguinary it would have been, if no acts of severity had been committed by the soldiery, the yeomen, or their supplementary associates, though without the direct authority of their superiors, or command of the magistrates, is a question which no man can positively answer. In the neighbourhood of Gorey,* the terror of the whippings was in particular so great, that the people would have been extremely glad to renounce for ever all notions of opposition to government, if they could have been assured of permission to remain in a state of quietness.

The insurrection in the counties of Wicklow and Wexford assumed an appearance unusually ferocious. In the county of Wexford there had long subsisted a rivalry bordering on rancour, between the Protestants and Catholics. The public peace in that country had notwithstanding often been interrupted by those

* The reverend author here, with manly and honourable candor, gives an instance of the violent effect which this system of terrorism produced under his own eye. The physical effects of extreme fear and horror are often different, always violent. (*Gordon*, p. 88.) "As an instance of this terror I shall relate the following fact. On the morning of the 23d of May, a labouring man, named Dennis M'Daniel, came to my house, with looks of the utmost consternation and dismay, and confessed to me that he had taken the United Irishmen's oath, and had paid for a pike, with which he had not yet been furnished, nineteen-pence halfpenny, to one Kilty, a smith, who had administered the oath to him and many others. While I sent my eldest son, who was a lieutenant of yeomanry, to arrest Kilty, I exhorted M'Daniel to surrender himself to a magistrate, and make his confession, but this he positively refused, saying, that he should in that case be lashed to make him produce a pike which he had not, and to confess what he knew not. I then advised him, as the only alternative, to remain quietly at home, promising, that if he should be arrested on the information of others, I would represent his case to the magistrates. He took my advice, but the fear of arrest and lashing had so taken possession of his thoughts, that he could neither eat nor sleep, and on the morning of the 25th he fell on his face and expired in a little grove near my house." The same author (2d edition, p. 105) adds in a note, "That some magistrates of the county of Wexford, affirm, that not more than one man was flogged in all the county before the insurrection. I wish these gentlemen would publish their affirmation or negation in print. They must admit that several were flogged in the town of Gorey alone. Of these I knew three: Anthony Bolger, Michael Davies, and one Howlet; and they must admit, that at least one flagellation, if not more, was exacted in the town of Little Limerick, near Gorey. I have not at present sufficient ground to suspect that any of these were flogged without proper cause; but half hangings enough were committed by others without any consultation of magistrates. The floggings, however, in the county of Wexford, were almost nothing comparatively with other counties; and the terror of people of this county arose chiefly from floggings inflicted elsewhere; and the incipency of floggings among themselves, house burnings, &c."

mobbish risings which will sometimes take place even where the conduct of their superiors is perfectly free from harshness. The county of Wicklow was one of the most thriving districts in the kingdom. There were persons of the different religions, in all the middle and inferior ranks, and they lived together in habits of great cordiality and good neighbourhood. The landed interest of the county of Wexford had always been prominent in their antipathy to the Catholics, and their representatives in parliament had uniformly opposed every mitigation of the Popery laws. In these circumstances may be traced something of a predisposing cause to the insurrection of the county of Wexford; but there existed no such circumstance with respect to the county of Wicklow. Other special circumstances affected the county of Wexford, which tended to bring forward the insurgency in that county. *After the proclamation of the 30th of March, the Orange system made no public appearance in the county of Wexford, until the beginning of April, on the arrival there of the North Cork militia, commanded by lord Kingsborough. In this regiment, there were a great number of Orangemen, who were zealous in making proselytes, and displaying their devices; having medals and orange ribbons triumphantly pendant from their bosoms. It is believed, that previous to this period, there were but few actual Orangemen in the county; but soon after, those whose principles inclined that way, finding themselves supported by the military, joined the association, and publicly avowed themselves, by assuming the devices of the fraternity.

†It is said, that the North Cork regiment were also the inventors—but they certainly were the introducers of the pitch-cap torture into the county of Wexford. Any person having their hair cut short, (and therefore called *croppy*, by which appellation the soldiery designated an United Irishman,) on being pointed out by some loyal neighbour, was immediately seized and brought into a guard house, where caps either of coarse linen or strong brown paper, besmeared inside with pitch, were always kept ready for service. The unfortunate victim had one of these well heated, compressed on his head, and when judged of a proper degree of coolness, so that it could not be easily pulled off, the sufferer was turned out amidst the horrid acclamations of the merciless torturers: and to the view of vast numbers of people, who generally crowded about the guard house door, attracted by the afflicted cries of the tormented. Many of those persecuted in this manner, experienced additional anguish from the melted

* Hay's history of the insurrection of the county of Wexford, p. 57.

† Hay, (p. 57,) who was on the spot and vouches for the truth of this narration.

pitch trickling into their eyes. This afforded a rare addition of enjoyment to these keen sportsmen, who reiterated their horrid yells of exultation, on the repetition of the several accidents to which their game was liable upon being turned out; for in the confusion and hurry of escaping from the ferocious hands of these more than savage tormentors, the blinded victims frequently fell or inadvertently dashed their heads against the walls in their way. The pain of disengaging the pitched cap from the head must have been next to intolerable. The hair was often torn out by the roots, and not unfrequently parts of the skin were so scalded or blistered as to adhere and come off along with it. The terror and dismay that these outrages occasioned are inconceivable. A serjeant of the North Cork, nick-named *Tom the Devil*, was most ingenious in devising new modes of torture. Moistened gunpowder was frequently rubbed into the hair, cut close and then set on fire; some, while shearing for this purpose, had the tips of their ears snipt off; sometimes an entire ear, and often both ears were completely cut off; and many lost part of their noses during the like preparation. But, strange to tell, these atrocities were publicly practised without the least reserve in open day, and no magistrate or officer ever interfered, but shamefully connived at this extraordinary mode of quieting the people! Some of the miserable sufferers on these shocking occasions, or some of their relations or friends, actuated by a principle of retaliation, if not of revenge, cut short the hair of several persons whom they either considered as enemies or suspected of having pointed them out as objects for such desperate treatment. This was done with a view, that those active citizens should fall in for a little experience of the like discipline, or to make the fashion of short hair so general that it might no longer be a mark of party distinction. Females were also exposed to the grossest insults from these military ruffians. Many women had their petticoats, handkerchiefs, caps, ribbons, and all parts of their dress that exhibited a shade of green (considered the national colour of Ireland) torn off, and their ears assailed by the most vile and indecent ribaldry. This was a circumstance so unforeseen, and of course so little provided against, that many women of enthusiastic loyalty suffered outrage in this manner. Some of these ladies would not on any account have worn any thing, which they could even imagine partook in any degree of *croppism*. They were, however, unwarily involved until undeceived by the gentle hints from these kind guardians of allegiance.

Great as the apprehensions from Orangemen had been before among the people, they were now multiplied ten fold, and aggravated terror led them in numbers to be sworn United Irishmen,

in order to counteract the supposed plan of their rumoured exterminators. The fears of the people became so great at length, that they forsook their houses in the night and slept, (if under such circumstances they could sleep) in the ditches. These facts were notorious at the time, and had the magistrates, and gentlemen of the country been actuated by the feelings that humanity naturally excites on such occasions, they might with very little trouble have convinced the deluded populace of the fallacy of such reports, and they should have promised them public protection. In general, however, the fact was otherwise. The melancholy situation of the people was regarded with the utmost indifference; few individuals felt any concern or gave themselves any trouble about what they thought: and no efforts whatever were made to allay their apprehensions, or at all to undeceive them. Their minds were left to the operations of their fears, to dissipate which, if any pains had been taken, it is certain that these horrid conceptions entertained of Orangemen could never have taken such strong hold of their scared imaginations, and that violence would have been repressed in its origin.

The following circumstance occasioned the insurgency in the county of Wicklow, to become so very much an affair of religion. Some persons in Dublin, who had been very active in promoting the repeal of the Popery laws, afterwards unfortunately entered into the projects of the revolution; these men made use of the influence they had thus acquired upon many of their brethren to prevent the Catholics from going into the yeomanry, they circulated among that people an opinion which readily gained ground, that their co-operation was very essential to government, and, that by holding back on that occasion they would procure all the advantages which had been promised and were expected under lord Fitzwilliam; their suggestions were attended to more in the county of Wicklow than elsewhere. The consequent backwardness of the Catholics to join the armed corps threw a suspicion on that people, but created a necessity of filling up the numbers necessary for the defence of the country with the lowest cast of Protestants, who afterwards, when the heat of party ran high, made a very bad use of their arms and of their power.

By these means the division of the county of Wicklow into these parties first took place, and that division prepared the way for the revolutionary missionaries, who came afterwards to tamper with the people and dispose them for insurrection. The introduction of the united business crowned the whole, many were drawn into it from reports artfully circulated that the British empire was on the eve of dissolution, that the armed Protestants intended to massacre and expel them from Wicklow, as they had from Armagh. This alarm was so prevalent, that on many oc-

casions all the inhabitants for an extent of thirty miles deserted their houses, and slept in the open fields; this fact was proved on a trial before lord Yelverton, at the summer assizes of Wicklow. Many joined the association, because they had no other alternative; the armed corps generally considered every Catholic a rebel; they received no credit much less merit for any act of loyalty. After the corps were put on permanent duty, and the officers and magistrates began to torture and burn houses, multitudes of these people became fugitives from fear or actual want of dwellings: many from being exasperated at the sufferings of their acquaintance, friends and kindred; common sufferings brought these persons together and formed the rebellion of Wicklow and Wexford: many atrocious acts were committed in that rebellion, but they were acts of retaliation. The armed corps in the first days of the rebellion, and even in the two or three weeks preceding it, had shot many persons who were merely passing quietly through the county; the relatives of these murdered victims became furious for revenge, and murdered madly those of the opposite party, who fell into their possession.

Whatever effects different management might have produced in the county of Wexford, the ebullition of the rebellion in that county seems to have been more a sudden gust of revenge than a preconcerted design. The insurgents were more numerous and ferocious than elsewhere; and in many instances they were headed by persons who never had been members of the association of United Irishmen: but whom the sudden pressure of circumstances had seduced or driven into that unfortunate rebellion. The general insurrection in that county did not take place till Whitsunday, which fell on the 27th of May. But the zeal, says sir Richard Musgrave, of father John Murphy of Boolavogue chappel, in the parish of Kilcormick, was so intemperate, that he began his military career at six o'clock on Saturday evening the 26th of May.* It is a fact necessary to be known, that before the breaking out of the rebellion in Wicklow and Wexford not one Roman Catholic clergyman ever entered into the united association, except one Roach, who was under ecclesiastic censures,

* The bishop of Killala has in his narrative of what passed at Killala in the summer of 1798, (p. 82.) given the following reason, why in every popular commotion in Ireland, some Roman Catholic priests will probably be found concerned in it. "The almost total dependence of the Romish clergy of Ireland upon their people for the means of subsistence is the cause, according to my best judgment, why upon every popular commotion many priests of that communion have been, and until measures of better policy are adopted, always will be found in the ranks of sedition and opposition to the established government. The peasant will love a revolution, because he feels the weight of poverty, and has not often the sense to perceive that a change of masters may render it heavier; the priest must follow the impulse of the popular wave, or be left behind on the beach, to perish."

and interdicted from the exercise of his spiritual functions. This father Murphy was living quietly in his parish, when some yeomen entered it and burned his chapel. In a sudden sally of fury (for priests have their passions) he with a party of his parishioners fell upon them, and the two officers commanding the yeomen were killed. Imagining then that no retreat was left, the party encamped on the hill of Oularde, all the fugitives and exasperated persons about the country joined the camp, and this formed a commencement of the Wexford rebellion; in two days they were in sufficient force to defeat some of the North Cork militia, who attempted to disperse them. Murphy unquestionably after he had thus engaged in the rebellion employed all the influence which he derived from his character of a priest to encourage and support his party, and omitted no art to animate and fortify them by religious bigotry and enthusiasm. He and the other priests*

* Widely as this unfortunate rebellion raged, it would have been truly strange if not one of the Catholic priests had been seduced to join in it. Their number was, however, comparatively small, and it will not be uninteresting to the public to learn what manner of men those, who gave into it generally were. The following account of most of them who joined the rebellion at Wexford is extracted from a letter of dr. Caulfield, the Roman Catholic bishop of Wexford, to dr. Troy, the Roman Catholic archbishop of Dublin,—Dated from Wexford, September 2, 1798. The author has this in the hand writing of that prelate.

1. Thomas Dixon of Castle-bridge, had been curate at the Lady's Island for some years; but for drinking, dancing, and disorderly conduct, was suspended about four years ago. After some time of apparent amendment, he was sent to assist rev. David Cullen of Blackwater, where he relapsed into his former pranks, and was suspected latterly of being active in the accursed business of *uniting*, for which I interdicted and suspended him above twelve months ago. He was afterwards apprehended, tried, and convicted here, and sent on board the tender lying at Duncannon fort, where he took a fever and died.

2. Rev. Thomas Clinch, native of Camolin, had been appointed curate to rev. Thomas Rogers in Bantry; but turning out a most beastly drunkard and unfit for duty, was suspended about two years ago, and remained so. He joined the rebels, and was killed in their retreat from Vinegar hill.

3. Rev. Mogue Kearin or Kearns of the Duffry had been employed by doctor Delany for some time, but latterly dismissed. He was notorious for drinking and fighting; and joined the rebels, among whom he made a gigantic figure, and was hanged at Edenderry.

4. Rev. John Murphy, curate to rev. Patt Cogly of Boolavogue, ever giddy, but not noted for immorality, was the first to commence the rebellion and became a signal general in it. He had been apparently but not really dutiful to his superior. He was whipped, hanged, beheaded, and his body burnt in the county of Carlow, at Tullow.

5. Rev. Philip Roche, alias general Roache, had been curate to rev. John Synnott of Gorey; had been a proper man and would be useful, but indulging in excess of drinking, and beginning to agitate, he became obnoxious and was removed. He was afterwards sent curate, after reprehension, admonition, and instruction by his superior, to rev. Thomas Rogers in Bantry, the other extremity of the diocese, last winter: I heard nothing remarkable of him there, till he joined the rebels and soon became a leader. He was hanged here and his body thrown into the river the 22d of June.

who were driven into the rebellion either by the intemperance of the loyalists or hurried away by the violence of their own people, celebrated mass constantly, and prayed and preached in the camps; when once embarked in the cause they could not otherwise have given it the sanction of plausibility; and these circumstances have been unwarrantably put forward in order to justify a charge, that the rebellion originated in a religious spirit, and was connected with the anxiety and the efforts used to extend the political privileges of the Roman Catholics.

From this commencement of open hostilities in the county of Wexford, the commotion spread rapidly on all sides; and the collection of rebel parties was greatly promoted by the reports disseminated of numbers of people shot in the roads, at work in the fields, and even in their houses, unarmed and unoffending, by straggling parties of yeomen. Influenced by these reports, which certainly were not without too much foundation, great numbers took refuge with their friends in arms, insomuch, that on the following morning of Whitsunday, the 27th of May, two large bodies were collected, one on the hill of Oulart, nearly midway between Gorey and Wexford, about eleven miles to the south of the former; the other on Kiltomas hill, an inferior ridge of Slyceve Bwee mountain, about nine miles westward of Gorey. They formed a confused multitude of both sexes and of all ages. Reports have varied their numbers from seven or eight to two or three thousand men in arms: against these a body of about 200 yeomen, on the same morning, marched from the neighbouring town of Carnew, in the county of Wicklow. The rebels were struck with a panic, and fled, after a few discharges of musketry from the yeomen, at too great a distance to make any considerable execution. About a hundred and fifty of the rebels were killed in the pursuit: the

6. There is another reptile, rev. Bryan Murphy, who was very active in the rebellion. He had been *deprived* and suspended about three years ago. Nevertheless he had address enough to procure a protection when the rebels were routed, and remains undisturbed.

7. There is a rev. Mr. Byrne, a Carmelite, at Goff's bridge, who shewed himself a very zealous, active rebel. He also got a protection. He was a drinking, giddy man. I advised him to quit the diocese and threatened suspension.

N. B. From dr. Troy. This Byrne was killed in the house of a dr. Waddy, in the county of Wexford, when on a friendly visit in the year 1800, by the fall of a port-cullis, whether by design or accident is not known. The circumstance was mentioned in the public papers.

8. Rev. John Keane, under censures the greater part of his life for drunkenness and other irregularities. He is a weak poor fool. He has not been questioned, nor is he worth notice.

9. Rev. John Redmond, curate of rev. Francis Kavanagh, a most regular, attentive, zealous priest, without reproach ever until the accursed rebellion; whether he joined them through terror, as was the case with some, or volunteer'd, I know not. He surprised me more than all the rest. He was hanged near Gorey, on the 21st or 22d of June last.

yeomen burned two Roman Catholic chapels, and about a hundred cabins and farm houses of Catholics in the course of seven miles march.

The event of battle was very different, on the same day, on the hill of Oulart, where father Murphy commanded. A detachment of a hundred and ten men of the North Cork militia, under the command of lieutenant colonel Foote, marched from Wexford, and attacked the rebels on the southern side of the hill. The rebels fled at the first onset and were pursued by the militia, without rank or order. Father Murphy rallied again some hundreds of the rebels who by his encouragement charged their pursuers with so much fury, that with their pikes they killed, almost in an instant, the whole detachment, except the lieutenant colonel, a serjeant, and three privates. If we may believe the accounts of some of the insurgents, no more than about three hundred of their number ventured on this furious attack, of whom only six were armed with firelocks, the rest with pikes, and that only three of them were killed, and six wounded, by the disordered soldiery.

While the country exhibited a scene of distress and consternation, houses in flames, and families flying on all sides for asylum, the loyalists to the towns, others to the hills, the body of rebels, under father Murphy, marched from Oulart, flushed with victory, and perpetually augmented on its way by new accessions. They first took possession of Camolin, a small town six miles westward of Gorey, the loyal inhabitants of which had taken refuge in the latter; thence they advanced to Ferns two miles further; whence the loyalists had fled, six miles southward to Enniscorthy, whither they were followed by the rebels; who on their arrival before that town amounted to the number of 7000 men, 800 of whom were armed with guns, which they had seized at Camolin almost immediately after they had been sent to that place by the earl of Mountnorris. About one o'clock on the 28th of May, Enniscorthy was attacked by this vast multitude, and after a vigorous defence by the comparatively small garrison, was left in possession of the insurgents. The garrison retreated and fell back on Wexford: they lost above ninety of their men, and the town was on fire in several places: they were attended by a confused number of unfortunate loyal inhabitants, but fortunately were not pursued by the rebels, who easily might have cut them off in their retreat. Having arrived at Wexford, they again retreated from that town on the 30th of May. The cutting off a company of the Meath militia coming to their relief on that morning; the taking of the two howitzers they had with them, and the Donegal detachment being obliged to fall back into Wexford, after an unsuccessful conflict with the rebels, threw that whole garrison into consternation: the men of the North Cork.

under the command of captain Snowe, became extremely insubordinate: they had been without food, except a very trifle, since their arrival from Enniscorthy, and had been upon constant duty; except the night they marched in, no provisions were to be bought. Although captain Snowe and some other officers were against retreating, the Scarawalsh yeomanry, with their officers, and the men of the North Cork, in spite of all the officers' endeavours, marched out of the town; some scaled the breast work; captain Snowe thought it his duty not to abandon such a number of men, he therefore took the charge of them, and succeeded in keeping them together on the retreat, and preventing every species of depredation and violence, not a single instance of which occurred, except the taking some horses from the adjacent fields to mount some of the fainting and worn-out soldiers.

The men were kept together till night-fall, when upon an unexpected fire on them at Tailor's town bridge, they dispersed notwithstanding every thing were done to rally them, and captain Snowe, after experiencing much suffering during the night, did not arrive at Duncannon fort till seven o'clock the next morning.

*To disperse the insurgents, if possible, without battle or concession, or perhaps to divert their attention and retard their progress, an expedient was assayed by captain Boyd of the Wexford cavalry. This officer had, in consequence of a requisition to that purpose of the sheriff and other gentlemen, on the 25th and 27th, from information or suspicion of treasonable designs, arrested Beauchamp Bagenal Harvey of Bargycastle, John Henry Colclough of Ballyteigh, and Edward Fitzgerald of Newpark, all three respectable gentlemen of the county of Wexford. Visiting them in prison on the 29th, captain Boyd agreed with these gentlemen, that one of them should go to the rebels at Enniscorthy, and endeavour to persuade them to disperse and return to their homes; but would not give authority to promise any terms to the insurgents in case of submission. Colclough, at the request of Mr. Harvey, agreed to go, on condition of his being accompanied by Mr. Fitzgerald. On the arrival of these two gentlemen at Enniscorthy, about four in the afternoon of the same day, they found the rebels in a state of confusion, distracted in their councils, and undetermined in any plan of operation; some proposing to attack Newtownbarry, others Ross, others Wexford,

* Gordon, 2d edition, p. 117. Whenever I refer to the authority of the rev. Mr. Gordon, I do it under a full conviction, that he has throughout his history meant and intended, as an upright and honourable man, to represent facts as they really existed. I give him credit therefore for what he advances positively. The public is much indebted to a gentleman of his profession, who nobly dares to support the truth at the risk of his own promotion in the church. There is unfortunately too much ground to presume, that the contrary conduct would have rendered his preferment more sure.

others to remain in their present posts: the greater number to march home for the defence of their houses against Orangemen.*

†It was but the resolution of a moment to march in a body to attack Wexford. Mr. Fitzgerald they detained in the camp, and Mr. Colclough they sent back to announce their hostile intentions.

Mr. Colclough arrived in Wexford early in the evening, and waited in the bull ring (a small square in the town so denominated) until the officers and other gentlemen in the place had there assembled; when he informed them, in a very audible voice from on horseback, that having gone out, according to their directions, to the insurgents on Vinegar hill, he found, as he had already suggested before his departure, that he possessed no influence with the people, who had ordered him to return and announce their determination of marching to the attack of Wexford; adding that they had detained Mr. Fitzgerald. Mr. Colclough then requested to be informed, if it were intended to make further trial of his services, or to require his longer attendance, as otherwise they must be sensible how eager he must be to relieve the anxiety of his family by his presence. He was then entreated to endeavour to maintain tranquillity in his own neighbourhood, which having promised to do as much as in his power, he called at the gaol to visit Mr. Harvey, with whom he agreed (according to the compact with captain Boyd) to return next day and take his place in the gaol, and then set off through the barony of Forth, for his own dwelling at Ballyteigue, distant about ten miles from Wexford.

Early in the morning of the 29th, colonel Maxwell, of the Donegal militia, with two hundred men of his regiment and a six pounder, arrived in Wexford from Duncannon fort, despatched by General Fawcett, who had been apprized of the insurrection on the 27th, by captain Knox, an officer sent to escort serjeant Stanley, a judge of assize, on his way to Munster. This reinforcement being insufficient, an express was sent from the mayor of Wexford to the general, requesting an additional force; he expeditiously returned with an exhilarating answer, that the general himself would commence his march for Wexford on the same evening from Duncannon, with the 13th regiment, four companies of the Meath militia, and a party of artillery with two howitzers. On the receipt of this intelligence, colonel Maxwell, leaving the five passes into the town guarded by the yeomen and

* The dread of *Orangemen*, not of *Protestants*, appears to have affected those rebels throughout. Thus sir Richard Musgrave has perhaps unintentionally admitted (p. 335), "That on Whitsunday they rose *in mass*, armed with pikes" and guns, and vowed vengeance against the *Protestants as Orangemen*."

† Hays, page 103.

North Cork militia, took post with his men on the Windmill hill above the town, at day break on the following morning, the 30th, with resolution to march against the enemy on the arrival of general Fawcett's army.

That general had marched according to his promise, on the evening of the 29th; but halting at Taghmon, seven miles from Wexford, he had sent forward a detachment of 88 men, including 18 of the artillery, with the howitzers, under the command of captain Adams, of the Meath militia. This detachment was intercepted early in the morning of the 30th, by the rebels under the Three Rocks, which they had occupied as a military station, being about three miles from Wexford: the howitzers were taken and almost the whole party slain.* The dismay and confusion that took place in Wexford is more easily imagined than described.

Colonel Maxwell, informed of the destruction of captain Adams's detachment, by two officers who had escaped the slaughter, advanced immediately with what forces he could collect towards the enemy, with design to retake the howitzers, and co-operate with general Fawcett, of whose retreat he had no suspicion, but observing his left flank exposed by the retreat of some of the Taghmon cavalry, and the enemy making a motion to surround him, he retired to Wexford, with the loss of lieutenant colonel Watson killed, and two privates wounded.

Every thing now wore the aspect of a gloomy desperate consternation. Some yeomen and supplementaries posted nearly opposite the gaol, were heard continually to threaten to put all the prisoners to death, which so roused the attention of the gaoler to protect his charge, that he barricaded the door, and delivered up the key to Mr. Harvey. This gentleman was, indeed, so apprehensive of violence, that he had concealed himself in the chimney, and it was not without great difficulty that some magistrates were admitted to see Mr. Harvey in the gaol, and, at their most urgent entreaties, he wrote the following notice to the insurgents.

" I have been treated in prison with all possible humanity, and am now at liberty. I have procured the liberty of all the pri-

* The following official account was given of this affair.

" DUBLIN CASTLE, *June 2d, 1798.*

" ACCOUNTS have been received from major general Eustace at New Ross, stating that major general Fawcett having marched with a company of the Meath regiment from Duncannon fort, this small force was surrounded by a very large body between Taghmon and Wexford, and defeated: general Fawcett effected his retreat to Duncannon fort."

“soners. If you pretend to christian charity, do not commit
“massacre, or burn the property of the inhabitants, and spare
“your prisoners lives.

“*Wednesday, 30th of May, 1798.*

B. B. HARVEY.”

This note was undertaken to be forwarded by one Doyle, a yeoman of the Heathfield cavalry, who volunteered this hazardous service in coloured clothes; but when ready to set off he was discovered to be a Roman Catholic, and therefore reflected upon, for so the whisper went about, “how could a Papist be “trusted?” The yeoman, finding his zeal meet with a reception so contrary to his expectation, again put on his uniform, and retreated with his captain; counsellor Richards with his brother then undertook to announce the surrender of the town to the insurgents, whose camp they reached in safety, though clad in full uniform. Scarcely had these deputies set out upon their mission, when all the military corps, a part of the Wexford infantry under captain Hughes only excepted, made the best of their way out of town in whatever direction they imagined they could find safety, without acquainting their neighbours on duty of their intentions. The principal inhabitants, whose services had been accepted of for the defence of the town were mostly Catholics, and, according to the prevalent system, were subject to the greatest insults and reflections. They were always placed in front of the posts, and cautioned to behave well, or that death should be the consequence. Accordingly persons were placed behind them to keep them to their duty, and these were so watchful of their charge, that they would not even permit them to turn about their heads. Thus were the armed inhabitants left at their post, abandoned by their officers, and actually ignorant of the flight of the soldiery, until all possible means of retreating were cut off. Upon the approach of the insurgents, the confusion and dismay were excessive, the few remaining officers and privates ran confusedly through the town, threw off their uniforms, and hid themselves wherever their fears suggested. Some ran for boats to convey them off, and threw their arms and ammunition into the water. Some from an insufficiency of men’s clothes assumed female attire for the purpose of disguise. Extreme confusion, tumult, and panic were every where exhibited. The North Cork regiment on quitting the barracks had set them on fire, but it was soon after put out.

In the mean time, Mr. Richards having arrived at the Three Rocks, made it known to the rebel chiefs, that they were deputed to inform the people, that the town would be surrendered to them, on condition of sparing lives and properties; these terms, they were informed, would not be complied with, unless the arms and ammunition of the garrison were also surrendered. Mr.

Loftus Richards was therefore detained as a hostage, and counsellor Richards and Mr. Fitzgerald were sent back to the town, to settle and arrange the articles of capitulation; these gentlemen on their arrival, to their astonishment found the place abandoned by the military. A rebel multitude was just ready to pour in and take unconditional possession of the town. It was therefore thought necessary to treat with them, in order to prevent the consequences apprehended from such a tumultuary influx of people. Doctor Jacob, then mayor of the town and captain of the Wexford infantry, entreated Mr. Fitzgerald to announce to the people rushing in, that the town was actually surrendered; and to use every argument, that his prudence might suggest, to make their entry as peaceable as possible. Mr. Fitzgerald complied, and instantly after this communication, thousands of people poured into the town, over the wooden bridge, shouting and exhibiting all the marks of extravagant and victorious exultation. They first proceeded to the gaol, released all the prisoners, and insisted that Mr. Harvey should become their commander. All the houses in town, not abandoned by the inhabitants, now became decorated with green boughs, and other emblematic symbols of insurgency. The doors were universally thrown open, and the most liberal offers made of spirits and drink, which however were not as freely accepted, until the persons offering them had first drank themselves, as a proof that the liquor was not poisoned, a report having prevailed to that effect. This circumstance prevented more rapid intoxication, and perhaps many lamentable excesses.

The insurgents being in possession of the town, several of the yeomen, having thrown off their uniforms, affected with all the signs and emblems of the United Irishmen, to convince them of their unfeigned cordiality and friendship; those who did not throw open their doors with offers of refreshment and accommodation to the insurgents, suffered by plunder, their substance being considered as enemy's property. The house of captain Boyd was a singular exception. It was, though not deserted, pillaged, and underwent all the effects of popular hatred and revenge.

These troops who had fled from Wexford, signalized themselves in their retreat by plundering and devastating the country; by burning the cabins and shooting the peasants in their progress; and thus they augmented the number and rage of the insurgents. These excesses were seen from the insurgents' station at the Three Rocks, and it was with extreme difficulty, that the enraged multitude were hindered by their chiefs from rushing down upon Wexford and taking summary vengeance of the town and its inhabitants.

The turn of this rebellion now rendered both sides ferocious, even to their associates. When Gorey could be no longer defended by the small garrison of thirty of the North Cork militia and some undisciplined yeomen, though reinforced by a detachment of the Antrim militia on the 27th of May, orders were given to evacuate the town on the next morning at five o'clock, and retire to Arklow. This retreat was a melancholy scene of confusion, fear, and desperation : the reception the fugitives found at Arklow was ill suited to relieve their calamitous situation. Fainting with hunger, thirst, fatigue, and the want of sleep, they were denied admittance into the town, and forced to seek rest and refuge under the neighbouring hedges ; some of the better sort were by favour admitted, on condition of quitting the town in half an hour. Those that entered, were obliged to deliver their arms at the gate of the barrack to the guard, who promised to restore them ; instead of which, they were afterwards formed into a pile in the yard of the barrack and burned. One man scrupling to surrender his arms, was shot by the guard. No refreshment could be procured by money for man or horse ; the hearts of the inhabitants were hardened. As the rebels had bent their course to the south, Gorey remained unmolested, though destitute of defence, and filled with a variety of goods brought thither for safety ; but the pilfering of the lower class of the towns-folk was prevented by the better sort of Catholics, who formed themselves into guards to protect the houses of their Protestant neighbours. On the 30th and 31st of May, the greater part of the fugitives returned from about Arklow to their homes, and the militia and yeomanry, who had abandoned Gorey, on the 28th resumed their station.

END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.

.....
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.....

APPENDIX.

No. LXXXVI.

THE FOLLOWING ADDRESS WAS PRESENTED TO THE LORD
LIEUTENANT....PAGE 3.

December 27, 1791.

To his Excellency JOHN Earl of WESTMORELAND, Lord Lieutenant General, and General Governor of Ireland.

WE, the undersigned, his majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, Roman Catholics of the kingdom of Ireland, desirous at all times to declare unequivocally our sentiments of loyalty to our most gracious sovereign, and our attachment to the constitution, disclaiming every word or act which can directly or indirectly tend to alarm the minds of our brethren, or disturb the tranquillity of this country, have, in order to prevent misrepresentation, or misconception of our sentiments, thought it necessary now to lay before your excellency the resolutions hereunto annexed.

We confide in your excellency's goodness, that you will be pleased to represent us to our most gracious sovereign such as we really are, grateful for the mild and benevolent disposition he has been always graciously pleased to shew towards us.

We rely with confidence on our past, as a pledge for our future conduct: and as we feel most strongly the benefits that have arisen, not only to us in particular, but to this kingdom in general, from the indulgence, which through the wisdom of the legislature, we have already received; so we look with respectful confidence to its wisdom, liberality, and benevolence for a further extension of its favours.

Resolved, That application be made to the legislature, during the next session of parliament, for a further repeal of the laws affecting the Roman Catholics of Ireland.

Resolved, That grateful for former concessions, we do not presume to point out the measure or extent to which such repeal should be carried, but leave the same to the wisdom and discretion of the legislature, fully confiding in their liberality and bene-

violence, that it will be as extensive as the circumstances of the times, and the general welfare of the empire, shall, in their consideration, render prudent and expedient.

Resolved, That firmly attached to our most gracious sovereign and the constitution of the kingdom, and anxiously desirous to promote tranquillity and subjection to the laws, we will studiously avoid all measures which can, either directly or indirectly, tend to disturb or impede the same, and will rely on the wisdom and benevolence of the legislature, as the source from which we desire to obtain a further relaxation of the above-mentioned laws.

Fingal	W. Netterville, Cruiserathco,
Gormanstown	Meath
Kenmare	Mathew Donnellan, Ballydon-
John Thomas Troy, D. D. R.	nellan, co. Galway
Cath. A. D.	Rob. French, Rahisane, co.
Hon. John Preston, Gormans-	Galway
town, co. Meath	Dom. W. O'Reily, Kildangan
Valentine Browne, Killarny,	Castle, co. Kildare
co. Kerry	John Burke, Marble Hill, co.
Sir Pat. Bellew, Bart. Bar-	Galway
meath, co. Louth	M. Burke, Spring Garden, co.
Sir T. Esmond, Bart. co. Wex-	Galway
ford	Tho. Burke, Marble Hill, co.
Edward Bellew, Barmeath, co.	Galway
Louth	Major Anselm Nugent, co.
Hugh O'Reily, Ballinlough, co.	Meath
Westmeath	Tho. Daly, Cloonaha, co. Gal-
Malachy Donnellan, Ballydon-	way
nellan, co. Galway	Peter Daly, Cloonaha, aforesaid
Rich. Farrell Caddell, Har-	John Blake, Ballimana, co. Gal-
bourstown, co. Meath	way
R. Caddell, Harbournstown, a-	Francis Cruise, Belgard, co.
foresaid	Dublin
Joseph Blake, Ardfry, co. Gal-	Francis Goold, city of Cork
way	Christ. Fitzsimmons, co.
William Bellew, Barmeath, co.	Wicklow
Louth	Harvey Hay, Ballintrul, co.
J. Dease, Turberstown, co.	Wexford
Westmeath	James Farrill, of the city of
Oliv. Count D'Alton, co.	Dublin
Westmeath	Walter Blakeney, co. Carlow
J. White, Loughbrickland, co.	James Blakeney, co. Carlow
Down	Pat. Dease, of the city of Dub-
R. Strange, Spencer Hill, co.	lin
Louth	John Hussey, Rakenny, co.
	Meath

J. Dillon, late of Belgarde, co. Dublin	D. T. O'Brien, of the city of Dublin
E. Hearne, Hearnbrook, co. Galway	J. Comerford, of the city of Dublin
George Butler, of Ballyragget	Rich. Dease, Clougill, co. Meath
Dan. Cronin, of Rathmore, co. Kerry	John Dease, of the city of Dublin
Gregory Byrne, of the city of Dublin	Henry Farrell, of the city of Dublin
S. Roche John, of the city of Limerick	John Harford, of the city of Dublin
P. Roche John, of the city of Limerick	Thomas Magan, of the city of Dublin
G. Ryan, of Inch, co. Tipperary	T. Bourke, of Mecleck, co. Galway
John O'Brien, of the city of Limerick	James Taylor, co. Meath
Jam. O'Brien, of the city of Limerick	Lewis Ward, Liscub, co. Galway
S. Roche, jun. of the city of Limerick	John Nugent, Kilcomb, Westmeath
Thomas Roche, of the city of Limerick	Ant. Brown, Kilcongan, Westmeath
J. Bagot, of Castle Bagot, co. Dublin	O. Brown, Kilcongan, Westmeath
John Roche, of the city of Dublin	Nicholas Brown, Parcelstown, Meath
Jam. Nugent, of Ballinacor, co. Westmeath	

To which his excellency was pleased to give the following answer:

“ I receive with great satisfaction this declaration of your loyalty to the king, and attachment to the constitution ; I will not fail to make a faithful representation thereof to his majesty.”

APPENDIX.

NO. LXXXVII.

DECLARATION OF THE SOCIETY OF THE UNITED IRISHMEN. ..

PAGE 3.

Friday, 30th December, 1794.

Society of UNITED IRISHMEN of Dublin.

The honourable SIMON BUTLER in the chair.

Resolved unanimously, that the following circular letter, reported by our committee of correspondence, be adopted and printed.

THIS letter is addressed to you from the corresponding committee of the society of United Irishmen in Dublin.

We annex the declaration of political principles, which we have subscribed, and the test which we have taken, as a social and sacred compact to bind us more closely together.

The object of this institution is to make an united society of the Irish nation; to make all Irishmen citizens; all citizens Irishmen: nothing appearing to us more natural at all times, and at this crisis of Europe more reasonable, than that those who have common interest, and common enemies, who suffer common wrongs, and lay claim to common rights, should know each other, and should act together. In our opinion, ignorance has been the demon of discord, which has so long deprived Irishmen, not only of the blessings of well-regulated government, but even the common benefits of civil society. Peace in this island has hitherto been a peace on the principles and with the consequences of civil war. For a century past there has indeed been tranquillity, but to most of our dear countrymen it has been the tranquillity of a dungeon; and if the land has lately prospered, it has been owing to the goodness of Providence, and the strong efforts of human nature resisting and overcoming the malignant influence of a miserable administration.

To resist this influence, which rules by discord and embroils by system, it is vain to act as individuals or as parties; it becomes necessary by an union of minds, and a knowledge of each other, to will and act as a nation. To know each other is to know ourselves; the weakness of one, and the strength of many. Union therefore is power; it is wisdom; it must prove liberty.

Our design therefore in forming this society, is to give an example, which, when well followed, must collect the public will, and concentrate the public power into one solid mass, the effect

of which, once put in motion, must be rapid, momentous, and consequential.

In thus associating, we have thought little about our ancestors, much of our posterity. Are we for ever to walk like beasts of prey, over fields which these ancestors stained with blood? In looking back, we see nothing on the one part but savage force succeeded by savage policy; on the other, an unfortunate nation, "scattered and peeled, meted out and trodden down!" We see a mutual intolerance, and a common carnage of the first moral emotions of the heart, which lead us to esteem and place confidence in our fellow-creatures. We see this, and are silent; but we gladly look forward to brighter prospects, to a people united in the fellowship of freedom, to a parliament the express image of the people, to a prosperity established on civil and political liberty, to a peace, not the gloomy and precarious stillness of men brooding over their wrongs, but that stable tranquillity which rests on the right of human nature, and leans on the arms by which these rights are to be maintained.

Our principal rule of conduct has been to attend to those things in which we agree, to exclude from our thoughts those in which we differ. We agree in knowing what are our rights, and in daring to assert them. If the rights of men be duties to God, we are in this respect of one religion. Our creed of civil faith is the same; we agree in thinking, that there is not an individual among our millions, whose happiness can be established on any foundation so rational and so solid, as on the happiness of the whole community. We agree therefore in the necessity of giving political value and station to the great majority of the people; and we think, that whosoever desires an amended constitution, without including the great body of the people, must on his own principles be convicted of political persecutions, and political monopoly. If the present electors be themselves a morbid part of our constitution, where are we to recur for redress but to the whole community? "A more unjust and absurd constitution cannot be devised than that which condemns the natives of a country to perpetual servitude, under the arbitrary dominion of strangers and slaves."

We agree in thinking, that the first and most indispensable condition of the laws of a free state, is the assent of those whose obedience they require, and for whose benefit only they are designed. Without, therefore, an impartial and adequate representation of the community, we agree in declaring, we can have no constitution, no country, no Ireland. Without this, our late revolution we declare to be fallacious and ideal; a thing much talked of, but neither felt nor seen. The act of Irish sovereignty has been merely tossed out of the English houses into the cabinet of the ministers; and nothing remains to the people, who of right

are every thing, but a servile majesty and a ragged independence.

We call most earnestly on every great and good man, who at the late era spoke or acted for his country, to consider less of what was done than of what there remains to do. We call upon their senatorial wisdom to consider the monstrous and immeasurable distance which separates in this island the ranks of social life, makes labour ineffectual, taxation unproductive, and divides the nation into petty despotism and public misery. We call upon their tutelar genius to remember, that government is instituted to remedy, not to render more grievous, the natural inequality of mankind, and that unless the rights of the whole community be asserted, anarchy (we cannot call it government) must continue to prevail, when the strong tyrannize, the rich oppress, and the mass are brayed in a mortar. We call upon them, therefore, to build their arguments and their actions on the broad platform of general good.

Let not the rights of nature be enjoyed merely by connivance, and the rights of conscience merely by toleration. If you raise up a prone people, let it not be merely to their knees: let the nation stand. Then will it cast away the bad habit of servitude, which has brought with it indolence, ignorance, an extinction of our faculties, an abandonment of our very nature. Then will every right obtained, every franchise exercised, prove a seed of sobriety, industry, and regard to character, and the manners of the people will be formed on the model of their free constitution.

This rapid exposition of our principles, our object, and our rule of conduct, must naturally suggest the wish of multiplying similar societies, and the propriety of addressing such a desire to you. Is it necessary for us to request, that you will hold out your hand, and open your heart to your countryman, townsman, neighbour? Can you form a hope for political redemption, and by political penalties, or civil excommunications, withhold the rights of nature from your brother? We beseech you rally all the friends of liberty within your circle round this society as a centre. Draw together your best and bravest thoughts, your best and bravest men. You will experience, as we have done, that those points of union will quickly attract numbers, while the assemblage of such societies, acting in concert, moving as one body, with one impulse, and one direction, will, in no long time, become not parts of the nation, but the nation itself; speaking with its voice, expressing its will, resistless in its power.

We again entreat you to look around for men fit to form those stable supports, on which Ireland may rest the lever of liberty. If there be but ten, take those ten. If there be but two, take

those two, and trust with confidence to the sincerity of your intention, the justice of your cause, and the support of your country.

Two objects interest the nation, a plan of representation, and the means of accomplishing it. These societies will be a most powerful means ; but a popular plan would itself be a means for its own accomplishment. We have therefore to request, that you will favour us with your ideas respecting the plan, which appears to you most eligible, on the present more enlarged and liberal principles which actuate the people ; at the same time giving your sentiments upon our national coalition, on the means of promoting it, and on the political state and disposition of the country or town where you reside. We know what resistance will be made to your patriotic efforts by those who triumph in the disunion and degradation of their country. The greater the necessity of reform, the greater probably will be the resistance : we know, that there is much spirit that requires being brought into mass, as well as much massy body that must be refined into spirit. We have many enemies, and no enemy is contemptible ; we do not despise the enemies of the union, the liberty and the peace of Ireland, but we are not of nature, nor have we encouraged the habit of fearing any man, or any body of men, in an honest and honourable cause. In great undertakings like the present, we declare, that we have found it always more difficult to attempt, than to accomplish. The people of Ireland must perform all they wish, if they attempt all that they can.

Signed by order,

JAMES NAPPER TANDY, Sec.

No. LXXXVIII.

GENERAL COMMITTEE.

Dublin, March 17, 1792.

DECLARATION OF THE CATHOLICS OF IRELAND....PAGE 38.

WHEREAS certain opinions and principles, inimical to good order and government, have been attributed to the Catholics, the existence of which we utterly deny ; and whereas it is at this time peculiarly necessary to remove such imputations, and to give the most full and ample satisfaction to our Protestant brethren, that we hold no principle whatsoever incompatible with our duty as

men or as subjects, or repugnant to liberty, whether political, civil, or religious.

Now we, the Catholics of Ireland, for the removal of all such imputations, and in deference to the opinion of many respectable bodies of men, and individuals among our Protestant brethren, do hereby, in the face of our country, of all Europe, and before God, make this our deliberate and solemn declaration:

1st. We abjure, disavow, and condemn the opinion, that princes, excommunicated by the pope and council, *or by any ecclesiastical authority whatsoever*, may therefore be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any other persons. We hold such doctrine in detestation, as wicked and impious; and we declare, that we do not believe, that either the pope, with or without a general council, or *any prelate or priest, or any ecclesiastical power whatsoever*, can absolve the subjects of this kingdom, or any of them, from their allegiance to his majesty king George the Third, who is, by authority of parliament, the lawful king of this realm.

2d. We abjure, condemn, and detest, as unchristian and impious, the principle, that it is lawful to murder, destroy, or any ways injure any person whatsoever, for or under the pretence of being heretics; and we declare solemnly before God, that we believe that *no act, in itself unjust, immoral, or wicked, can ever be justified or excused by, or under pretence or colour, that it was done either for the good of the church, or in obedience to any ecclesiastical power whatsoever*.

3d. We further declare, that we hold it as an unchristian and impious principle, that "no faith is to be kept with heretics." This doctrine we detest and reprobate, not only as *contrary* to our religion, but as destructive of morality, of society, and even of common honesty; and it is our firm belief, that an oath made to *any person*, not of the Catholic religion, is equally binding, as if it were made to any Catholic whatsoever.

4th. We have been charged with holding as an article of our belief, that the pope, with or without the authority of a general council, or that certain ecclesiastical powers can acquit and absolve us, before God, from our oath of allegiance, or even from the just oaths and contracts entered into between man and man:

Now we do utterly renounce, abjure, and deny, that we hold or maintain any such belief, as being contrary to the peace and happiness of society, inconsistent with morality, and above all, *repugnant to the true spirit of the Catholic religion*.

5th. We do further declare, that we do not believe that the pope of Rome, or any other prince, prelate, state, or potentate, hath, or ought to have, any temporal or civil jurisdiction, power, superiority, or pre-eminence, directly or indirectly, within this realm.

6th. After what we have renounced, it is immaterial, in a political light, what may be our opinion or faith in other points respecting the pope : however, for greater satisfaction we declare, that it is *not* an article of the Catholic faith, neither are we thereby required to believe or profess, " that the pope is infallible," or that we are bound to obey any order, in its own nature immoral, though the pope, or any ecclesiastical power, should issue or direct such order ; but, *on the contrary*, we hold, that it would be *sinful* in us to pay any respect or obedience thereto.

7th. We further declare, that we do not believe that any sin whatsoever committed by us can be forgiven at the mere will of any pope, or of any priest, or of any person or persons whatsoever ; but, that *sincere sorrow for past sins*, a firm and sincere resolution, as far as may be in our power, to restore our neighbours property or character, if we have trespassed on, or unjustly injured either ; *a firm and sincere resolution to avoid future guilt*, and to atone to God, are *previous and indispensable* requisites to establish a well-founded expectation of forgiveness ; and that any person who receives absolution without these previous requisites, so far from obtaining thereby any remission of his sins, incurs the additional guilt of violating a sacrament.

8th. We do hereby solemnly disclaim, and for ever renounce all interest in, and title to all forfeited lands resulting from any rights, or supposed rights of our ancestors, or any claim, title, or interest therein ; nor do we admit any title, as a foundation of right, which is *not established and acknowledged by the laws of the realm, as they now stand*. We desire further, that whenever the patriotism, liberality, and justice of our countrymen, shall restore to us a participation in the elective franchise, no Catholic shall be permitted to vote at any election for members to serve in parliament, until he shall previously take an oath *to defend, to the utmost of his power*, the arrangement of property in this country, *as established by the different acts of attainder and settlement*.

9th. It has been objected to us, that we wish to subvert the present church establishment, for the purpose of substituting a Catholic establishment in its stead : now we do hereby disclaim, disavow, and solemnly abjure any such intention : and further, if we shall be admitted into any share of the constitution, by our being restored to the right of elective franchise, we are ready, in the most solemn manner, to declare, that we will not exercise that privilege to disturb and weaken the establishment of the Protestant religion, or Protestant government in this country.

Signed by order, and on behalf of the general committee of the Catholics of Ireland,

EDWARD BYRNE, Chairman.

RICHARD M'CORMICK, Secretary.

No. LXXXIX.

PAGE 38.

At a meeting of the sub-committee of the Catholics of Ireland,
Edward Byrne, esq. in the chair.

Resolved, that the following letter be circulated.

SIR,

THIS letter, with the plan which accompanies it, is transmitted to you, by order of the sub-committee. You will perceive that the object of this plan is to procure a fuller attendance of country gentlemen, to assist by their advice and influence, the measures adopted by the committee to procure for the Catholics the elective franchise, and an equal participation in the benefits of the trial by jury. You will please to lose no time in submitting this to the respectable Catholics of your county. You will please also to inform them, that several respectable independent country gentlemen, lately in Dublin, had frequent consultations, for the laudable purpose of re-uniting to the committee lord Fingal, and the other gentlemen who had withdrawn themselves from it. These country gentlemen had the satisfaction to find, that the general committee on one side, and the gentlemen who had entered into separate addresses on the other, mutually regretted their division; which they saw was used by the opponents of the Catholics, as a pretext for withholding from our people the elective franchise, and an equal participation of the benefits of the trial by jury. It is on all sides agreed, that if the Catholics are all united in this just and reasonable request, essential to the very existence of our people, there will be a certainty of success. It depends then on ourselves, whether we shall be freemen or slaves! We say, essential to the very existence of our people; for, as the rage for electioneering interests increases, our wealthy farmers must either pay beyond the value for lands, or resign them to Protestant freeholders when out of lease; our poor yeomanry will of course be expelled, and driven into beggary. Let us all, then, speak with one voice, and supplicate the legislature for justice, and we shall receive it.

These independent country gentlemen have received from lord Fingal, and the gentlemen who have acted with him, the most positive declarations, that they will never again enter into any act to oppose the general committee in their endeavours to obtain the emancipation of the Catholics; and it is determined,

that all former differences in opinion shall be buried in oblivion on both sides.

The committee had decided to send some of their body to propose to the counties to appoint the delegates to the committee, of whose attendance there would be a certainty ; and our chairman had actually left Dublin, with intention to go through great part of Ireland, for this purpose ; the independent country gentlemen, as before mentioned, took up the same idea themselves, (before they knew the committee had determined upon it) and they, and lord Fingal and his friends, all agreed in pressing such a measure on the committee, as an additional means of re-uniting them to the body.

Lord Fingal, his friends, and the country gentlemen before mentioned, seemed at first inclined, that the present committee should be dissolved ; an opinion, however, which further reflection on the various difficulties resulting from such a measure, the doubts entertained of the competency in the committee to dissolve itself, and the consideration that a dissolution must necessarily occur early in 1793, induced them to forego.

The plan inclosed, sanctioned by the general committee, by these independent gentlemen, and by lord Fingal and his friends, is recommended to your zeal to have carried into immediate execution in your country.

Signed by order,

RICHARD M'CORMICK, Sec'y.

ON THE MANNER OF CONDUCTING THE ELECTION OF DELEGATES.

It will be of great importance, in the present state of our affairs, that the delegates be chosen in such a manner as to make it appear evident, that the nomination of such delegates is authorised by all the people. But as it might be imprudent to call a meeting of all the Catholics of a country, for the purpose of proceeding to such an election, it is therefore suggested, that one or two of the most respectable persons in each parish be appointed electors, at a meeting to be held at such private house in the parish as may be most convenient to the inhabitants. These several electors, so appointed, may meet at any central place, for the purpose of choosing from one to four (as it may appear most expedient to them) of their own residents, as delegates to the general committee ; no one to be eligible who shall not solemnly promise to attend his duty in Dublin, when required to do so by

order of the committee, or at least who shall not pledge himself to attend in his turn. It is also suggested, that, in addition to the resident delegates, each county do appoint at the same time, as associate delegates for such county, one or two (as it may appear best to the electors) resident inhabitants of Dublin, whose business it shall be to keep up a regular correspondence with colleagues in the country, and to inform the county through them, of all proceedings in the general committee, at such times as the county delegates shall be absent. It is to be understood, that attendance on the part of the county delegates will not be required, except on important occasions. In this, however, they are to study their own convenience; if they all come often, we are persuaded that the committee will derive satisfaction and profit from their presence and advice.

As soon as the gentlemen of your county shall have appointed delegates, it will be necessary to call their attention to the first great business which shall probably engage the general committee, viz. An humble application to our gracious sovereign, submitting to him our loyalty and attachment, our obedience to the laws, a true statement of our situation, and of the laws which operate against us; and humbly beseeching, that we may be restored to the elective franchise, and an equal participation in the benefits of the trial by jury. We have the first authority for asserting, that this application will have infinite weight with our gracious sovereign and with parliament, if our friends are qualified to declare, that it is the universal wish of every Catholic in the nation. To enable therefore your delegates and the general committee to succeed in your behalf, it will be necessary that the meeting enter into resolutions in any words they choose to the following effect:

At a meeting of the Catholics of the county of
regularly convened, this day of 1792, in the
chair, Resolved that of this county, and
of the city of Dublin, have been this day chosen by the Catholics of this county as their delegates to the general committee.

Resolved,—That it is our instruction to our said delegates, to support in said committee, as the voice of all the Catholics of this county, that an humble representation be made to our gracious sovereign and to parliament, of the many severe laws, which oppress his majesty's faithful subjects, the Catholics of Ireland, although no cause founded in wisdom or policy, is assigned for their continuance; imploring it, as essential to our protection, and to secure an impartial distribution of justice in our favour, that we be restored to the elective franchise, and an equal participation in the benefits of the trial by jury.

According to its present form of constitution, the general committee is open not only to persons delegated by others, but to every Roman Catholic of landed property in the kingdom. From this mixture of representative and personal association, inconveniences which every one may remember, but which at present it is useless to dwell on, have arisen. To guard against similar inconveniences in future, we have recommended to your consideration the above sketch of a new system ; the object of which is to give to the committee somewhat more of a representative, and somewhat less of an individual capacity ; and we beg leave to offer to you the following observations in support of our plan :

Men appointed by others must hold themselves accountable to those from whom they derive their trust ; and therefore must regulate their conduct by the standard of general opinion ; or, if they be unwilling to take such a standard for their rule, and to obey the instructions of their constituents, they may be removed from the places they hold, to make room for others more practicable and less inclined to set the dictates of private sentiment, or private interest, in opposition to the general will and the public good. Under a system which is thus representative, and where the trust is revocable at pleasure, seduction cannot be practised, nor can division again take place : or at least the remedy is so near the evil, that little danger is to be apprehended from either.

Our plan, by making attendance a duty, will, we apprehend, serve to bring a greater number of country gentlemen into the committee than have formerly appeared among us. While admission remains so easy as it does at present, and while so many persons are exempted from responsibility and control, we have little reason to expect, that country gentlemen will desert their homes and their immediate concerns, to promote an interest which is remotely or obscurely felt ; but we hope that the honourable distinction of representing others, added to the obligation of a solemn promise, will not fail to reconcile those who shall happen to be delegated, to admit of some temporary hardships, in order to promote the public good. By collecting occasionally a number of country gentlemen in Dublin, we flatter ourselves, that the committee will be enabled to speak the sentiments of its constituent members with distinctness and precision ; and that the country parts of the kingdom will be provided with the surest means of acquiring whatever information may be necessary on the subject of Catholic affairs. From this prompt communication of opinion and intelligence, we foresee great advantages, advantages, which under the present system are wholly beyond our reach ; as the landed gentlemen are responsible only to themselves, and as the Dublin delegates have frequently little know-

ledge of their constituents. The attendance of a great number of country gentlemen will justify such a reduction of the number of delegates for the metropolis in the general committee, as may be judged advisable ; a measure which was always desirable, but which could not be heretofore accomplished, as the attendance of landed gentlemen was so uncertain and irregular.

Every endeavour should be used to cultivate and improve the friendship of our clergy. The clergy and laity, having but one interest, should have but one mind, and should therefore mutually combine their talents, their opinions, and their exertions, in order to effectuate our common emancipation. This union of sentiment and design, this interchange of counsel, and of aid, will serve to strengthen the bonds of a common friendship, and will be the best security against innovation in matters which relate to religion.

The clergy being the natural guardians of morality, will undoubtedly consent to co-operate with the laity, when they consider, that the restoration of the elective franchise to the Catholic community will tend to prevent those prejudices which are so common at, and which disgrace the return of electioneering contests. By such conduct will the clergy secure to themselves that influence over the laity of their own persuasion which it is useful that good clergy should have ; and that respectability among persons of other persuasions which must naturally result from the increased importance of the people to whom they belong. It is unnecessary to point out the advantages which a restoration of the elective franchise would produce in our habits and modes of life in the state of national as well as individual happiness. Let it suffice to say, that not only laymen, but every Catholic bishop and priest, would, by the acquisition of so valuable a privilege to the Catholic body at large, find his condition meliorated in a variety of shapes and circumstances, which cannot easily be reduced within the compass of exact calculation. The silent operation of this right would, in the lapse of time, contribute to raise a respectable yeomanry in the kingdom ; and this yeomanry, giving on the one hand a new infusion of vigour to the commonwealth, would, on the other supply a fund, from which the clergy would derive the means of a more honourable support, and more proportionate to their uncommon labours and merits, than at present they enjoy.

When this plan shall have been adopted, and the returns in consequence made, the committee will in the course of next winter, consider, as a measure of the last importance, what further improvements may be necessary in the mode of electing delegates on future occasions, in order to secure a permanent, exten-

sive, and effectual method of collecting the general sense of the Catholics of Ireland.

We beg leave to recommend it to you most earnestly, to carry the above plan into immediate execution. It is of the utmost consequence, that we should have this addition of country gentlemen as soon as possible, in order to give due weight and efficacy to our humble application to the throne, which we are advised to make this summer, before the parliamentary arrangements are formed for the ensuing winter.

As soon as your delegates shall have been chosen, we request that you will make a return of their names and address, to our secretary, Mr. Richard M'Cormick, Marks-Alley, Dublin.

No. XC.

RESOLUTIONS RELATIVE TO THE CATHOLIC ADMISSION TO THE
ELECTIVE FRANCHISE....PAGE 40.

COUNTY OF LOUTH.

WE, the high sheriff and grand jury of said county, assembled at summer assizes, 1792, cannot express in terms too strong our abhorrence of the wicked and daring attempt made by a printed letter from persons calling themselves the sub-committee of the Catholics of Ireland, signed Edward Byrne, and circulated through this kingdom, to excite a spirit of discontent among the Catholics, and rouse their animosity against the Protestants and the constitution. A letter which most falsely tells them, that they are not secure of an impartial administration of justice; that they are oppressed even to slavery; that a change of that part of the constitution which secures the Protestant establishment, is essential to their existence; and then endeavours to induce them to disturb the tranquillity of the kingdom, by urging them to illegal and unconstitutional associations, and to elect a popish congress to meet in the metropolis, with the vain expectation, that it can overawe the parliament, that the constitution is not strong enough to repress and punish so daring a violation.

Though we have a strong reliance upon the good sense and loyalty of the Roman Catholics at large, that the seditious views of the authors and propagators of this said letter will be disappointed, yet we feel it a duty particularly incumbent upon us, at

this time, to declare our sentiments fully and decidedly in the following resolutions :

Resolved, That under the laws, which vest the elective franchise in Protestants only, this kingdom has improved, and is rapidly improving in trade, wealth, and manufactures ; its freedom has been vindicated and secured ; its population increased, and that since those laws have been called frequently into operation, the progress of the national prosperity has been more vigorous and rapid.

Resolved, That the allowing to Roman Catholics the right of voting for members to serve in parliament, or admitting them to any participation in the government of the kingdom, is incompatible with the safety of the Protestant establishment, the continuance of the succession to the crown in the illustrious House of Hanover, and must finally tend to shake, if not destroy our connexion with Great Britain, on the continuance and inseparability of which depends the happiness and prosperity of this kingdom.

Resolved, That we will oppose every attempt towards such a dangerous innovation, and that we will support with our lives and fortunes, our present constitution, and the settlement of the throne on his majesty's Protestant house.

MATTHEW PLUNKETT, Sheriff.

John Foster	Richard Cooper
Thomas Henry Foster	Francis Manning
Richard Dawson	Thomas Lee
John William Foster	William Shiels
John M'Clintock, jun.	Philip Brabazon
Matthew Fortescue	Christopher Garston
William Ruxton	Robert Brown
James Tisdall	Francis Eastwood
O'Brien Bellingham	Ross Moore
Francis Tipping	Thomas Benson
William Brabazon	Wallop Brabazon.

COUNTY OF MEATH.

WE, the high sheriff, magistrates, and freeholders of county Meath, convened by public advertisement, having seen, with the deepest regret, a scandalous and libellous paper or letter, signed Edward Byrne, containing matter of a most daring and inflammatory nature, tending to excite animosity against the peace of the kingdom, and our happy constitution, both in church and state, feel it our indispensable duty to express our fullest abhorrence of such publication.

And whereas, the said publication, in order to inflame the minds of good and peaceable men, states, that the Roman Ca-

tholics of Ireland suffer the heaviest oppressions, and are altogether in a state of slavery, that they are denied their trial by a jury of their country; and that an innovation on the Protestant establishment, by admitting them to the exercise of the elective franchise, or the power of voting for members to represent them in parliament, can alone secure them in their persons and properties.

Resolved, That such letter or publication is a false and seditious libel, calculated to mislead the loyal and dutiful Roman Catholics of this kingdom, and to foment dissatisfaction and disorder among our Protestant brethren.

Resolved, That were the Roman Catholics admitted to the exercise of the elective franchise, instead of a Protestant parliament, through whose happy influence the national prosperity continues daily to flourish and increase, we should speedily be represented by a popish convention, and our connexion with Great Britain be as speedily dissolved.

And whereas, we have seen another letter or publication, signed Thomas Wright, purporting to be an address from a certain number of men, who style themselves the society of United Irishmen, which letter most falsely calumniates those respectable grand juries, that have avowed their indignation and contempt of the daring scandals issued under the signature of the said Edward Byrne; and whereas, the said letter, signed Thomas Wright, states, that such grand juries have published the most flagrant absurdities, calumnies, and libels, that they are the instruments of prejudice and dissention, and notoriously subordinate to intrigue and diffuse corruption.

Resolved, That such aspersions are an high insult on the dignity and public virtue of these counties, that have expressed their disapprobation of the falsehoods and libels that a set of wicked and designing men have industriously circulated through the kingdom; that such ill-founded calumnies are a menace thrown out, with an intent to overawe and intimidate the spirit of such counties as have not yet assembled, but that for ourselves, we do declare our thorough contempt of all such scandalous defamation.

Resolved, That the said letter, signed Thomas Wright, dares to assert, that the Protestant ascendancy is a chimera, and consequently insinuates, that popery should predominate.

Resolved, That such contempt of the established religion is of a nature highly seditious, and a most indecent libel on the constitution.

Resolved, That we will, collectively and individually, discountenance all seditious meetings and associations whatsoever; and that, with our lives and fortunes, we will support the Protes-

tant interests of Ireland, under which the commerce and wealth of the country have become at once vigorous and extensive, and the true liberty of the subject secured and unshaken.

SAMUEL GIBBONS, Sheriff.

COUNTY OF FERMANAGH.

Summer Assizes, 1792.

AT a meeting of the high sheriff and grand jury of the county Fermanagh, the following resolutions were agreed on :

Resolved, That we have the warmest attachment to our Roman Catholic brethren, and feel desirous to communicate to them every privilege not inconsistent with our present happy establishment in church and state.

Resolved, therefore, That it is with the utmost concern we have seen an inflammatory and dangerous publication, signed Edward Byrne, the probable effect of which will be to retard the extension of those privileges, by embodying the Roman Catholics of Ireland in a political faction, holding out a language of demand and confidence, which cannot be tolerated with safety to the present constitution of the country.

Resolved, That we do recommend to our Catholic brethren to merit the extension of future favours by shewing a submissive gratitude for the very important privileges, which have been already conferred on them ; and that we do most earnestly advise them rather to rely on the wisdom and liberality of parliament, which they have already experienced, than on the wild suggestions of deluding or deluded partizans.

Resolved, That we feel it necessary to come forward at this period to declare, that we are ready to support, with our lives and fortunes, our present invaluable constitution in church and state, and that we will resist to the utmost of our power the attempts of any body of men, who shall presume to threaten innovation in either.

WILLIAM O'BRIEN, Sheriff.

Mervyn Archdall (foreman)	John Hassard
John Caldwell	J. Hawkshaw
Francis Brooke	James Johnston
Gorges D'Arcy Irvine	John Richardson
Jasson Hassard	John Watkins
Mervyn Archdall, jun.	John Rosborough
Henry Brooke	Robert Weir
Gerard Irvine	William Fredennich
Henry St. George Cole	George Nixon

William Barton
W. Stewart

John King
Robert Mayne.

We coincide with the grand jury in opinion, and adopt their sentiments.

ENNISKILLEN
ERNE
BELMORE.

COUNTY OF MAYO.

Summer Assizes, 1792.

WE, the undersigned grand jurors, at this assizes convened, think ourselves called on to enter our protest against certain resolutions adopted by our fellow jurors respecting a paper, signed Edward Byrne, and said to have been industriously circulated through the different counties of this kingdom, as also respecting certain claims, which the resolutions assert, may be hereafter brought forward to the legislature from our Roman Catholic brethren, for the reason that the paper alluded to, however industriously circulated, never was produced to the jury, conceiving it to be a proceeding inconsistent with the dignity of any associated body, to censure a paper they have never seen, and the purport of which they have consequently never examined. We dissent from any part of the said resolutions, that directly or by implication convey an eternal proscription of our Roman Catholic brethren, knowing them to be a loyal, deserving sect of his majesty's subjects in this kingdom: we object generally to the preamble and resolutions, so adopted by our fellow-jurors, as tending to create alarms, where no cause for such exists, as tending to disturb that harmony and good order that has so long subsisted in this country, to revive dissensions that in days of ignorance and bigotry desolated this kingdom, as conceiving such to be unprovoked and undeserved by the Catholic body at large, and particularly unnecessary in our county, where the records we have of the principles of that sect of its inhabitants have been an approved, an uninterrupted loyalty of respect, and attachment to the constitution and the laws, and no later than the last session of parliament a declaration of those principles, that their conduct had been the test of disclaiming any mode of obtaining from the legislature, for their body, further emancipation from civil disability than what respectful petition might obtain. We hold in strong abhorrence any system that has, in its principles or forms, any semblance of the modes of anarchy and disorder, that prevail in an unfortunate neighbouring country. We know of no connexion that such have with the interests or principles of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, but do know that their conduct and sentiments are uniformly op-

posite to such, and that knowledge is a strong motive of our attachment to them.

Dom. Geoffry Browne
John Browne
Neal O'Donnell
John Edmond Browne
John Bingham

Hugh O'Donnell
Joseph Lambert
George Glendinning
Richard Blake.

Westport House, 10th Sept. 1792.

MY not having served on the last grand jury of Mayo, having prevented my sentiments being known on the important matter discussed there, respecting the claims, that may be brought forward to the legislature by the Roman Catholic inhabitants of this kingdom, I think it necessary to declare, that I entirely coincide in the opinion of those gentlemen who expressed their dissent to the resolutions entered into by the majority of that grand jury.

DENIS BROWNE.

CATHOLIC DECLARATION.

AT a general meeting of the Roman Catholics of the county and city of Cork, convened by public advertisement, and held at the Cork tavern, the 15th of October, 1792, the following declaration was unanimously agreed to :

JUSTIN M'CARTHY, Esq. M. D. in the chair.

We, the Roman Catholics of the county and city of Cork, compelled by the menaces and intimidations which are daily repeated and renewed in the public prints, to deviate from that rule of silent expectation we had prescribed to ourselves, think it our duty at this crisis to interfere, and rescue from opprobrium the character of that body, of which we form no inconsiderable portion.

We embrace the occasion of testifying our entire approbation and concurrence in the sentiments expressed by our oppressed brethren throughout the kingdom ; like them we are loyal, attached to our country and to the constitution which it possesses ; like them inflexibly determined to seek, by all peaceable and legal means, that participation in the elective franchise which we are qualified to enjoy by our situation, patriotism, and property.

As the inhabitants of an extensive country, and great commercial city, we cannot stigmatize too strongly the unguarded conduct of those persons, probably not much interested in the national welfare, who, by angry resolutions of resistance where no attack was designed, or even to be apprehended ; and by dangerous confederations, which there is no pretence to justify, have diffused vague conjectures through Ireland and foreign countries, interrupting at home the public tranquillity and the harmony of

social life, representing us abroad in a condition of precarious settlement. We see the spirit of intolerance observable in those proceedings with astonishment, in an age which is denominated enlightened, and among a people, who have laid claim to the praise of information and liberality.

We never can admit, that the exclusion of three-fourths of the people from any connexion with the legislature, which disposes of their lives, their liberty, and fortunes, is an essential and fundamental principle in the organization of society within this island. The disfranchisement of a large portion of the Irish people, was the temporary expedient of a distempered age: it is time it should be cancelled. It is time the privilege of voting for representatives should be re-annexed to our freehold property: and suffrage become what the constitution designed it, the protection and reward of industry. The good of the country, the liberality of the age, the security our property affords, the proofs and the pledges we have given of patriotism and loyalty, all call aloud for a happy reconciliation of parties, grounded upon this act of substantial justice.

The enemies of that great good of Ireland, our emancipation, endeavour to divert the public mind from this discussion, and to overwhelm our calm representation in the outcry of sedition. They are aware, that supported by reason and justice, if our Protestant countrymen shall investigate our cause, we must triumph over the base views and prejudices of the interested and bigoted; but we call upon our Protestant friends and neighbours to judge us, not from exaggerations and calumnies, but by their personal observation; by the general tenour of our lives and conduct; by the duties which we fulfil in common. Is there any room for the unkind surmises which circulate? Are there no terms upon which we may hope to be restored to our country? In the general havoc of our rights, remonstrance, petition, and discussion were preserved. We use them with that deference to the existing laws, and attention to the public peace, which befits men connected by every endearing tie to their country. Will any honest man lay his hand upon his breast, and answer, is our conduct disorderly? Is our mode of address indecent? Are our grievances fictitious? In every pursuit we are intercepted by monopoly; we are deprived of all that is called enviable in political life, and of many solid advantages of society. When we inquire the cause of this exclusion, we are denominated seditious.

We have a strong cause; it requires but the aid of argument, and this auxiliary alone we will employ. We solicit from our Protestant countrymen a patient hearing, that we may demonstrate to them, that by redressing our grievances, they serve our common country and do not endanger their establishment. We

have no means of procuring redress, but by impressing conviction upon the Protestant representatives of Protestant constitutions.

For us stands all that is illustrious in the land for talent and public spirit! The men, who encourage venality and trade in corruption, are arrayed against us. It may be convenient to such persons to limit the number of free agents within the realm; but will the sensible and disinterested Protestants of Ireland be deceived by their unfounded assertions, their unsubstantiated charges, and fanciful hypothesis? Will they credit, that we would innovate in prosperity, who in adversity are moderate and submissive?

Will they believe, that we have an alien hope, who have appeared in every hour of peril armed by their sides for our common protection, and who have within the period of their recollection, resisted the only powers on earth, whom we could be supposed to favour? Will they not rather attend to the evidence of their senses, that as the past repeal of the Popery laws has been the cause of national prosperity, so by the future must our country flourish? That it is more politic to recompense by franchise the toil of the laborious, than the perjury of the profligate. These are the sound doctrines of every wise statesman and eminent writer of either kingdom; opposed to them are the men who inculcate the dangerous lesson, that the church, the state, the crown, the empire, and the constitution must totter, unless they have for supporters, a famished slave and an arrogant monopolist,

We are threatened, if we persist in our purpose, not only with an exclusion from future favours, but likewise with a revocation of past relaxations of penalties inflicted without a crime; the former openly avowed, the latter covertly insinuated. But this sentence of eternal and even of retroactive proscription, though backed by some untimely proffers of lives and fortunes, has no effect on our conduct; because we conceive, that to the legislature alone it is competent to menace or to proscribe; and that for one fellow-subject to threaten to limit the rights of another, is to assume a power that to him does not belong:—a species of political assault unwarranted either by the law or the constitution,

To the patriots who stood forward our advocates in the senate, and to those who supported our cause without, we return our warmest thanks; and our acknowledgments and gratitude are particularly due to the late grand jury of this city, who, resisting the contagion of evil example, have declined entering into

the confederacy attempted to be formed for the purpose of rivetting our chains, and detaining us in bondage; as well as to the enlightened and spirited Protestant freeholders, who, by their resolutions of the 8th instant, have patronized our claims, and rescued this great and respectable county from the stigma of bigotry, and the spirit of monopoly.

JUSTIN M'CARTHY, Chairman.

[Signed by a most respectable number of country gentlemen of landed property, and wealthy citizens.]

GALWAY ROMAN CATHOLICS.

AT a numerous and respectable meeting of the Roman Catholic inhabitants of the town and county of the town of Galway, convened by public requisition on Sunday the 14th instant, the following resolutions were unanimously agreed to.

CHRISTOPHER CHEVERS, Esq. in the chair.

We, the Roman Catholics of the county of the town of Galway, think it our duty to repel, in the most public and solemn manner, the imputation of seditious practices and intentions, which have been rashly alleged against the Catholics of Ireland, but which we observe with surprise and regret to be daily repeated in the public prints, and sanctioned by the signatures of men, who owe to the people of Ireland a more honourable service than to fabricate calumny, and disseminate division, conscious that in our opinions both civil and religious, in our demeanour and in our connexions, there is nothing hostile to the good of our country, to liberty and settlement. We observe with equal indignation and astonishment, the assertion, that to restore us to the right of suffrage, is a measure which might endanger the fortunate connexion of the sister kingdoms, the happy constitution of this realm, and the succession in the House of Hanover, to which we are devoted. Nor can we refrain from remarking, that whilst the authors of these crude conjectures expect an unlimited deference to their opinions, they should have treated with more decorum a body which contains the representatives of so many ancient families, a large portion of the landed, and a vast majority of the commercial interest of the country. If the character of Ireland were to be collected from the newspapers, foreigners might suppose it plunged in the bigotry of the most dark and barbarous periods of society.

1st. Resolved, That we concur in the sentiments expressed by the Catholics of Waterford in their Declaration of the 22d of

September, and in other similar publications, being at once loyal, moderate, and firm.

2d. That the tranquillity of Ireland would have been more consulted, if the grand juries, and such other incompetent assemblies had referred the discussion to the wisdom of parliament, the tribunal to which of right it appertains.

3d. That as we should censure any menace or intimidation from the members of our body, so we must complain that the language of some late resolutions is replete with menace, and seems calculated to deter the subject from the exercise of his right to petition.

4th. That the circular letter of the corporation of Dublin is on this account eminently reprehensible, that it contained doctrines inconsistent with the existence of good government, and the peace of a settled country.

5th. That those who attempt to suppress the discussion of the Catholic question acknowledge by that conduct that our cause is just, and our relief reasonable, and that to obstruct our humble application to parliament in petition, is the interruption of a right, which is enjoyed and exercised even under despotic governments.

6th. That impressed with a conviction that the prosperity of Ireland depends upon the union of its inhabitants, and that no union can be cordial unless political rights be impartially distributed, we will join with the Catholics of other counties and cities in an application to the legislature to be restored to the privilege of voting for our representatives in parliament. That we will support that application by every means of constitutional influence which we possess, and that we trust our gracious sovereign, whose character is an attachment equally paternal to all his subjects, will not listen to the misrepresentation and chimeras of interested men, but countenance this signal act of national policy and justice, by which not alone the condition of his faithful people will be improved, but Ireland herself become a more useful and profitable member of the empire.

CHRISTOPHER CHEVERS.

Christopher Chevers, esq. having left the chair, and Andrew French, esq. of Ragoon, having taken it, the thanks of the meeting were unanimously voted to Christopher Chevers, esq. for his proper conduct in the chair.

Signed by upwards of four hundred gentlemen.

COUNTY KERRY MEETING.

At a meeting of the freeholders of the county of Kerry, convened at the county court-house, by public notice, from the high sheriff, pursuant to a requisition from the grand jury—

Resolved, That having seen a printed paper now circulating amongst the Catholics of this county, which paper is signed “Edward Byrne,” and proposes to the Catholics of the entire kingdom, to elect persons to represent their body, in the manner, and for the purposes therein set forth; we consider it an indispensable duty, as well from an inalienable interest in the security of our present happy constitution, so seriously invaded thereby, as from our solicitude for the real advantages of our Catholic brethren, which we conceive in fact to be materially obstructed by such measure, to declare our opinion on the contents of such paper, and the resolutions it has compelled us to adopt.

Resolved, That although we have seen with satisfaction the progression of public opinion in favour of our Catholic brethren, which has for some years gradually procured them the material relaxations of the penal laws their moderation merited, yet we cannot but consider any efforts made to call upon the Catholics of this kingdom, to assemble themselves collectively or representatively for the purposes set forth in said letter, as calculated to continue and preserve separate views and interests between Catholics and Protestants, which we trusted time would gradually efface; as also to intimate that the privileges communicated to them, have been the acquisitions of their own efforts, rather than the concessions of a generous and enlightened legislature, and above all to establish a dangerous innovation subversive of our present constitution, and necessarily productive of anarchy and confusion, and which we should therefore equally oppose, if adopted for any purpose by any set of men, or sect of religion, not excepting even of the church, or established by the laws of the kingdom.

Resolved, That the dark and mysterious allusions such letter contained, to the assent of lord Fingal and the other Catholic noblemen and gentlemen who differed from the said committee, oblige us to declare, that we discredit such assertion, as well from the contradiction it contains to the public declarations of the noblemen and gentlemen alluded to, as from the inconsistency of such measures with their loyalty, their attachment to the present constitution, and their interests in its maintenance and support.

Resolved, That, in the county where the Catholics are exceedingly numerous, we have observed with the most heartfelt satisfaction, the higher rank most eminently distinguished by their

meritorious efforts to preserve peace and good order ; and that in the middle and lower ranks, we have found offences of every kind daily diminish, whilst those attributed to, or derived from, the difference of sects, have been utterly unknown.

Resolved, That, in the indissoluble union which exists between the intelligent and good of all persuasions, we look forward to a continuation of that progression of rapid improvement, which has taken place for some years in this county.

Resolved, That the high sheriff of this county be requested to transmit these our resolutions to his excellency the lord lieutenant of this kingdom, as the sense of the county.

COUNTY OF MONAGHAN.

Summer Assizes, 1792.

WE, the high sheriff and grand jury of the county of Monaghan, observing with the utmost concern from certain late publications, that the privileges so liberally granted by parliament during the last session to our Roman Catholic brethren, have not been received by them with that thankfulness and gratitude which they merited, do feel it our duty to declare our opinion, that if they look to further indulgences, they are to be obtained only by peaceable submission to the present laws, and to express our firmest confidence that no branch of the legislature will admit of any alteration that can endanger that ascendancy which an established religion and government must maintain.

RICHARD DAWSON, Sheriff.

John Montgomery,	James Corry
Foreman	Dacre Hamilton
John James	Edward Richardson
Samuel Madden	Norman Steele
Mat. Anketell	Thomas Brunker
N. Mont. Moore	William Forster
Charles Albert Leslie	William Mayne
Thomas Singleton	John Mitchell
Adam Noble	James Jackson
John Ker	Robert Graham
Alexander Nixon	John Rawdon
Robert Montgomery	Humphrey Thompson,
	Esqrs.

WHEN the committee of the English Catholics (for they had a committee with whom the English ministers of the crown did not disdain to communicate) waited on Mr. Pitt, he requested to be furnished with authentic evidence of the opinions of the Catholic clergy, and the Catholic universities abroad, "with respect to the existence and extent of the pope's dispensing power." Three questions were accordingly framed and sent to the universities of Paris, Louvain, Alcalá, Douay, Salamanca, and Valladolid, for their opinions.

The queries and answers are as follow.

THE QUERIES.

Has the pope, or cardinals, or any body of men, or any individual of the church of Rome, any civil authority, power, jurisdiction, or pre-eminence whatsoever, within the realm of England?

2. Can the pope or cardinals, or any body of men, or any individual of the church of Rome, absolve or dispense with his majesty's subjects, from their oath of allegiance, upon any pretext whatsoever?

3. Is there any principle in the tenets of the Catholic faith, by which Catholics are justified in not keeping faith with Heretics, or other persons differing from them in religious opinions, in any transaction, either of a public or a private nature?

Abstract from the answer of the Sacred Faculty of Divinity of Paris to the above queries.

After an introduction according to the usual forms of the university, they answer the first query by declaring:

Neither the pope, nor the cardinals, nor any body of men, nor any other person of the church of Rome, hath any civil authority, civil power, civil jurisdiction, or civil pre-eminence whatsoever in any kingdom; and, consequently, none in the kingdom of England, by reason or virtue of any authority, power, jurisdiction, or pre-eminence by divine institution inherent in, or granted, or by any other means belonging to the pope, or the church of Rome.

This doctrine the sacred faculty of divinity of Paris has always held, and upon every occasion maintained, and upon every occasion has rigidly proscribed the contrary doctrines from her schools.

Answer to the second query.—Neither the pope, nor the cardinals, nor any body of men, nor any person of the church of Rome, can, by virtue of the keys, absolve or release the subjects of the king of England from their oath of allegiance.

This and the first query are so intimately connected, that the answer of the first immediately and naturally applies to the second, &c.

Answer to the third query.—There is no tenet in the Catholic church, by which Catholics are justified in not keeping faith with Heretics, or those who differ from them in matters of religion. The tenet, that it is lawful to break faith with Heretics, is so repugnant to common honesty and the opinions of Catholics, that there is nothing of which those who have defended the Catholic faith against Protestants, have complained more heavily, than the malice and calumny of their adversaries in imputing this tenet to them, &c. &c. &c.

Given at Paris in the general assembly of the Sorbonne, held on Thursday the 11th day before the calends of March, 1789.

Signed in due form.

UNIVERSITY OF DOUAY.

January 5, 1789.

At a meeting of the Faculty of Divinity of the University of Douay, &c. &c.

To the first and second queries the sacred faculty answers—That no power whatsoever, in civil or temporal concerns, was given by the Almighty, either to the pope, the cardinals, or the church herself, and, consequently, that kings and sovereigns are not in temporal concerns, subject, by the ordination of God, to any ecclesiastical power whatsoever; neither can their subjects, by any authority granted to the pope or the church, from above, be freed from their obedience, or absolved from their oath of allegiance.

This is the doctrine which the doctors and professors of divinity hold and teach in our schools, and this all the candidates for degrees in divinity maintain in their public theses, &c. &c. &c.

To the third question the sacred faculty answers—That there is no principle of the Catholic faith, by which Catholics are justified in not keeping faith with Heretics, who differ from them in

religious opinion. On the contrary, it is *the unanimous doctrine* of Catholics, that the respect due to the name of God so called to witness, requires that the oath be inviolably kept, to whomsoever it is pledged, whether Catholic, Heretic, or Infidel, &c. &c. &c.

Signed and sealed in due form.

UNIVERSITY OF LOUVAIN.

The faculty of divinity at Louvain, having been requested to give her opinion upon the questions above stated, does it with readiness—but struck with astonishment that such questions should, at the end of this eighteenth century, be proposed to any learned body, by inhabitants of a kingdom that glories in the talents and discernment of its natives. The faculty being assembled for the above purpose, it is agreed with the unanimous assent of all voices to answer the first and second queries absolutely in the negative.

The faculty does not think it incumbent upon her in this place to enter upon the proofs of her opinion, or to shew how it is supported by passages in the Holy Scriptures, or the writings of antiquity. That has already been done by Bossuet, De Marca, the two Barclays, Goldastus, the Pithæuses, Argentre Widrington, and his majesty king James the First, in his dissertation against Bellarmine and Du Perron, and by many others, &c. &c. &c.

The faculty then proceeds to declare that the sovereign power of the state is in no wise (not even indirectly as it is termed) subject to, or dependant upon any other power, though it be a spiritual power, or even though it be instituted for eternal salvation, &c. &c.

That no man nor any assembly of men however eminent in dignity and power, not even the whole body of the Catholic church, though assembled in general council, can, upon any ground or pretence whatsoever, weaken the bond of union between the sovereign and the people; still less can they absolve or free the subjects from their oath of allegiance.

Proceeding to the third question, the said faculty of divinity (in perfect wonder that such a question should be proposed to her) most positively and unequivocally answers—That there is not, and there never has been, among the Catholics, or in the doctrines of the church of Rome, any law or principle which makes it lawful for Catholics to break their faith with Heretics, or others of a different persuasion from themselves in matters of religion, either in public or private concerns.

The faculty declares the doctrine of the Catholics to be, that the divine and natural law, which makes it a duty to keep faith

and promises, is the same ; and is neither shaken nor diminished, if those with whom the engagement is made, hold erroneous opinions in matters of religion, &c. &c.

Signed in due form on the 18th of November, 1788.

UNIVERSITY OF ALCALA.

To the first question it is answered—That none of the persons mentioned in the proposed question, either individually, or collectively in council assembled, have any right in civil matters ; but that all civil power, jurisdiction and pre-eminence are derived from inheritance, election, the consent of the people, and other such titles of that nature

To the second it is answered, in like manner—That none of the persons above-mentioned have a power to absolve the subjects of his Britannic majesty from their oaths of allegiance.

To the third question it is answered—That the doctrine which would exempt Catholics from the obligation of keeping faith with Heretics, or with any other persons who dissent from them in matters of religion, instead of being an article of Catholic faith, is entirely repugnant to its tenets.

Signed in the usual form, March 17th, 1789.

UNIVERSITY OF SALAMANCA.

To the first question it is answered—That neither pope, nor cardinals, nor any assembly or individual of the Catholic church, have, as such, any civil authority, power, jurisdiction or pre-eminence in the kingdom of England.

To the second it is answered—That neither pope nor cardinals, nor any assembly or individual of the Catholic church, can, as such, absolve the subjects of Great Britain from their oaths of allegiance, or dispense with its obligations.

To the third it is answered—That it is no article of Catholic faith, with Heretics, or with persons of any other description, who dissent from them in matters of religion.

Signed in the usual form, March 7th, 1789.

UNIVERSITY OF VALLADOLID.

To the first question it is answered—That neither pope, cardinals, or even a general council, have any civil authority, power, jurisdiction or pre-eminence, directly or indirectly, in the kingdom of Great Britain ; or over any other kingdom or province in which they possess no temporal dominion.

To the second it is answered—That neither pope nor cardinals, nor even a general council, can absolve the subjects of Great Britain from their oaths of allegiance, or dispense with their obligation.

To the third it is answered—That the obligation of keeping faith is grounded on the law of nature, which binds all men equally, without respect to their religious opinions; and with regard to Catholics, it is still more cogent, as it is confirmed by the principles of their religion.

Signed in the usual form, February 17th, 1789.

NO. XCII.

PAGE 46.

September, 13, 1792.

At a meeting of the sub-committee of the Catholics, RANDAL M'DONNELL, esq. in the chair.

The sub-committee having seen, with great concern, a variety of publications, censuring the circular letter lately issued by them, said to be signed by Edward Byrne, and erroneously stated to be illegal and unconstitutional, have thought it their duty to submit that letter to the inspection of the honourable Simon Butler, and Beresford Burston, esq. two gentlemen of the first eminence in their profession, and who have the honour to be of his majesty's council.

The case and opinions of those gentlemen, which follow, will demonstrate, that the committee have taken no step whatsoever, which the laws and constitution do not fully warrant.

CASE.

The Catholics of Ireland, labouring under laws, by which they are deprived of every share in the legislature, rendered incapable of serving their country in any office civil or military, and deprived of an equal participation with their fellow-subjects of other persuasions, in the benefit of the trial by jury, are desirous of laying their grievances before the king and parliament, and supplicating redress.

As the most effectual method of collecting the sense of the Catholic body, and laying it before the king and parliament, a general committee from that body was formed, for the purpose of making application to the legislature, from time to time, on the subject of their grievance, and praying that redress, to which their loyalty and attachment to their sovereign, and obedience to the laws, justly entitled them.

In the last session of parliament, the general committee, as individuals, did on behalf of themselves and their brethren, present a petition to parliament, praying relief, which petition was, with circumstances of unprecedented severity, rejected; and as one of the many causes of said rejection, it was alleged, that the persons whose names were affixed to said petition were a faction, unconnected with and incompetent to speak the sense of the Catholics of Ireland. In order to obviate every such objection in future, the general committee framed a plan, which is sent herewith, for the purpose of procuring the attendance of such persons from each county as were best acquainted with the sentiments, and could best declare the voice of the Catholics of Ireland, who should be by them deputed as delegates to the general committee, with instructions to support the said committee, as the voice of the Catholics, by whom they were deputed. "That an humble representation be made to their gracious sovereign, and to parliament, of the many severe laws which oppress his majesty's faithful subjects the Catholics of Ireland, although no cause founded in wisdom or policy is assigned for their continuance, imploring it as essential to their protection, and to secure an impartial distribution of justice in their favour, that they may be restored to the elective franchise, and an equal participation in the benefits of the trial by jury."

Charges and insinuations of a very heavy nature have been thrown out, and menaces used by many bodies of men, and individuals, to prevent the carrying the above plan into execution, under a pretence that it is contrary to law, and that the meeting projected therein would be a popish congress, formed for the purpose of overawing the legislature.

The general committee, abhorring and utterly renouncing such imputations, and desiring to regulate their conduct in strict conformity to law, request your opinion upon the following queries:

1st. Have his majesty's subjects of Ireland, professing the Roman Catholic religion, a right to petition his majesty and the legislature for the redress of grievances, equally with Protestants; and if not, wherein do they differ?

2d. If they have this right, may they lawfully choose delegates, for the purpose of framing such petition, and presenting the same,

in a peaceable and respectful manner ; and if they may not, by what law or statute are they forbidden to do so ?

3d. Is a meeting for the purpose of choosing such delegates an unlawful assembly ; and if not an unlawful assembly, has any magistrate or other person by or under pretence of the Riot Act, or any other, and what statute, a right to disperse said meeting ?

4th. What is the legal mode of presenting petitions to the legislature in Ireland ; and is there any, and what statute upon that point in this country ?

5th. Is the plan sent herewith agreeable to law ; if not, wherein is it contrary thereto, and to what penalties would persons become subject, who should carry, or attempt to carry, the same into effect ?

Counsel will please to state the authorities upon which he grounds his opinion.

Answer to the 1st question.—I am clearly and decidedly of opinion, that all and every his majesty's subjects of this kingdom, of every persuasion, Roman Catholic as well as Protestant, have an unalienable right to petition, in a peaceable manner, the king or either house of parliament, for redress of grievances, be those grievances real or imaginary.—*1st Black. Comm. p. 143.*

Answer to the 2d question.—I am clearly and decidedly of opinion, that Roman Catholics have, equally with Protestants, a right to choose delegates for the purpose of framing such petition, and presenting the same in a peaceable and respectful manner to the legislature, and that they are not forbidden so to do by any law or statute whatsoever. Delegation has always been considered not only as the most effectual mode of obtaining the general sense, but also as the best security against tumult and disturbance.

Answer to the 3d question.—I am also clearly and decidedly of opinion, that a peaceable meeting for the purpose of choosing such delegates, is a lawful assembly, and that no magistrate or other person, by or under pretence of the riot act or any other statute, has a right to disperse such meeting. The assembly which may be dispersed under the authority of the riot act, must be unlawful, riotous, tumultuous, and in disturbance of the public peace. The act is inoperative upon an assembly that is lawful ; and I feel no difficulty in declaring my opinion, that an obstruction of the peaceable exercise of an unalienable right of the subject, is a misdemeanor of the greatest magnitude, and that any person charged with the guilt thereof, be his rank or station what it may, is indictable, and, if found guilty by his country, liable to be fined and imprisoned ; and I also feel no difficulty in declaring my opinion, that publications charging the general committee with

exciting in the instance before us, unlawful assemblies for seditious purposes, are libels, and as such are indictable and actionable.

Answer to the 4th question.—By the English statute of the 1st William and Mary, St. 2. Ch. II. commonly called the Bill of Rights, and which being a law declaratory of the rights of the subject, is therefore of force in Ireland, it is declared, “that all subjects have a right to petition to the king, and that all commitments and prosecutions for such petitioning are illegal.” Notwithstanding the Bill of Rights is general, and does not specify any regulations or restrictions, yet the court of king’s bench in England, in the case of the king against lord George Gordon (Douglass, p. 571.) thought proper to deliver an opinion, that it did not repeal the English act of the 13th Car. II. St. I. Ch. 5, which enacted, “that no petition to the king, or either house of parliament, for any alteration in the church or state, shall be signed by above twenty persons, unless the matter thereof be approved by three justices of the peace, or the major part of the grand jury, in the country, and in London, by the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council : nor shall any petition be presented by more than ten persons at a time.” Under the above authority, therefore, the right of petitioning in England is subject to the regulations and restrictions laid upon it by that act of Charles II. But as neither the act of Charles, nor any one similar to it, is in force in Ireland, the right of the Irish subjects to petition their legislature is not subject to any regulation or restriction whatsoever, save only that due care must be taken, lest, under the pretence of petitioning, the subject be guilty of any riot or tumult. I am therefore of opinion, that no particular mode of presenting petitions to the legislature of Ireland is pointed out by any law or statute of force in this kingdom. It is to be observed, that in the last sessions of parliament, a great concourse of people assembled in the Park, framed a petition, and deputed a very large number of their body to present it to the House of Lords : the lord chancellor, in observing upon the petition, did not charge the petitioners with any illegality, either in assembling to frame, or in presenting the petition, but on the contrary, his lordship was pleased to commend them for the peaceable manner in which they deputed themselves. The success which attended the petition, is in the recollection of most people.

Answer to the 5th question.—I am also clearly and decidedly of opinion, that the plan is in every respect agreeable to law, and that persons, peaceably carrying, or attempting to carry the same into effect, would not thereby incur any penalty whatsoever. The plan is indeed unexceptionable ; while it serves effectually to

obtain the general sense of the great Catholic body of Ireland, it provides every precaution against tumult and disturbance.

September 3, 1792.

SIMON BUTLER.

I. His majesty's subjects of Ireland, professing the Roman Catholic religion, have, in my opinion, a right to petition his majesty and the two houses of parliament, or any of them, for the redress of grievances, equally with Protestants.

II. As they have this right, it follows, as I conceive, that, where the grievance complained of affects the whole body, they have also a right to collect the sense of every individual of that body; but as the assembling them all for that purpose would be inconvenient, imprudent, and perhaps dangerous, I think the sense of the whole body may be collected from a smaller number, delegated by them for that purpose, who may frame and present such petition; and I know of no principle of the common law, nor of any statute, by which they are forbidden to do so, it being always supposed that these proceedings are carried on in a peaceable and respectful manner.

III. I do not apprehend that a number of Roman Catholics, meeting in a private, peaceable, and quiet manner, for the sole purpose of declaring their sense of the alleged grievances, and their desire of petitioning the legislature for redress, and of choosing out of themselves, one or more, to assist in framing and presenting such petition, can be considered as an unlawful assembly; and I do not think that any magistrate, or other person, by or under pretence of the riot act, or any other act that I am acquainted with, would have a right to disperse such meeting.

IV. I do not know of any statute in this kingdom which regulates the mode of presenting petitions to the legislature of this kingdom; the English statute of 13th Car. II. St. V. Ch. 2d. has not been enacted here, that I know of; but the general law of the land requires that the petition should be presented in the most respectful and peaceable manner. The intended petition, as I apprehend, should be entitled the petition of his majesty's subjects of Ireland professing the Roman Catholic religion; and should be signed by a few of the Roman Catholics of each county and principal city in Ireland, on behalf of themselves and their Roman Catholic brethren of that county or city. According to the forms of parliament here, the petition must be presented to each house, by a member of that house; in presenting the petition to his majesty, which may be either to himself in person, or through the medium of the lord lieutenant, it would I think be prudent to follow the directions of the English statute above mentioned, and that not more than ten persons should present it.

V. From what I have already said, I must be of opinion, that the plan sent herewith to me, is not contrary to law, and I cannot conceive that persons carrying, or attempting to carry it into effect, peaceably and quietly, would become subject to any penalties.

I have grounded my opinion upon the conception I have formed of the law and constitution of this kingdom, from that general research which my profession has led me to make into their principles; I have not therefore any authorities to state.

13th September, 1792.

BERESFORD BURSTON.

NO. XCIII.

CIRCULAR LETTER ADDRESSED TO THE CATHOLIC GENTLEMEN
OF THE KINGDOM OF IRELAND, WITH A PLAN FOR ELECTING
DELEGATES....PAGE 47.

SIR,

THIS letter with the plan which accompanies it, is transmitted to you, by order of the sub-committee. You will perceive that the object of this plan is to procure a fuller attendance of country gentlemen, to assist, by their advice and influence, the measures adopted by the committee to procure for the Catholics the elective franchise, and an equal participation of the benefits of the trial by jury. You will please to lose no time in submitting this to the respectable Catholics of your county. You will please also to inform them, that several respectable independent country gentlemen, lately in Dublin, had frequent consultations, for the laudable purpose of re-uniting to the committee lord Fingal, and the other gentlemen who had withdrawn themselves from it. These country gentlemen had the satisfaction to find, that the general committee on one side, and the gentlemen who had entered into separate addresses on the other, mutually regretted their division; which they saw was used by the opponents of the Catholics, as a pretext for withholding from our people the elective franchise, and an equal participation of the benefits of the trial by jury. It is on all sides agreed, that if the Catholics are all united in this just and reasonable request, essential to the very existence of our people, there will be a certainty of success; it depends then on ourselves whether we shall be freemen or slaves! We say, essential to the very existence of our

people : for, as the rage for electioneering interest increases, our wealthy farmers must either pay beyond the value for lands, or resign them to Protestant freeholders when out of lease ; our poorer yeomanry will of course be expelled, and driven into beggary. Let us all then, speak with one voice, and supplicate the legislature for justice, and we shall receive it.

These independent country gentlemen have received from lord Fingal, and the gentlemen who have acted with him, the most positive declarations, that they will never again enter into any act to oppose the general committee in their endeavours to obtain the emancipation of the Catholics ; and it is determined that all former differences in opinion shall be buried in oblivion on both sides.

The committee had decided to send some of their body, to propose to the counties to appoint delegates to the committee, of whose attendance there would be a certainty ; and our chairman had actually left Dublin, with intention to go through a great part of Ireland for this purpose ; the independent country gentlemen, as before mentioned, took up the same idea themselves, (before they knew the committee had determined upon it) and they, and lord Fingal and his friends, all agreed in pressing such a measure on the committee, as an additional cause of re-uniting them to the body.

Lord Fingal, his friends, and the country gentlemen before mentioned, seemed at first inclined that the present committee should be dissolved ; an opinion, however, which further reflection on the various difficulties resulting from such a measure, the doubts entertained of the competency in the committee to dissolve itself, and the consideration that a dissolution must necessarily occur early in 1793, induced them to forego.

The plan inclosed, sanctioned by the general committee, by these independent gentlemen, and by lord Fingal, and his friends, is recommended to your zeal to have carried into immediate execution in your county.

I am, Sir,

Your most humble servant,

EDWARD BYRNE.

No. XCIV.

DECLARATION....PAGE 47.

WE the Catholics of the city of Dublin, have read with extreme concern, the resolutions of different bodies of our Protestant fellow-subjects, in which they express their disapprobation of the conduct of our committee, and their aversion to our claims of the elective franchise, and an equal participation of the trial by jury. But the address of the corporation of this city to the Protestants of Ireland, has filled us most peculiarly with mortification and surprise; as Irishmen, we are astonished and grieved, that the first corporation of this kingdom should have put forth a publication, teeming with false principles of government, and false statements of historic facts; as Catholics, we lament, that the same body should have misconceived and mis-stated our conduct and our objects.

We have read of what is called the right of conquest; it has also been called the right of robbery: but we do not imagine, that a doctrine so subversive of the peace and settlement of society, and of the immutable rules of justice, that a doctrine, which in its consequences so completely warrants, and in its language so wantonly provokes resistance, would be made the foundation of the Protestant claims to the government of this country. We did not expect that a doctrine exploded in this island by the revolution of 1782, would be revived to our oppression. If conquest and the right of the sword could justify the stronger in retaining dominion, why did not Great Britain abdicate her legislative supremacy over Ireland? or why were we all, Protestants and Catholics, actuated as one man to resist so legitimate an authority? Is that monstrous and exploded principle still to be retained for our peculiar subjection, which was felt to be false by every honest man, when applied to the subjection of his native land?

We are desired in that address to "rest contented with the most perfect toleration of our religion, the fullest security of our property, and the most complete personal liberty." They are great and important blessings, but they are not secure to any man who is a slave. They are held but by sufferance, by those who are tried without their consent, and legislated for without being represented.

We agree with the corporation in the spirit of one assertion, they "know of no power under heaven authorized to alienate

"this their most valuable inheritance." Let our claims be tried by the same principle. The Catholics were the constituents of the very parliament which deprived them of their franchise, and thereby did indeed "alienate their most valuable inheritance!" and though we have acquiesced under that unjust deprivation for sixty-five years, and though we will continue to acquiesce, so long as the statute stands in its present form, we must still declare, as a political truth, that no elected and delegated legislature has a right to disfranchise its electors and delegators, who never entrusted their power to that body for the purpose of being made the instrument of its own destruction. And we further say, that in our judgment, not even those electors could empower their representatives to enslave us, their posterity.

We are likewise told by the corporation, that "experience has taught them, that without the ruin of the Protestant establishment, the Catholic cannot be allowed the smallest influence in the state." The inclinations of our body are not to subvert any establishment in this country; if they were, we are not competent to so absurd a project: and no strength, that we might derive from the restoration of our rights would enable us to effect it, while the king, the house of lords, the Irish privy council, the English privy council, and the chancellors of both countries, are unalterably Protestant. If by establishment be meant religious establishment, we must further reply, that no experience has taught them so; the Protestant religion was dominant in this country long before our ancestors lost their elective franchise. Is it only since the year 1727, that Protestantism has been the religion of the state in Ireland? If by establishment be meant the government of the country, it is equally ill founded: *that* is instituted for the freedom and happiness of the governed; and yet this address would imply, that procuring freedom and happiness for three-fourths of this kingdom, would cause the utter ruin of our government. A greater libel against the constitution of Ireland was never uttered by its most declared enemy. It is sufficiently capacious to give liberty to every man; and the more its base is widened, and its blessings diffused, the more it will be fortified against the efforts of time and despotism. Nor does experience warrant the assertion. Our loss of the right of citizenship is comparatively modern; and the government of this country neither required nor gained any accession of strength by our slavery. That was effected in a time of profound tranquillity, after the uninterrupted loyalty and peaceable demeanor of our ancestors had been experienced and acknowledged for thirty-six years from the capitulation of Limerick. The causes that induced this law are now almost forgotten; but if tradition be to be believed, where history is silent, it was enacted to satisfy court intrigue, not public security; to change the balance of power between Protestant fami-

lies in two or three counties of this kingdom, not to give any increase of power to the Protestants at large.

It is suggested in that address, that the Revolution was established in Ireland by force, or as it is profanely called, by "an appeal to heaven." The Revolution in England, derived its glory and its stability from this great truth, that it was founded on the people's will. Does the Revolution in Ireland rest upon a different foundation? Is it supported by a principle, which is the reverse of that which rendered the Revolution in England the admiration of the world? No! it is not so; we must all concur in calumniating that great event, that our ancestors may also be calumniated. The Revolution in Ireland was not completed by the battles of the Boyne or Aughrim, but by the articles of Limerick. It was consented to by all, Protestants and Catholics. The consent of the Catholics was obtained to a compact, *as solemnly ratified, and as speedily broken*, as any in the records of history. By that compact, the enjoyment of all their rights was stipulated for to our ancestors, as a declaration of their consent. The restoration of those rights was therefore connected with the Revolution settlement of this kingdom.

We are also told, that those laws were enacted to "deprive the Roman Catholics of political power, in consequence of the many and great efforts made by them in support of their Popish king and French connexions." When, where, or how were those many and great efforts made? From their number and their magnitude, those who so confidently advance this assertion, cannot, we presume, be at a loss for an instance; but we defy the malice of invention to produce *one*. *Our forefathers never violated the articles of Limerick*. From the time that they consented to the Revolution in 1691, they never made any efforts either in support of a Popish king, or French connexions, or of any other enemy to king William and his successors. Had they even done so, the fault had been theirs—why not the punishment theirs also? Or, is it intended to be insinuated to fellow-subjects who know our loyalty, that we are anxious to have this country "governed by an arbitrary and unconstitutional Popish tyrant, and dependent upon France;" or that *we do not desire* to "enjoy the blessings of a free Protestant government, a Protestant monarch limited by the constitution (as settled by the Revolution) and an intimate connexion with the free empire of Britain?" If we *do*, why is the law continued, after the reason of enacting has ceased?

We admit, that from the moment the Protestant began to make concessions, the Roman Catholic began to extend his claims. The first kindness of our Protestant brethren shewed a returning spirit of liberality and affection. Before that time we were not so rash

as to raise our minds to the hopes of citizenship. But we were never guilty of the deceit imputed to us, of declaring that a little would satisfy us, and when that little was granted, of claiming more. Our own attention, as well as that of our Protestant fellow-subjects, was directed to the most immediate and most practicable redress. We did not embarrass the measure by remote and extraneous considerations, but we never did, either in word or thought, *and we never will forego our hopes of emancipation*. Freemen would not believe us, if we said that we should be induced by any comparatively small alleviation of our grievances, to consent to perpetual slavery.

We lament that it is *not true*, "that the last session of parliament left us in no wise different from our Protestant fellow-subjects, save only in the exercise of political power." That assertion is falsified by the heavy code of penal laws still in force against us, many of which infringe on that security of property and that personal liberty, which it is alleged we possess. But it is not power, it is protection we solicit. It is not power, including in it the notion of *superiority*—it is the *equal enjoyment* of our rights that we claim.

The corporation tell us, that they will not be compelled by any authority whatever, "to abandon that political situation, which their forefathers won with their swords, and which they have resolved with their lives and fortunes to maintain." Are we the seditious men, that would overawe the legislature and our fellow countrymen? No: our views are peaceable, and neither insult nor oppression shall make us forget our loyalty. But wherefore this untimely threat? It wears the appearance of first urging us to despair by an eternal proscription, and then of throwing down the gauntlet of civil war. We too have lives and fortunes, which we are ready to devote to the service of our country, whenever *real danger* shall require it; but we will never degrade that last and most solemn act of patriotism into an idle menace and an insolent bravado.

The great question of our emancipation is now afloat, we have never sought to acquire it by force, and we hope for it now only from the wisdom of the legislature, and affection of our Protestant brethren. But, we here solemnly and publicly declare, that we never will, through any change of time or circumstance, save the actual *restoration of our rights*, desist from the peaceable and lawful pursuit of the two great objects of our hopes—the *right of elective franchise*, and an *equal share in the benefits of the trial by jury*.

No. XCV.

PETITION OF THE CATHOLICS OF IRELAND....PAGE 51.

January 2, 1793.

MR. BYRNE, Mr. Keogh, Mr. Devereux, Mr. Bellew, and sir Thomas French, the gentlemen delegated by the Catholics of Ireland, attended the levee at St. James's and had the honour to present the humble petition of that body to his majesty, who was pleased to receive it most graciously.

The delegates were introduced by the right honourable Henry Dundas, secretary of state for the home department.

The following is a correct copy of the petition :

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

The humble petition of the undersigned Catholics, on behalf of themselves and the rest of his Catholic subjects of the kingdom of Ireland.

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

WE your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects of your kingdom of Ireland, professing the Catholic religion, presume to approach your majesty, who are the common father of all your people, and humbly to submit to your consideration the manifold incapacities and oppressive disqualifications under which we labour.

For, may it please your majesty, after a century of uninterrupted loyalty, in which time five foreign wars and two domestic rebellions have occurred, after having taken every oath of allegiance and fidelity to your majesty, and given, and being still ready to give, every pledge, which can be devised for their peaceable demeanour and unconditional submission to the laws, the Catholics of Ireland stand obnoxious to a long catalogue of statutes, inflicting on dutiful and meritorious subjects pains and penalties of an extent and severity, which scarce any degree of delinquency can warrant, and prolonged to a period, when no necessity can be alleged to justify their continuance.

In the first place, we beg leave with all humility to represent to your majesty, that notwithstanding the lowest departments in your majesty's fleets and armies are largely supplied by our num-

bers, and your revenue in this country to a great degree supported by our contributions, we are disabled from serving your majesty in any office of trust and emolument whatsoever, civil or military—a proscription, which disregards capacity or merit, admits of neither qualification nor degree, and rests as an universal stigma of distrust upon the whole body of your Catholic subjects.

We are interdicted from all municipal stations, and the franchise of all guilds and corporations; and our exclusion from the benefits annexed to those situations is not an evil terminating in itself; for, by giving an advantage over us to those in whom they are exclusively vested, they establish throughout the kingdom a species of qualified monopoly, uniformly operating in our disfavour, contrary to the spirit, and highly detrimental to the freedom of trade.

We may not found nor endow any university, college, or school for the education of our children, and we are interdicted from obtaining degrees in the university of Dublin by the several charters and statutes now in force therein.

We are totally prohibited from keeping or using weapons, for the defence of our houses, families, or persons, whereby we are exposed to the violence of burglary, robbery, and assassination; and to enforce this prohibition, contravening that great original law of nature, which enjoins us to self-defence, a variety of statutes exist, not less grievous and oppressive in their provisions, than unjust in their object; by one of which, enacted so lately as within these sixteen years, every of your majesty's Catholic subjects, of whatever rank or degree, peer or peasant, is compellable by any magistrate to come forward and convict himself of what may be thought a singular offence in a country professing to be free—keeping arms for his defence; or, if he shall refuse so to do, may incur not only fine and imprisonment, but the vile and ignominious punishments of the pillory and whipping, penalties appropriated to the most infamous malefactors, and more terrible to a liberal mind than death itself.

No Catholic whatsoever, as we apprehend, has his personal property secure. The law allows and encourages the disobedient and unnatural child to conform and deprive him of it: the unhappy father does not, even by the surrender of his all, purchase his repose; he may be attacked by new bills, if his future industry be successful, and again be plundered by due process of law.

We are excluded, or may be excluded, from all petit juries, in civil actions, where one of the parties is a Protestant; and we are further excluded from all petit juries in trials by information or indictment founded on any of the Popery laws, by which law we most humbly submit to your majesty, that

your loyal subjects, the Catholics of Ireland, are in this their native land, in a worse situation than that of aliens, for they may demand an equitable privilege denied to us, of having half their jury aliens like themselves.

We may not serve on grand juries, unless, which it is scarcely possible can ever happen, there should not be found a sufficiency of Protestants to complete the pannel; contrary to that humane and equitable principle of the law, which says, that no man shall be convicted of any capital offence, unless by the concurring verdicts of two juries of his neighbours and equals; whereby, and to this we humbly presume more particularly to implore your royal attention, we are deprived of the great palladium of the constitution, trial by our peers, independent of the manifest injustice of our property being taxed in assessments by a body, from which we are formally excluded.

We avoid a further enumeration of inferior grievances; but may it please your majesty, there remains one incapacity, which your loyal subjects, the Catholics of Ireland, feel with most poignant anguish of mind, as being the badge of unmerited disgrace and ignominy, and the cause and bitter aggravation of all our other calamities; we are deprived of the elective franchise, to the manifest perversion of the spirit of the constitution, inasmuch as your faithful subjects are thereby taxed, where they are not represented, actually or virtually, and bound by laws, in the framing of which, they have no power to give, or withhold their assent; and we most humbly implore your majesty to believe, that this our prime and heavy grievance is not an evil merely speculative, but is attended with great distress to all ranks, and in many instances, with the total ruin and destruction of the lower orders of your majesty's faithful and loyal subjects the Catholics of Ireland; for may it please your majesty, not to mention the infinite variety of advantages in point of protection and otherwise, which the enjoyment of the elective franchise gives to those who possess it, nor the consequent inconveniences, to which those who are deprived thereof are liable; not to mention the disgrace to three-fourths of your loyal subjects of Ireland, of living the only body of men incapable of franchise, in a nation possessing a free constitution, it continually happens, and of necessity from the malignant nature of the law must happen, that multitudes of the Catholic tenantry in divers counties in this kingdom are, at the expiration of their leases, expelled from their tenements and farms to make room for Protestant freeholders, who, by their votes, may contribute to the weight and importance of their landlords; a circumstance which renders the recurrence of a general election, that period which is the boast and laudable triumph of our Protestant brethren, a visitation and heavy curse to us, your

majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects. And may it please your majesty, this uncertainty of possession to your majesty's Catholic subjects operates as a perpetual restraint and discouragement on industry and the spirit of cultivation, whereby it happens, that this your majesty's kingdom of Ireland, possessing many and great natural advantages of soil and climate, so as to be exceeded therein by few, if any countries on the earth, is yet prevented from availing herself thereof so fully as she otherwise might, to the furtherance of your majesty's honour, and the more effectual support of your service.

And may it please your majesty, the evil does not even rest here; for many of your majesty's Catholic subjects, to preserve their families from total destruction, submit to a nominal conformity against their conviction and their conscience, and preferring perjury to famine, take oaths which they utterly disbelieve; a circumstance, which we doubt not will shock your majesty's well known and exemplary piety, not less than the misery which drives those unhappy wretches to so desperate a measure, must distress and wound your royal clemency and commiseration.

And may it please your majesty, though we might here rest our case on its own merits, justice, and expediency, yet we further presume humbly to submit to your majesty, that the right of franchise was, with divers other rights, enjoyed by the Catholics of this kingdom, from the first adoption of the English constitution by our forefathers, was secured to at least a great part of our body by the treaty of Limerick, in 1691, guaranteed by your majesty's royal predecessors, king William and queen Mary, and finally confirmed and ratified by parliament; notwithstanding which, and in direct breach of the public faith of the nation thus solemnly pledged, for which our ancestors paid a valuable consideration, in the surrender of their arms, and a great part of this kingdom, and notwithstanding the most scrupulous adherence, on our part, to the terms of the said treaty, and our unremitting loyalty from that day to the present, the said right of elective franchise was finally and universally taken away from the Catholics of Ireland, so lately as the first year of his majesty king George the second.

And when we thus presume to submit this infraction of the treaty of Limerick to your majesty's royal notice, it is not that we ourselves consider it to be the strong part of our case; for though our rights were recognized, they were by no means created by that treaty; and we do with all humility conceive, that if no such event as the said treaty had ever taken place, your majesty's Catholic subjects, from their unvarying loyalty, and dutiful submission to the laws, and from the great support afforded by them to your majesty's government in this country, as well in their

personal service, in your majesty's fleets and armies, as from the taxes and revenues levied on their property, are fully competent, and justly entitled to participate and enjoy the blessings of the constitution of their country.

And now that we have with all humility submitted our grievances to your majesty, permit us, most gracious sovereign, again to represent our sincere attachment to the constitution, as established in three estates of king, lords, and commons; our uninterrupted loyalty, peaceable demeanour, and submission to the laws for one hundred years; and our determination to persevere in the same dutiful conduct, which has, under your majesty's happy auspices, procured us those relaxations of the penal statutes, which the wisdom of the legislature has from time to time thought proper to grant; we humbly presume to hope, that your majesty, in your paternal goodness and affection towards a numerous and oppressed body of your loyal subjects, may be graciously pleased to recommend to your parliament of Ireland, to take into their consideration the whole of our situation, our numbers, our merits, and our sufferings; and as we do not give place to any of your majesty's subjects in loyalty and attachment to your sacred person, we cannot suppress our wishes of being restored to the rights and privileges of the constitution of our country, and thereby becoming more worthy, as well as more capable of rendering your majesty that service, which is not less our duty than our inclination to afford.

So may your majesty transmit to your latest posterity, a crown secured by public advantage and public affection; and so may your loyal person become, if possible, more dear to your grateful people.

The above petition is signed by the delegates from the following counties, cities, and towns in the kingdom of Ireland.

For ourselves and the Roman Catholic Prelates and Clergy of Ireland.

John Thomas Troy, D. D. Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin.

H. Moylan, D. D. Roman Catholic Bishop of Cork.

For ourselves and the Catholics of the county of Antrim.

Luke Teiling
Oliver O'Hara

Bernard O'Neill

County of Armagh.

Theo. Mac Kenna
Charles Whittington
Owen O'Callaghan

County of Carlow.

Walter Fitzgerald
Edward Butler, William Finn
Thomas Warren

County of Cavan.

Hugh O'Reily

James Palles
Edward Dowell
Patrick Dowell

County of Clare.

Patrick O'Reilly
Laurence Cornya
James O'Gorman
Nicholas Mahon
Daniel O'Connell
Francis Mac Mahon, jun.

County and City of Cork.

William Coppinger
John Therry
Nicholas Francis Coppinger
D. Rochfort
Bryan Sheehy
Edward Byrne
Denis Thomas O'Brien

County of Donnegal.

Richard Dodd
Daniel M'Laughlin
Andrew Mac Shane

County of Down.

Samuel Norris
John O'Neill
John Magenis
Thomas Savage
James Kenny

County of Dublin.

Patrick Thunder
Baron Lawless
Patrick Smyth
Peter Farrell
Thomas Segrave
Henry Thunder

County of Fermanagh.

James Kiernan
Philip Maguire
Terence Maguire

Richard Kiernan

County of Galway.

Christopher Dillon Bellew
Christopher Bellew
Thomas French

County of Kerry.

Thomas Hussey
Matthew Moriarty

County of Kildare.

Thomas Fitzgerald, jun.
Charles Aylmer
John Esmonde
Christopher Nangle
James Archbold
Randle Mac Donnell

County of Kilkenny.

Edward Sheil
Nicholas Devereux

King's County.

Patrick Oliver Plunkett
Francis Bennett

County of Leitrim.

Myles Keon
Hugh O'Beirne
John Keogh
Robert Dillon

County of Limerick.

Bryan Sheehy
R. Sheehy Keatinge
Richard M'Cormick

County of Londonderry.

Andrew Mac Shane
Richard Dodd

County of Westmeath.

James Count Nugent

Christopher Nugent
Bernard O'Reilly
Edward Mac Evoy
John Weldon

County of Louth.

Patrick Byrne
Patrick Russell

County of Mayo.

James Joseph Mac Donnell
Edmund Dillon
Andrew Crean Lynch
Nicholas Fitzgerald
Theodore Mahon

County of Meath.

James Nangle
Bartholomew Barnwall
Michael Johnson
Richard Barnewall
Thomas Ryan, M. D.

County of Monaghan.

Hugh Hamill
James Carolan
Bartholomew Clinton
Daniel Reilly

Queen's County.

Morgan Kavanagh
James Warren
William Dunne
Edward Byrne, jun.

County of Roscommon.

John Fallon
James Plunkett
Owen O'Connor

County of Sligo.

Hugh Mac Dermont, M. D.
J. Everard
Patrick Mullarky
John Mac Donogh

Charles O'Connor
James Aylward

County of Tipperary.

Lawrence Smyth
John Lalor
Dennis O'Meagher
Thomas Mahon

County of Tyrone.

Thomas Richard Geraghty
Terence O'Neill
Bernard Mac Mahon
John Ball
John Byrne
John Fairfield

County and City of Waterford.

Patrick Power
Bartholomew Rivers
Richard Mac Kenna
John Dillon
Thomas Kirwan

County of Wexford.

James Edward Devereux
Harvey Hay
Edward Hay
Edward Sweetman

County of Wicklow.

Walter Byrne
Thomas Fitz Simon
Richard Doyle
Patrick Kavanagh
Peter Brady

County of Westmeath.

Michael Dardis
Lattin Fitzgerald
John Walsh
John Cormick

Town of Carrickfergus.

Christopher Teeling, M. D.

Laurence Mac Dermott

Town of Armagh.

John Byrne

Town of Enniskillen.

Edward Madden

Town of Carlow.

Thomas Warren

Philliptown.

Lewis Flannagan

James Molloy

Town of Dundalk.

Thomas Magan

Town of Trim.

Ignatius Weldon

Thomas Lynch

Town of Wexford.

Edward Sutton

William Kearney

Michael Mac Carty

City of Limerick.

Francis Arthur

Jasper White

Luke Stritch

George O'Halloran

William Sweetman

Charles Young

Clonmell.

John Rivers

Matthew James Plunkett

Town of Galway.

Henry Lynch

Malachy O'Connor

Edmund Lynch Athy

Martin F. Lynch

Carrick on Shannon.

James Fitz Simons

Town of Castlebar.

N. Le Favre

Hugh Leonard

Town of Sligo.

John Dunn

Town of Drogheda.

James Bird

Roger Hamill

Gerald Dillon

Town of Cashel.

Jeremiah Dwyer

Town of Athlone.

Simon Kelly

Town and Lordship of Newry.

Mark Dowlin

James Reilly

Charles Drumgoode

Town of Enniscorthy.

Paul Houston

Philip Sullivan

Ballyshannon.

Thomas Doran

James Kelly

Town of Carrick on Suir.

John Donahoe

City of Kilkenny.

Con. Loughman

John Shearman

John Murphy

Dungarvan.

James Dixon

Town of Athy.

Joseph Patrick Cahill.
G. Fitzgerald

Town of Boyle.

John Mac Loghlin

Navan.

William James Mac Neven
Edward Geoghegan

Town of Ballymahon.

Denis Cassine

Town of Belfast.

Richard Cross
Patrick Byrne

Town of Athboy.

Thomas Bourke
John O'Neil

Town of Carrickmacross.

Richard Browne
Gregory Scurlog

Loughrea.

Hubert Thomas Dolphin

Maryborough.

Henry Johnston

Ardea.

Patrick Byrne, W. S. Kindelan

Town of Thurles

A. Thompson

Town of Naas.

John Esmond
Joseph Byrne

Town of Athenry.

Anthony French

Maryborough.

John Ball, jun.

Town of Roscrea.

John Duffy

Town of Swords.

Christopher Taylor

City of Dublin.

Richard Dillon
Thomas Kennedy
Jonathan Lynch
Thomas Glan
James Murphy
John White
Lewis Lyons
Patrick Bean
Edward Lewines
A. Daly, M. D.
Nicholas Elcock
Simon Macguire
William Hyland
Patrick Marsh
Thomas Reynolds
John Sweetman
Michael Boylan
James Conolly
Thomas Braughall
Charles Ryan
John Ball
Thomas Mac Donnel
Christopher Kelly
Patrick Sweetman
John Sutton
John Comerford
Patrick Grehan
James Ferrall
William Clark
John Kearney
Richard Walsh
J. G. Kennedy
John Andrews.

No. XCVI.

A LIST OF ALL THE BOROUGHES IN IRELAND, AND THEIR
RESPECTIVE PATRONS....PAGE 90.

BOROUGHES.	PATRONS.	VOICES.
Antrim,	Lord Massereene,	2
Belfast,	Lord Donegall,	2
Randalstown,	Right hon. John O'Neil,	2
Armagh,	Primate,	2
Charlemont,	Lord Charlemont,	2
Carlow,	William Burton,	2
Old Leighlin,	Bishop of Leighlin,	2
Belturbet,	Lord Belmore,	2
Cavan,	T. Nesbit and Theo. Clements,	—
Ennis,	Sir L. O'Brien and Lord Conyngham,	—
Baltimore,	Sir J. Freke,	2
Bandon Bridge,	Duke of Devonshire and Mr. Bernard,	—
Castlemartyr,	Lord Shannon,	2
Charleville,	Lord Cork,	2
Cloghnckilty,	Lord Shannon,	2
Doneraile,	Lord Doneraile,	2
Kingsale,	Lord Clifford,	2
Mallow,	Mr. Jephson,	2
Middleton,	Lord Middleton,	2
Rathcormuck,	Lord Riversdale,	2
Youghal,	Lord Shannon and Mr. Uniacke,	2
Ballyshannon,	Mr. Conolly,	2
Donegall,	Lord Arran,	2
Killybegs,	Mr. Burton Conyngham,	2
Lifford,	Lord Erne,	2
St. Johnstown,	Lord Wicklow,	2
Bangor,	Lord Bangor and Lord Carrick,	—
Hillsborough,	Lord Hillsborough,	2
Killileagh,	Sir J. Blackwood,	2
Newtown,	Lord Caledon,	2
Newcastle,	Mr. Latouche,	2
Enniskillen,	Lord Enniskillen,	2
Athenry,	Mr. Blakeney,	2
Galway Town,	— and Mr. Bowes Daly,	—
Tuam,	Mr. Bingham,	2

Ardfert,	Lord Glandore,	2
Dingle,	Mr. Townsend,	2
Tralece,	Sir B. Denny,	2
Athy,	Duke of Leinster,	2
Harristown,	Mr. J. Latouche,	2
Kildare,	Duke of Leinster,	2
Naas,	Lord Mayo,	2
Callan,	Lord Callan,	2
St. Cannice,	Bishop of Ossory,	2
Inistioge,	Mr. Tighe,	2
Gowran,	Lord Clifden,	2
Kilkenny City,	Earl Ormond and Lord Desart,	—
Knocktopher,	Sir Hercules Langrishe,	2
Thomastown,	Lord Clifden,	2
Banagher,	Mr. Ponsonby,	2
Philipstown,	Lord Belvedere,	2
Carrick,	Lord Leitrim,	2
Jamestown	2 Mr. Kings,	—
Askeyton,	Lord Carrick and Mr. Massey,	—
Kilmallock,	Right hon. Silver Oliver,	2
Limerick City,	Lord Perry and P. Smith,	—
Coleraine,	Marquis Waterford and Mr. Jackson,	—
Newtown Limavady,	Mr. Conolly,	2
Granard,	Mrs. M'Cartney,	2
Lanesborough,	Lord Clonbrock,	2
Longford,	Lord Longford,	2
Johnstown,	Lord Granard,	2
Ardee,	2 Mr. Ruxtons,	—
Carlingford,	Mr. Moore,	2
Dundalk,	Lord Clanbrassil,	2
Dunleer,	Mr. Foster and Mr. Coddington,	—
Castlebar,	Lord Lucan,	2
Athboy,	Lord Darnley,	2
Duleek,	Col. Bruen,	2
Kells,	Lord Bective,	2
Navan,	Mr. Preston and Lord Ludlow,	—
Ratoath,	Mr. Lowther,	2
Trim,	Lord Mornington,	2
Monaghan,	Lord Clermont,	2
Ballynakil,	Marquis Drogheda,	2
Maryborough,	Sir J. Parnel,	2
Portarlington,	Lord Portarlington,	2
Boyle,	Lord Kingston,	2
Roscommon,	Mr. Sandford,	2
Tulsk,	Mrs. Walcot,	2
Sligo,	Owen Wynne,	2

APPENDIX:

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Cashel,	Mr. Pennyfather,	2
Clonmel,	Lord Mountcashel,	2
Fethard, (Tipperary)	Kord Lismore and Mr. Barton,	—
Augher,	Marquis of Abercorn,	—
Clogher,	Bishop of Clogher,	2
Dungannon,	Lord Wells,	2
Strabane,	Marquis Abercorne,	2
Lismore, }	Duke of Devonshire and Sir R.	
	Musgrave,	—
Tallagh,	Duke of Devonshire and lord Shannon,	—
Athlone, }	Mr. Hancock and Sir Richard St.	
	George,	—
Fore,	Lord Westmeath,	2
Killbeggan,	Mr. Lambert,	2
Mullingar,	Lord Granard,	2
Bannow,	Lord Loftus,	2
Clonmines,	Ditto	2
Enniscorthy,	Sir V. Colclough,	2
Fethard, (Wexford)	Lord Loftus,	2
Gorey,	Mr. S. Ram,	2
New-Ross,	Mr. Tottenham and Mr. Leigh,	—
Taghmon,	Mr. Hoare,	2
Wexford Town,	Lord Loftus and Mr. Nevil,	—
Baltinglass,	Lord Aldborough,	2
Blessington,	Marquis Downshire,	2
Carysfort,	Lord Carysfort,	2
Wicklow,	Mr. Tighe,	2

The thirty-two counties and twelve following boroughs are omitted, as being popular, and therefore the property of no individual.

Popular Boroughs.

Carrickfergus,	Drogheda,	Londonderry,
Cork City,	Dublin City,	Dungarvin,
Downpatrick,	Dublin University,	Waterford City,
Newry,	Swords,	Lisburn.

A class of power according to the preceding catalogue) formed by the negatives that could be commanded into opposition by these names.

	VOTES.		VOTES.
Lord Shannon,	7	Burton Conyngham,	2
Lord Loftus,	7	Mr. Tighe,	4
Duke of Leinster,	4	Duke of Devonshire,	3
Lord Hillsborough,	4	Mr. Conolly,	4
Lord Granard,	4	Marquis Waterford,	1
Lord Clifden,	4		

No. XCVII.

A BILL FOR AMENDING AND IMPROVING THE STATE OF THE
REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE IN PARLIAMENT....PAGE 109.

WHEREAS the state of the representation of the people in parliament is greatly defective, and it would tend much to protect the liberty of the subject, and to preserve our excellent constitution, if the people of this realm were more fairly and equally represented in parliament.

Be it enacted, by the king's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that from and after the expiration or dissolution of this present parliament, the number of knights to be elected and returned to represent each county within this kingdom in any future parliament to be hereafter holden and kept within this realm, be three instead of two knights, as heretofore used and accustomed, and for that end and purpose the freeholders in each and every county within this kingdom, (who have by law a right to vote for members to serve in parliament, and none other) are hereby authorized, empowered, and required, at every general election, to be hereafter holden for members to serve in parliament, to choose or elect three persons to serve as knights or representatives in parliament for said county, which said three persons so elected shall be duly returned as knights or members to serve in parliament for the county; and the said knights or members so elected and returned, shall from henceforth have, possess, and enjoy all the rights, powers, authorities and privileges, which are possessed and enjoyed by the knights, who now sit in parliament within this realm.

And be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that from and after the expiration or dissolution of this present parliament, the number of citizens to be elected and returned to represent the city of Dublin in parliament shall be three; and that the number of citizens to be elected and returned to represent the city of Cork in parliament, shall be three; and for that end and purpose, the freemen and freeholders of the city of Dublin, who are by law entitled to vote for members to serve in parliament, and none other, are hereby authorized, empowered, and required, at every general election to be hereafter holden for members to serve in parliament for the said city, from and after the period aforesaid,

to choose and elect three persons to serve as citizens or representatives in parliament for the said city of Dublin ; and the freemen and freeholders of the said city of Cork, are hereby authorized and required, at every general election to be hereafter holden for members to serve in parliament for the said city, to choose and elect three persons to be citizens or representatives in parliament for the city of Cork ; and the said three persons so chosen and elected as members for the said city of Dublin, shall be duly returned as members to serve in parliament for the said city ; and persons so chosen and elected for the said city of Cork, shall be only returned as members to serve in parliament for the said city ; and all the said several citizens so elected and returned to serve in parliament, shall from thenceforth have, possess, and enjoy, all the rights, powers, authorities, and privileges which are now possessed and enjoyed by any citizen or citizens already elected and returned to sit in parliament.

Provided always, that nothing herein contained shall be deemed or taken to give to any city or town within this kingdom, which now is, or hereafter shall be made a county of a city, or a county of a town, a right or power of its so being a county of a city or a county of a town, to choose and elect more than two members to serve in parliament for such city or town, it being the intent and meaning of this act, to give and grant the said power of electing and returning three members to serve in parliament to each of the thirty-two counties into which this kingdom is now divided, and to the cities of Dublin and Cork, and to no other counties, cities, or towns whatsoever.

And be it hereby further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that when in any future parliament, to be hereafter holden and kept within this realm, any vacancy shall happen to arise during the continuance of the said parliament, by the death, or expulsion of all, or any of the said persons so returned to serve in parliament for any of the said counties, or for either of the said cities of Dublin or Cork, or in case all or any of the said persons so returned, shall be afterwards declared and adjudged not duly elected, pursuant to the laws now in force in this kingdom, for the trial of petitions or controverted elections ; or in case that from any other cause whatsoever, the seat or seats in parliament of all or any of the said three persons so elected and returned, shall become vacant, in every such case, a new writ or new writs shall issue to the returning officer of the said county or counties, and of the said city or cities respectively, for the purpose of electing and returning one or more person or persons, (as the case may require) in the room or stead of him or them, whose seat or seats have so become vacant, in the same manner as writs now issue to supply the vacancy of any seat or seats in parliament.

and thereupon the freeholders of said city or cities, who by law are authorized to vote for members to serve in parliament, shall respectively proceed to choose and elect one or more person or persons, (as the writ shall direct) to represent the said county or city in parliament, in the stead or room of such person or persons whose seats have become vacant as aforesaid; and said person or persons so chosen and elected, shall be duly returned as a member or members to serve in parliament for said county or city, and so on from time to time as any vacancy shall happen to arise during the continuance of the said parliament.

And whereas, enlarging the districts of the several cities and borough towns within this kingdom, would tend to render their elections of citizens and burgesses to serve in parliament, much more free and independent;

Be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that from and after the expiration or dissolution of this present parliament, the limits or precincts of every city, borough, town, or manor, having a right to send members to parliament, shall, for the purposes of this act, only extend, and be deemed and taken to extend to a space or distance of four miles from the said city, borough, town, and manor, which space or distance is to be measured by a line to be drawn from some one place within the said city, borough, town, or manor, as near the center of the present scite of the said city, borough, town, or manor, as conveniently as may be done, and to extend in every direction to a distance of four miles from the said place, and no further, so as thereby to make the circuit of the district round the city, borough, town, or manor, equal to twenty-four miles in circumference, or thereabouts, and which space contained within the said circuit shall be for the purposes of this act deemed and taken as the district of the city, borough, town, or manor.

Provided always, that where any city, borough, town, or manor, having a right to send members to serve in parliament, shall be so situate, as that a line of four miles cannot conveniently be drawn or measured in the manner herein before directed, by reason of the vicinity of some other city, borough, town, or manor, having also a right to send members to serve in parliament, or by reason of the proximity of the sea, then and in every such case, a certain district shall be measured from the most central place within the said city, borough, town, or manor, in such direction as can be best and most conveniently done, and which shall be equal, or as nearly as may be to a space contained within a circumference of twenty-four miles, and which space shall be marked out and allotted as and for the district of the said city, borough, town, or manor, situate as aforesaid, so as in all cases to give to every city, borough, town, or manor, having a right

to send members to parliament, a district thereto appertaining equal to twenty-four miles in circumference.

And for the better ascertaining the limits and boundaries of the several districts aforesaid, and in order to prevent all controversy relative thereto ;

Be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that from and after the passing of this act, the speaker of the House of Commons shall issue his order or warrant to the sheriffs of the several counties in this kingdom, commanding the said sheriffs to trace and mark out boundaries of the several districts, which are to be allotted to each city, borough, town, or manor, lying within the said county, pursuant to the true intent and meaning of this act ; and the said sheriffs shall, within three months after the receipt of the said order or warrant, fix and ascertain the boundaries of the district appertaining unto every such city, borough, town, or manor, lying within the said county, according to the directions in this act contained ; and the said sheriff, for the said purpose, shall summon and impanel a jury of twelve freeholders of ten pounds freehold, lying within the said county, but not in the barony, in which the said city, borough, town, or manor lies, which said jury shall perambulate the said boundaries, together with the said sheriff, and allot the said several districts by metes and bounds ; for which end and purpose, the said sheriffs shall employ one or more skilful surveyors to attend upon the said jury and mark out the several districts as aforesaid ; and after the said jury shall have allotted and marked out the said district by plain and distinct metes and bounds in the manner directed by this act, the said sheriff shall make a return of the allotment of the said several districts, specifying therein the exact metes and bounds as ascertained by the said jury, and lodge the same with the clerk of the Crown and Hanaper, on or before the twenty-fifth day of December next.

And to the end that a full jury of freeholders may be had for the purpose aforesaid, the sheriff of the county shall issue his summons to twenty-four freeholders, of ten pounds freehold at the least, within the said county, (out of which twelve shall be struck by the said sheriff, commanding them to attend him at the time and place therein mentioned, (giving fourteen days notice thereof), for the purpose of allotting the district as aforesaid, and therein specifying the name of the city, borough, town, or manor, whose district is to be allotted.

Provided always, that each jury so impanelled, shall ascertain and allot the district of one such city, borough, town, or manor, and no more ; and if any of the freeholders shall neglect to attend on the said summons without reasonable cause of excuse, to be allowed by the said sheriff, he is hereby authorized

to impose on the said person so absenting himself, a fine of twenty pounds, which said fine shall be returned and certified into his majesty's court of exchequer, and thereupon process shall issue for the levying thereof as is usual in cases of fines due to his majesty.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that each of the said twelve freeholders so impannelled as a jury, shall take the oath following, which the said sheriff is hereby empowered to administer.

" I, A. B. do solemnly swear that I will, to the best of my skill and judgment, without favour or partiality to any person whatsoever, mark out and allot the district for the city or town of (here naming the city, town, or manor) pursuant to the act, in that case made and provided."

And to the end that a proper fund may be provided for the expenses attending the marking out the districts aforesaid :

Be it hereby enacted, that the sheriff shall return to the grand jury of the said county, an exact estimate of the expenses attending the marking out and allotting the said district, allowing to every juror attending thereupon, the sum of one pound per day, and to the surveyor or surveyors such sum as the sheriff shall think fit, not exceeding the sum of for which said sums the grand jury of the said county is authorized and required to make a presentment, to be levied in the same manner as all other presentments of grand juries are raised and levied.

Be it further enacted, that when the district of the said city, town, borough, or manor, shall be so allotted and marked out as aforesaid, every freeholder who shall be seised of a freehold of ten pounds value within the said district, shall have a right to vote for members to serve in parliament for the said city, borough, town, or manor, any former usage to the contrary notwithstanding ; provided always, that the said person so claiming a right to vote at the said election, shall have been seised of his freehold one whole year, before the teste of the writ which issued for holding the said election, and shall have registered his freehold six months before the teste of the said writ, pursuant to the act made in the year of his present majesty for the due registering of freeholds.

And to the end that no partial allotments of said districts may be made :

Be it further enacted, that in case any three or more freeholders of ten pounds freehold, lying within the said district, shall conceive themselves aggrieved by the allotment of the said district in manner aforesaid, it shall be lawful for the said freeholders to present a petition to the House of Commons, complaining of the said allotment, thereby setting forth the grounds

of the said complaint, and the merits of the said petition shall be referred to the determination of a committee of fifteen members of the House of Commons, to be chosen by ballot, and struck in the same manner, and subject to the same rules as committees are now chosen for the trial of petitions upon controverted elections; and the said committee so chosen shall have full power and authority to summon all persons before them, and to examine witness upon oath as to matters thereby referred unto them; and the members of the said committee, as soon as they shall have been chosen as aforesaid, shall, at the table of the House of Commons, take the oath following:

"I, A. B. do solemnly swear that I will fairly and impartially try the merits of the petition now to be referred, according to the best of my skill and judgment. So help me God."

And be it further enacted, that the said committee shall forthwith proceed to examine into the merits of the said petition, and shall either annul or confirm the said allotment of the said district as to them shall seem just; which judgment of the said committee shall be final and conclusive.

Provided always, that the said committee shall have all the powers and authorities as to the trial of the said petition, and their proceedings shall in all cases be governed by the same rules and regulations as are prescribed by the laws now in force for the trial of petitions upon controverted elections.

And in case the said committee shall annul and make void the said allotment of the district aforesaid, then a new allotment shall be made of said district in the manner herein before prescribed, for which purpose the speaker of the House of Commons shall issue his order or warrant as aforesaid to the sheriff of said county, who shall proceed to make a new allotment of the district as before prescribed.

Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that from and after the of no person who shall be elected and admitted to the freedom of any corporation in any city or town corporate, shall, by virtue of such election and admission, have a right to vote for members to serve in parliament for the said city or town corporate, unless the said person shall have been seised of a freehold tenement of the value of five pounds by the year within the said city or town corporate, upon which he or his family shall have resided for one whole year before the time of such election and admission.

Provided always, that nothing herein contained shall extend to any person or persons who is or are admitted, or who have a right to their freedom by reason of birth, marriage, or service to any trade or calling, but all such rights shall remain in full force as if this act had not been made.

Be it further enacted, that every freeman or freeholder voting for a member to serve in parliament for the said city, borough, town, or manor, shall (if required by any other person having a right to vote at said election) take the oath following :

- - - - -

Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that each and all the inhabitant or inhabitants of every city, borough, or town corporate, having a right to send members to serve in parliament, who reside within the precincts or district of the said city, borough, or town corporate, as prescribed by this act, and who shall have exercised any of the following trades or callings for five years within the districts aforesaid, shall, from and after the day of have a right to vote and be admitted to vote at the election of any representative or representatives to be chosen to represent said city, borough, or towns corporate, in parliament.

And be it further enacted, that every person who shall be returned as a member to serve in parliament from and after the day of shall, before he be admitted to his seat in parliament, take the oath following :

“ I do solemnly swear, that I have not directly or indirectly, procured my election and return to parliament by the means of any sum or sums of money whatsoever, or by any promise of any pecuniary reward whatsoever, and that I have not authorised any person whatsoever, for procuring me to be elected and returned a member to serve in parliament, and that if any such promise hath been made on my behalf, I will not ratify or make good the same. So help me God.”

Provided always, that nothing in this act contained, shall extend or in any wise be deemed or taken to extend to the cities of Waterford, Kilkenny, Limerick, Londonderry, and town of but that all their rights, franchises and privileges, limits and precincts, shall remain and continue as if this act had not been made,

No. XCVIII.

KILDARE RESOLUTIONS AGAINST THE DEFENDERS....PAGE 186.

AT a meeting of the county Kildare, held at Naas, the 24th July, 1795, in pursuance of public notice,

THE HIGH SHERIFF in the Chair.

WHEREAS, on Monday the 13th instant, as sir Fenton Aylmer, bart. high sheriff of the said county, attended by Wogan

Browne, Michael Aylmer, and Thomas Ryan, esqrs. justices of the peace of the said county, was conducting two persons charged with having committed high treason, by administering an oath to be true to the French; and with them, several other prisoners, from Kilcock to his majesty's gaol of Naas, an armed mob, consisting of several hundreds, assembled in the neighbourhood, for the purpose of rescuing the said prisoners; and although intimidated from attempting the intended rescue, did, (while the said sheriff and magistrates were escorting the prisoners) administer unlawful oaths to many of the inhabitants of the said county, and did plunder several houses of arms and ammunition, and did publicly declare vengeance against the said sheriff and magistrates, which threat they afterwards endeavoured to carry into execution against Thomas Ryan, esq. one of the said magistrates, on the evening of the said day, three several parties having lain in wait at three different parts of the road by which the said Ryan was to return home, in order to assassinate him, and each party having fired several shots at him, whereby he was severely wounded in the head.

Now, we, the magistrates, gentlemen, freeholders and inhabitants of said county, do hereby offer a reward of 300*l.* to any one who shall discover the person that fired the said shot, whereby the said Ryan was wounded, and the sum of 50*l.* for each and every of the persons who lay in wait for the above mentioned infernal purpose, and fired a shot at the said Ryan, so as that he, she, or they shall be convicted of the same within nine months. And we do hereby promise a reward of 30*l.* to every person who shall discover to any of the subscribing magistrates, the names of any of the persons who have administered, or shall administer any unlawful oath within this county, or who have taken, or shall forcibly take any arms, or attack or fire into any house, provided the person so discovered shall be convicted of said offence, within the time aforesaid; and also, an ample and adequate reward to any person who shall give information to any of the magistrates aforesaid, of any meeting of Defenders intended to be held, or of any other matter or thing, which shall be deemed deserving of reward by the committee hereby appointed, and we promise that the names of such persons shall not be made known.

And we hereby return our thanks to the parochial clergy of this county, for the zeal which they have already shewn in detecting and exposing the fallacy of the contrary doctrine, and we entreat a continuance of their exertions in the same useful purpose. And in order to defray the said expenses, we promise to pay the sums annexed to our names, as we shall be called upon for the same, and we appoint the justices of the peace of the said county, to be a committee to receive subscriptions, to dispose of the money sub-

scribed in promoting the purposes of this meeting, and to apply to all persons possessed of property in the county, for their assistance and contribution, and that ten per cent. be paid down.

And we do hereby appoint the following magistrates—Sir Fenton Aylmer, bart. John Wolfe, Wogan Browne, Arthur Burdett, Michael Aylmer, Theobald Wolfe, John Montgomery, and Thomas Ryan, esqrs. to be a committee, to judge of the propriety of claims, and to pay rewards, any three of them acting together, to be empowered to draw on Messrs. Finlay and Co. at whose house the amount of the several subscriptions is to be deposited.

And as it appears to us, that the introduction of that execrable spirit of outrage, (which has disgraced so great a portion of this kingdom) into our hitherto peaceable and happy county, and which by promises which cannot be effected, and systems which cannot be realized, has deluded many honest, and otherwise well-disposed persons, must be promoted and extended by exertions on the part of the enemies of our country.

And as the avowed object of the persons then conducting to prison, and who appear to be leaders of the Defenders, is to support and unite with the enemies of our king and country, we think it necessary for us to declare our determined resolution, at all times, and at every personal risk, and by every influence and power of property, to maintain our king, our constitution, and our laws, against any attack whatever; that we will give effectual protection, which the military aid afforded us by government enables us to promise to all persons who may be in danger from their opposition to, and exertions against the said persons styled Defenders; and that we will use our best endeavours to procure the compensation which the grand juries are authorised to make by presentment, for all injuries sustained by them in their property or persons.

And that if any person shall, notwithstanding (without obvious necessity) submit to any of the illegal requisitions of the said Defenders, or shall withhold any material information from the magistracy, we do hereby declare our determination by every means in our power to shew our disapprobation of such conduct. That we will in private life consider the exertions of individuals as entitled to our warmest thanks, and the supineness of any gentleman or man of property, as deserving (under these circumstances) of a loss of private esteem and public character. We use this opportunity to recommend to our countrymen, dependents or not, sworn or unsworn, to inquire, without taking our word, from their pastors or well-informed friends, whether an oath to do an unlawful act, taken voluntarily or by compulsion, be binding or not; we declaring upon our conviction, and upon our honours that it is not binding on any man, and that however he may have offended against his religion by the indiscretion of his oath, his guilt

would be increased by keeping it; and in order that all persons may be apprised of the laws, touching the said unlawful proceedings, we recommend it to the committee to procure printed extracts of the same, to be dispersed throughout the county.

That the thanks of this county are due to sir Fenton Aylmer, bart. our worthy high sheriff; and to the rev. John Walsh, Wogan Browne, Michael Aylmer, and Thomas Ryan, esqrs. who assisted the said sheriff, in repelling the attack made upon the peace of this county, by those miscreants, called Defenders! That those our resolutions be published in the public papers. That the thanks of this county be given to captain Burke, of the north Mayo militia, for his very zealous and spirited conduct, in apprehending O'Connor, and four other persons now in custody.

The high sheriff having quitted the chair, and lord Mayo being called thereto, the thanks of the county were given to sir Fenton Aylmer, bart. for his proper conduct in the chair, and in his having so speedily convened the county.

SUBSCRIBERS.

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
Leinster	200	0	0	Walter Dowdall	50	0	0
Mayo	100	0	0	Charles Aylmer	50	0	0
Harberton	100	0	0	Thos. Js. Rawson	50	0	0
Fenton Aylmer	100	0	0	Thomas Burgh	50	0	0
James Spencer	100	0	0	Robert Latouche	50	0	0
John Tyrrell	100	0	0	John Latouche	50	0	0
John Digby	100	0	0	John Montgomery	50	0	0
C. Nangle	100	0	0	John Taylor	50	0	0
John Hort	100	0	0	D. W. O'Reilly	50	0	0
M. B. S. L. Keating, esq.	100	0	0	Charles Palmer	50	0	0
John Wolfe	100	0	0	John Esmond	50	0	0
Sim. Digby	100	0	0	Richard Dease	50	0	0
Arthur Burdett	100	0	0	R. Bookey	34	2	6
R. Finlay	100	0	0	Rev. Dean Keatinge	22	15	0
Wogan Browne	100	0	0	Rev. J. Cramer	22	15	0
Michael Aylmer	100	0	0	Rev. J. Walsh,			
Theobald Wolfe	100	0	0	rector of Kilcock	22	15	0
Ambrose Farrel	100	0	0	Henry Stammer	22	15	0
John Latouche	100	0	0	Thomas Tyrrell	22	15	0
Edward Hendrick	100	0	0	Samuel Yeates	22	15	0
M. D. Cramer	100	0	0	John Fitzgerald	22	15	0
R. Griffith	100	0	0	John Fish	22	15	0
Thomas Tickell	50	0	0	Samuel Mills	22	15	0
E. Fitzgerald	50	0	0	Robert Montgomery	22	15	0
Robert Bayley	50	0	0				
Eyre Powell, esq.	50	0	0				
Thomas Fitzgerald	50	0	0	James Hussey	22	15	0

J. M'Mahon	22	15	0	J. Hill Parange	11	7	6
James Esmond	22	15	0	H. Eyre Lindey	11	7	6
Robert Aylmer	22	15	0	George Chapman	11	7	6
William Wolfe	22	15	0	Edward Read	11	7	6
John Toole	11	7	6	C. Vierpoyl	11	7	6
Rev. James Slater	11	7	6	Joseph Atkinson	11	7	6
Rev. K. Burrowes	11	7	6	Leonard Phepoe	11	7	6
William Eustace	11	7	6	M. Donnellan	11	7	6
Richard Evans	11	7	6	J. Walsh	5	13	9

No. XCIX.

LORD VISCOUNT GOSFORD'S ADDRESS TO THE GRAND JURY OF ARMAGH....PAGE 202.

GENTLEMEN,

HAVING requested your attendance here this day, it becomes my duty to state the grounds upon which I thought it advisable to propose this meeting, and at the same time to submit to your consideration a plan which occurs to me as most likely to check the enormities that have already brought disgrace upon this county, and may soon reduce it into deep distress. It is no secret, that a persecution, accompanied with all the circumstances of ferocious cruelty, which have in all ages distinguished that dreadful calamity, is now raging in this county. Neither age nor sex, or even acknowledged innocence as to any guilt in the late disturbances, is sufficient to excite mercy, much less to afford protection.

The only crime which the wretched objects of this ruthless persecution are charged with, is a crime, indeed, of easy proof; it is simply a profession of the Roman Catholic faith, or an intimate connexion with a person professing this faith. A lawless banditti have constituted themselves judges of this new species of delinquency, and the sentence they have denounced is equally concise and terrible! It is nothing less than a confiscation of all property, and an immediate banishment. It would be extremely painful, and surely unnecessary, to detail the horrors that attend the execution of so rude and tremendous a proscription,—a proscription that certainly exceeds in the comparative numbers of those it consigns to ruin and misery, every example that ancient

and modern history can supply: for where have we heard, or in what story of human cruelties have we read of more than half the inhabitants of a populous country deprived at one blow of the means as well as of the fruits of their industry, and driven, in the midst of an inclement season, to seek a shelter for themselves and their helpless families where chance may guide them. This is no exaggerated picture of the horrid scenes now acting in this country. Yet surely it is sufficient to awaken sentiments of indignation and compassion in the coldest bosoms. These horrors are now acting with impunity. The spirit of impartial justice (without which law is nothing better than an instrument of tyranny) has for a time disappeared in this county, and the supineness of the magistracy of Armagh is become a common topic of conversation in every corner of the kingdom.

It is said in reply, the Catholics are dangerous, they may be so—they may be dangerous from their numbers, and still more dangerous from their unbounded views they have been encouraged to entertain; but I will venture to assert, without fear of contradiction, that these proceedings are not more contrary to humanity than they are to sound policy. It is to be lamented, that no civil magistrate happened to be present with the military detachment on the night of the 21st instant; but, I trust, the suddenness of the occasion, the unexpected and instantaneous aggression on the part of the delinquents will be universally admitted as a full vindication of the conduct of the officer, and the party acting under his command. Gentlemen, I have the honour to hold a situation in this country, which calls upon me to deliver my sentiments, and I do it without fear and without disguise. I am as true a Protestant as any gentleman in this room, I inherit a property which my family derived under a Protestant title, and, with the blessing of God, I will maintain that title to the utmost of my power. I will never consent to make a sacrifice of Protestant ascendancy to Catholic claims, with whatever menace they may be urged, or however speciously or invidiously supported. Conscious of my sincerity in this public declaration, which I do not make unadvisedly, but as the result of mature deliberation, I defy the paltry insinuations that malice or party-spirit may suggest.

I know my own heart, and I should despise myself, if, under any intimidation, I could close my eyes against such scenes as present themselves on every side, or my ears against the complaints of a persecuted people.

I should be guilty of an unpardonable injustice to the feelings of gentlemen here present, were I to say more on this subject. I have now acquitted myself to my conscience and my country, and take the liberty of proposing the following resolutions:

1st. That it appears to this meeting, that the county of Armagh is at this moment in a state of uncommon disorder; that the Roman Catholic inhabitants are grievously oppressed by lawless persons unknown, who attack and plunder their houses by night, and threaten them with instant destruction, unless they immediately abandon their lands and habitations.

2d. That a committee of magistrates be appointed to sit on Tuesdays and Saturdays in the Chapter-room in the town of Armagh, to receive information against all persons of whatever description, who disturb the peace of this county.

3d. That the instruction of the whole body of magistrates to their committee shall be to use every legal means within their power to stop the progress of the persecution now carrying on by an ungovernable mob against the Roman Catholic inhabitants of this county.

4th. That said committee, or any three of them, be empowered to expend any sum or sums of money, for information or secret service, out of the fund subscribed by the gentlemen of this county.

5th. That a meeting of the whole body of the magistracy be held every second Monday, at the house of Mr. Charles M'Reynolds, in the town of Armagh, to hear the reports of the committee, and to give such further instructions as the exigence of the case may require.

6th. That offenders of every description in the present disturbances shall be prosecuted out of the fund subscribed by the gentlemen of this county.

No. C.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR'S ADDRESS TO HIS FELLOW CITIZENS,
FOR WHICH HE WAS CONFINED BY AN ORDER OF THE PRI-
VY COUNCIL....PAGE 236.

FELLOW CITIZENS,

THE post-office is so immediately dependent on the government, that any anonymous production issuing from thence, must be looked on as coming from the administration itself; in this light I have viewed the anonymous paper which has been so industriously distributed through the post-offices of the

North avowedly to deprive me of whatever share of your confidence I might have gained, and in this light I have given it an answer. Had I treated it with silent contempt, I should have hoped that its coming from an administration which had so deservedly forfeited the confidence of every Irishman, who valued the liberties of his country, would have insured me from suffering, in your estimation, from the falsehood and calumny with which it abounds; but my respect for those invaluable censors, the press and the public opinion, the conscious integrity of my own heart, and the most perfect reliance on the virtue of the cause I espouse, prompt me to seize any occasion, which affords an opportunity of vindicating it or myself from the aspersions of an administration, whose heaviest charge, in their wretched production, is, that at any time of my life I had been the advocate of them or their measures. As the whole of this work is one continued issue of misrepresentation and falsehood, a plain recital of facts will be the best means of giving it a full refutation. After the question of regency, that memorable display of the infamy and principles of the factions of Ireland, some of the most considerable of them were forced into Irish parliamentary patriotism, by being stripped of the wages of their prostitution; I accepted a seat from my uncle lord Longueville, in the chimerical hope that this crash, between the factions and the government, might be improved to the advantage of Ireland; but experience soon convinced me that nothing short of the establishment of a *national government, a total annihilation of the factions, and their usurpations, and an entire abolition of religious distinctions* could restore to my country those rights and that liberty which had been so long a subject of traffic, under a regular organized system of treason, and acting up to this conviction from the day I accepted the seat from lord Longueville, to the day I resigned it. I earnestly entreated him to declare for a reform of parliament, and for the freedom of my Catholic countrymen. The thanks which were given me by the delegates of the Catholics of Ireland, for my defence of them and their cause, so early as 1791, and the vote which I gave for their total emancipation, against lord Longueville and the government, in the beginning of 1793, gives the lie to the assertion of administration, that I was not the advocate of Catholic freedom until my having spoke on that subject in 1795, and so wholly is it unfounded in truth, that I have exerted myself in defence of the liberties of my country, because the government refused me a commissioner's place, that although lord Longueville repeatedly pressed me to let him procure me a commissioner's place, I as often refused it, assuring him that it was contrary to my principles to accept the money of my impoverished countrymen, for the detestable treason of betraying their rights, their industry, their manufactures

and commerce: that for the bribe of a British pander I should basely contribute to aggrandize *his* country, at the expense of every thing dear to *my own*; whilst so far from bartering my principles to better my fortune, that though lord Longueville pressed me to accept large sums of his own money, I declined them; and it is notorious he has since disinherited me for the open avowal of my political sentiments on the Catholic question. Being forced, in my own vindication, to speak of myself, I will leave you, my fellow-citizens, to judge of an administration, that by falsehood and calumny have attempted to widen a breach between me and connexions that were but too widely extended before; yet whilst they have given me an opportunity of proving to you, that no consideration could induce me to abandon my principles, they shall never succeed in making me utter one unkind expression of a man, whose wishes to promote me in life, have left a grateful remembrance their malice shall never efface. Abandoned administration! who have trampled on the liberties of my country, do you presume to accuse me of dissuading my countrymen from arming to oppose an invasion, which *your's and your accomplice's crimes have provoked*? Is it that the unalienable rights of free-born men to make their laws by delegates of their choice, should be bartered and sold by usurpers and traitors, that I should persuade them to arm? Is it that our markets, our manufactures, and commerce, should be sold to that nation, which appoints our government, and distributes our patronage, that I should persuade them to arm? Is it to support the Gunpowder Bill, which deprives them of arms, or the Convention Bill, which aims at perpetuating the usurpation of rights, by proscribing the only obvious and orderly means to regain them, that I should persuade them to arm? Is it to support the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Bill, which has destroyed the bulwark of liberty by withholding the trial by jury, that I should persuade them to arm? Is it to rivet the bolts or to guard the dungeons of their fellow-citizens, who, torn from their homes and their families by administration, vainly demand that trial by jury, which by proving their innocence must establish its guilt, that I should persuade them to arm? Is it that a vile pander of national honour and legislative duty should be invested with uncontrouled power over the opinions and persons of an injured, a gallant and generous people, that I should persuade them to arm? Or, to crown all, is it under the auspices of the indemnified Carhampton, I should persuade them to arm? Go, impotents, to the Catholics, whose elevated hopes of all-glorious freedom, you have been appointed to tauntingly blast, and if they should charge you with the crimes of your mission, although you cannot plead the having raised them to equal rights with their fellow-citizens, you can at least boast that you have levelled those

rights to the standard of Catholic thralldom. Hence, then, contemptible administration, from those you have insulted and levelled, to those you have raised ; go to the monopolists of the representation of Ireland, and ask them to arm ; go to those whom the continuance of the system of corruption enables to live in affluence at the expense of that poverty and misery their treason has caused, and ask them to arm ; go to those hussars of fees and exactions in the revenue, whose regular pay bears no proportion to their pillage and plunder, and command them to arm ; go to attorneys and lawyers, who live by villainy, chicane and fraud, under a system of complexity, finesse and fiction, at the expense and ruin of those who are forced to employ them, and tell them they ought to arm ; go to those swarms of petty tyrants, perjured grand-jury jobbers, army contractors, tithe proctors and land sharks, and tell them how necessary it is for them to be armed ; go to the *established* clergy, who pocket those monstrous funds for *instructing* nine-tenths of the nation, which should provide decent establishments for three such countries as Ireland, and tell them to preach to the nine-tenths who are excluded from this *glorious* half of the constitution, to arm in its defence, or ask them to blow the expiring embers of religious dissention, and I will leave it to the inhabitants of Armagh, at length recovering from delusion, to judge of their zeal in this christian-like duty. These factions, and administration, are your natural allies ; these are your strength ; on these you may reckon, and although as devoted to systems which should be abolished, as apostates to national rights and national honour they count but too high ; thank heaven they are as insignificant in numbers as in strength to those that are found. Although the old volunteers have been discouraged, because they boldly threw off the open avowed dominion of Britain, and that these yeomen corps have been raised to support the concealed deadly influence she has gained by corruption and treason ; although the old volunteers have been rejected because they extended the rights and liberties of their country, and that these corps have been set up to support laws subversive of both ; yet when the systematic scheme of the British minister, and of those vermin that have nestled about the throne, to frame some new-modelled despotism on the ruins of freedom, by the erecting of barracks, those bills that have been passed year after year, the late contempt of that only privilege of the commons which was left them, the granting of money, and the correspondent conduct of their creatures in this country shall have been developed to that degree which would make resistance an indispensable duty, from my soul I believe that they would find themselves widely mistaken in the support they will meet from many of these corps they have raised. Are the people of Ireland so weak as to convert a threat-

ened invasion from France into an expiation of the injustice, the crimes and oppression by which the temptation to make it was caused, or shall an invasion from France act like magic in changing the present ardent affection of the people of Ireland for liberty, into an unbounded display of loyalty to a system of corruption and treason, by which the most happily gifted nation on earth has been made to contain more misery than any country in the creation? Away with delusion! Are the people of Ireland sure that the factions and administration who so earnestly press them to arise to repel the invasion of France, are not *invaders themselves*? Are we sure that their master and maker, the minister of Britain, has not invested them with enormous funds of corruption to which our wretchedness has been made to contribute? Are we sure that these funds have not been distributed amongst traitors, in the heart of our island, for betraying the industry, manufactures and commerce of the people of Ireland, to aggrandize those of Great Britain? Nay, are we not certain that every market in Great Britain is shut against every species of Irish industry, with the solitary exception of linen, whilst every manufacture of England has free access to every market in Ireland, without any exception whatever? With these facts in our view, what Irishman can doubt that to support the worst of invasions, the invasion of *rights and commerce*, 15,000 English and Scotch have not been sent to invade us already? Or, can we be certain that the shambles of Germany have not been resorted to, to invade us with more? Compare the few troops they left us in the war against American freedom, when they had all Europe their foe, with the numbers they have sent us this war against the freedom of France, when they had all Europe their ally; compare the weakness of Ireland, divided by religious dissension, *when troops were so few*, with that strength which Union has given, *when troops are so many*; we cannot but see with whom they seek to contend. Could French invaders do worse than establish a system of pillage and treason *within*, that they may pillage and plunder *without*? Could they do worse than reject laws a unanimous people had sought, or than pass those they detested? Could they do worse than commit the personal liberty of the people of Ireland to two men without connexion or interest in the country, without responsibility or control? Could they do worse than withhold trials from Irish citizens cast into dungeons, to the destruction of their health, and the ruin of their property? Could they do worse than establish military magistrates throughout the nation, and indemnify those whose unfeeling souls had torn hundreds of Irish citizens from every endearing connexion in life, after depriving their habitations of every privilege due to the residence of free-born men, consigned them to the flames, turning their wives and

children to beggary and famine, exiled their husbands to fight against that freedom of which they had robbed them on an element they disliked, and in a cause they abhorred? Or, could any thing be more alarming to a people who valued their liberties, than the appointment of a man, that could require such an indemnification, to be commander in chief of the army? Or, to crown all, could any invaders do worse, that with powers to legislate for a limited time, under the form of constitutional order, destroy the constitution itself?

In vain shall the accomplices of the author of carnage inveigh against French fraternity, as long as Ireland exhibits so melancholy a picture of the fraternity they have adopted themselves: I will not compare the systems of fraternity in the East or West Indies, adopted by England and France, but I will compare the alliance which England had formed with France, she calls her natural enemy, with that she dictates to Ireland, she calls her brother and friend. In her alliance with France, she gave what she got, and reciprocity was the equitable basis on which it was made; whilst in her alliance with Ireland, she has taken all she could have asked or demanded, and she has given us exclusion in grateful return. On this scale of British fraternity, let her hirelings boast of British connexion. On this scale of British fraternity, may my country no more be cursed with the friendship of Britain! Too long a tyrant, she forgets her dominion has ceased. Too long her slaves, we must shew her we are resolved to be free! Had she ceased to maintain power by the accursed means of fomenting religious dissension; had she ceased to support factions, usurpers, and traitors; had she abandoned the false illiberal notion, that she gained more by our depression than by our exaltation; had she treated us like brothers and friends, I may, with confidence affirm, a more affectionate generous ally never existed, than she would have found Ireland to her. But if the existing fraternity, my fellow citizens, be the bonds by which you wish a connexion with Britain, I am not a delegate fit for your choice; for though I stood alone in the commons of Ireland, I would move the repeal of every law which binds us to England, on those or any such terms. I will neither be conquered by England or France; nor are we any more bound to a disadvantageous alliance to one than we are to the other; and before England, the factions of Ireland, and the administration, I speak it, if it is more the true interest of Ireland to form an alliance with France than with England, she is free to adopt it. The jargon of standing or falling with Britain is false: in the days that are past we have always been down, it is time we should seek to be up! Rich in a population of 4,000,000 of

a healthy intelligent people, rich in her fertile soil, rich in her harbours and navigable rivers, rich in her favourable position between the old and new worlds, rich in her insular situation, without usurping dominion over any people upon earth, what interest, what cause, what pretext can the administration of Ireland assign for the blood and the wealth they have lavished, in a war commenced in despotism, conducted in ignorance, and ending only by ruin? With 800,000 gallant citizens, able to arm, is it that the English and Scotch have more to fight for in Ireland than the Irish themselves, that we cannot be trusted with self defence? When in the unanointed republics of the Swiss, they can defy the invasion of Germany, of France, and Sardinia, those warlike and powerful nations, by which they are bounded, by that law which obliges every citizen from eighteen to sixty years old, to be provided with arms, why cannot Ireland defy the whole world by a like obligation? Why has the gunpowder act, which disarms our people, been passed? The answer is too plain for infatuation to mistake it. Happy for Ireland if the prime mover of mischief had borrowed the councils of that great and intuitive mind, England is ruined by having neglected; happy could he and his minions be taught, in the language and wisdom of Fox, that there is more strength to be gained by gaining the confidence of the people of Ireland, than in 40,000 of the best forces of Europe. Let them give up corruption, and they may safely disband the troops it has furnished; let them cease to narrow the limits of freedom, as the expansion of intellect demands that they should be extended; let them rest assured, that a system which cannot be supported without spies and informers, must soon be abandoned; instead of buying, of bribing, or of persecuting the press, let them strip falsehood of the advantages she gains by concealment and misrepresentation, and give to truth that light and publicity, with which she must ever prevail; let them recall those base orders throughout the post-offices, for violating the secrets of friendship, and betraying the credit of commerce; let them open the dungeons, by repealing those laws by which they are crowded; let them abolish what the chief magistrate's deputy calls the mildness of government, and give us an edequate representation for the basis of liberty, and I will stake my life on it, no nation shall ever invade us. But alas! my fellow citizens, I lament that the same infatuation, usurpation and folly, which have been so much the order of the day, will still prevent those equitable terms from being conceded: But mark me, the whole Irish fabric is supported by that of Great Britain, whose progress in ruin can only be equalled by her infatuation. If the principles of the French revolution are

as wicked, as destructive, and as diabolical as the minister has represented them, why was it necessary to involve the people of England in the horrors and ruin of war, that they may not be persuaded to adopt them? Is it that the extreme of vice is so seducing, that the most violent of remedy only could prevent a wise people from rushing to meet it? And although the minister has assigned day after day, different objects, for having involved them; and that every assertion on which he has founded his arguments of the day, have been belied by the facts of the morrow. Still they have been deaf to the councils of his glorious opponent, which, as long as tradition continues must ever remain a wonderful instance of the efforts of genius and patriotism, to rescue a besotted and misguided people from ruin; but the privileged and the rich yielding to fear and corruption, have deserted this champion of liberty, to prostrate themselves at the feet of that minister it was once their province to control: placing terror in the seat of reason, and sacrificing every species of industry to the manufacture of soldiers, they have looked to the bayonet of the mercenary for their only salvation. Presumptuous delusion! Do they imagine they can force back the current of public opinion? Is it by that corruption, whose necessities must increase by geometrical measure, whilst its means must decrease in the same rapid proportion? Is it by a carnage which would exhaust the creation? Is it by oaths wrung from oppression; know they not that the first oath of allegiance is from the king to the laws, the constitution and people; and that if swearing, without consideration, was binding, Charles could never have suffered, James have been excluded, nor a Brunswick have sat on the throne! We know that king, lords, and commons exist but by the people's permission; if useful, their titles can never be questioned; if not, they can never be bolstered by swearing. Vain efforts, to change the current of the human mind, like the noisy winds, which to the shallow sight, give a seeming current to the troubled face, whilst with ponderous weight great ocean moves the tide, with slow majestic pace to its predestined limits.

Although it were in nature to rescue Britain from impending destruction, it is not in nature that Ireland can be longer held by the disgraceful and ruinous vassalage by which she is bound. Much has been said of the loyalty of the South contrasted with that of the North; if they mean loyalty to that system of government which this administration have adopted, to the connexion with England on the present conditions, to the actual state of representation, to the prostituted sale of the right to legislate in one house, by the still more prostituted sale of the right to legislate in the other, to the jobbing and perjury of grand juries,

to tithes, tithe-proctors and land-pirates, to the annual exportation of two millions worth of the produce of Ireland, to pay absentees without any return, to the immoderate high rents and the low rate of wages, or to the enormous expense by which these corruptions are moved and maintained, I will answer for it, that the people of Leinster, of Munster and Connaught are as sensible of the misery and poverty these grievances have caused, and that they will go as far as the people of Ulster to get them redressed. I know the means, which have been used to persuade the Catholics in the South that the persecutions of the Catholics in the North, which have been so diabolically fomented and protected in Armagh, were the acts of the Presbyterians of the North; but I stake whatever credit I possess with my Catholic and Presbyterian countrymen, on the assurance I give to the Presbyterians that the Catholics of the South have buried in eternal oblivion all religious distinction, and in the assurance I give to the Catholics that the crimes with which their Presbyterian countrymen stand charged, and for which so many are dungeoned at this instant, is their zeal for the union of Irishmen amongst one another without distinction of sect or religion; it is the essence of Christianity, it is the essence of all morality, and cannot by human laws be abolished. Trust me, my fellow citizens, that as the minister of England perceives the dying convulsions of a country on the destruction of whose liberty he has so long supported his power, he will be obliged to change his system in Ireland of tyranny and force, into concession and conciliation; you will then see his minions exchanging the saucy flippancy with which they now insult and traduce you, into humiliation and meanness with which they will endeavour to sooth you; the insolence of the coward, the sport of the droll and the petulance of the puppy will soon evaporate into the insignificance, from whence they have risen, but let no wretched palliative induce you to ally your cause with corruption: let nothing short of a perfect representation satisfy you. With this admonition I leave you; but that I may not be suspected of seeking your confidence by any other means than the fullest disclosure of my political sentiments, I promise you, as soon as time will permit, that I will lay before you the best account of the state of our country my poor abilities will allow me to furnish. The best assurance I can give of my fidelity to you and your cause, is, that I believe in a better order of things; that those who violate the property and rights of others will forfeit their own, whilst those who respect the rights and property of others will be certain to have their's respected in turn. With these sentiments, knowing that you had wisely determined never to interfere any more in elections, under the system of corruption and undue influence, I

have offered my services to use every means in my power to effect its destruction, and finding that from the monopoly of one aristocratic faction or other yours was the only place of popular election I could hope to succeed in.

Think it not presumptuous, my countrymen, that one who loves liberty should seek her in the only asylum she has left; think it not presumptuous, my fellow-citizens, that one who will never outlive the threatened liberties of his country, should seek an advanced post where he may triumph in her cause, or fall in her defence. In contempt of calumny, united with you in brotherly love and affection and in the glorious cause of reform, I will ever remain your faithful friend and fellow-citizen.

ARTHUR O'CONNOR.

Belfast, Jan. 20, 1797.

No. CI.

BY THE LORD LIEUTENANT AND COUNCIL OF IRELAND,—

A PROCLAMATION....PAGE 243.

CAMDEN,

WHEREAS by an act of parliament passed in this kingdom in the thirty-sixth year of his majesty's reign, entitled "An act for more effectually suppressing insurrection, and preventing the disturbance of the public peace," it is enacted, that it shall be lawful, for the justices of the peace of any county assembled at a special session in manner by the said act directed, not being fewer than seven or the major part of them, one of whom to be of the quorum, if they see fit upon due consideration of the state of the county, to signify by memorial, by them signed to the lord lieutenant or other chief governor or governors in this kingdom, that they consider their county or any part thereof to be in a state of disturbance or in immediate danger of becoming so, and praying, that the lord lieutenant and council may proclaim such county or part thereof to be in a state of disturbance, thereupon it shall be lawful for the lord lieutenant or other chief governor or governors of this kingdom by and with the advice of his majesty's privy council, by proclamation to declare such county or any part of such county, to be in a state of disturbance or in immediate danger of be-

coming so, and also, such parts of any adjoining county or counties as such chief governor or governors shall think fit, in order to prevent the continuance or extension of such disturbance.

And whereas, nineteen justices of the peace of the county of Londonderry, several of them being of the quorum, being the major part of the justices of the peace duly assembled, pursuant to the said act, at a special session of the peace holden at Dunguien, in the said county, on Wednesday the fourth day of this instant January, have by a memorial, by them signed, signified to his excellency the lord lieutenant, that certain parts of the said county are in a state of disturbance or in imminent danger of becoming so, and have thereby prayed, that the lord lieutenant and council may proclaim the parish of Banagher, situate in the barony of Kenaght, and half Barony of Tirkceran, the parish of Beveagh, the parish of Dunguien, and the parish of Bacleagh situate in the barony of Kenaght, all which parishes are of said county, to be in a state of disturbance or in imminent danger of becoming so.

Now we, the lord lieutenant do by and with the advice of his majesty's privy council in pursuance of and by the authority to us given by the said act of parliament, by this our proclamation, declare the said parish of Banagher, situate in the half barony of Kenaght, and half barony of Tirkceran, the parish of Beveagh, the parish of Dunguien, and the parish of Bacleagh, situate in the barony of Keenaght, being part of the said county of Londonderry, to be in a state of disturbance or in immediate danger of becoming so, of which all justices of the peace and other magistrates and peace officers of the said county of Londonderry, and all others whom it may concern, are to take notice.

Given at the council chamber in Dublin, the 7th day of January, 1797.

W. Armagh
Clare C.
R. Dublin
W. Tuam
Bellamont
Clonmell
Perry

O'Neil
Carleton
Yelverton
J. Beresford
H. Langrish
H. Cavendish
D. Latouche

A. Wolfe
R. Ross
S. Hamilton
R. Ross
L. Morres.

God save the King !

No. CII.

DOCTOR FRANCIS MOYLAN, TO HIS BELOVED FLOCK, THE ROMAN CATHOLICS OF THE DIOCESE OF CORK....PAGE 249.

AT a moment of such general alarm and consternation, it is a duty I owe to you, my beloved flock, to recall to your minds the sacred principles of loyalty, allegiance and good order, that must direct your conduct on such an awful occasion. Charged as I am, by that blessed Saviour, whose birth with grateful hearts, we on this day solemnize, with the care of your souls, interested beyond expression in your temporal and eternal welfare, it is incumbent on me to exhort you to that peaceable demeanor, which must ever mark his true and faithful disciples.

Loyalty to the sovereign, and respect for the constituted authorities, have been always the prominent features in the christian character, and by patriotism and obedience to the established form of government, have our ancestors been distinguished at times, and under circumstances very different from these in which we have the happiness to live. For, blessed be God, we are no longer strangers in our native land, no longer excluded from the benefits of the happy constitution under which we live, no longer separated by odious distinctions from our fellow-subjects. To our gracious sovereign we are bound by the concurring principles of gratitude and duty, and to all our fellow-citizens by mutual interest and christian charity.

Under these circumstances, it is obvious what line of conduct you are to adopt, if the invaders, who are said to be on our coasts, should make good their landing, and attempt to penetrate into our country. To allure you to a co-operation with their views, they will not fail to make specious professions, that their only object is to emancipate you from the pretended tyranny under which you groan; and to restore you those rights, of which they will say you are deprived.

You, my good people, whom I particularly address, who are strangers to passing occurrences, had you known in what manner they fulfilled similar promises in the unfortunate countries into which, on the faith of them, they gained admittance, you would learn caution from their credulity, and distrust men who have trampled on all laws, human and divine; Germany, Flanders, Italy, Holland, to say nothing of their own, once the happiest,

now the most miserable, country in the world, can attest the irreparable ruin, desolation and destruction, occasioned by the French fraternity.

Be not deceived by the lure of equalizing property, which they will hold out to you, as they did to the above-mentioned people; for the poor, instead of getting any part of the spoil of the rich, were robbed of their own little pittance.

Be not then imposed on by their professions; they come only to rob, plunder and destroy. Listen not to their agitating abettors in this country, who endeavour, by every means, to corrupt your principles, but join heart and hand with all the virtuous and honest members of the community, who are come forward with distinguished patriotism, as well to resist the invading foe, as to counteract the insidious machinations of the domestic enemies and unnatural children, who are seeking to bring on their native country the ruin and untold evils that flow from anarchy and confusion. Obey the laws that protect you in your persons and properties: reverence the magistrate entrusted with their execution, and display your readiness to give him every assistance in your power.

Act thus, my beloved brethren, from a principle of conscience, and you will thereby ensure the favour of your God, and the approbation of all good men; whereas a contrary conduct will draw down inevitable ruin on you here, and eternal misery hereafter.

I shall conclude with this simple reflection, if the sway of our infamous invaders were here established, you would not, my beloved people enjoy the comfort of celebrating this auspicious day with gladness and thanksgiving, nor of uniting with all christians on earth, and with the celestial spirits in heaven, in singing, Glory to God on high, and on earth peace to men and good will!

25th December, 1796.

Doctor Caulfield, having attentively perused and considered the foregoing seasonable address of the worthy Roman Catholic Bishop of Cork to his flock, last Christmas day, on the truly alarming report of an hostile invasion of this country by the French, and observing that the safety, the interest and duty of the people are so strongly and pathetically pressed and inculcated in it, most gladly adopts the same, and most zealously recommends the important subject, the pious spirit and loyal orthodox doctrine of it, to the serious consideration and practical notice of the Roman Catholics of the diocese of Ferns; with great confidence in their principles as christians and subjects, that nothing shall ever warp or make them deviate from the indispensable line of conduct pointed out therein.

JAMES CAULFIELD.

Wexford, Jan. 7, 1797.

No. CIII.

THE APPEAL OF THE PEOPLE OF ULSTER TO THEIR COUNTRYMEN, AND TO THE EMPIRE AT LARGE....PAGE 261.

IRISHMEN!

OUR best citizens are entombed in Bastiles or hurried on board tenders; our wives and our children are become the daily victims of an uncontrolled and licentious foreign soldiery!

Irishmen! Ulster, one of your fairest provinces, containing one-third of the population of the land. Ulster, hitherto the pride and strength of Ireland, is proclaimed, and put under the ban of martial law! The executive government of the country has sentenced us to military execution, without trial, and the legislature of the country has sanctioned this illegal act without inquiry! The constituted authorities of the land, (without condescending to examine into the existence of our grievances, the truth of the outrages alleged against us, or the nature of the circumstances that may have provoked them,) have stigmatized us as objects of terror to the rest of Ireland, and of horror to the rest of Europe!

What, you will naturally ask, are your crimes? Hear them: Our enemies say, that under the appellation of United Irishmen, and by means of illegal oaths, we have established and organized a horrid system of murder, that we are the avowed enemies of all order and good government, and finally, that our ultimate object is pillage, massacre, and plunder! Countrymen! these charges are false! they are malevolent! for the only proof which our accusers have pretended to adduce in their support is, that in one whole province, where the servants of government have, for the last four years, by a system of premeditated persecution, endeavoured to drive the people into insurrection, a few individuals, who had rendered themselves notorious by their vindictive pursuit of this system, have, during the last six months, lost their lives. We do not defend these outrages; they give us more real grief than they do to our enemies.

But, how has it happened that the same horror was not expressed by the same persons, when a civil war was for two years carrying on in the county of Armagh, against the Catholics, supported by magisterial exertions, and as it was said, by ministerial connivance? Do you not know, countrymen, that these cruel persecutions were carried on by men, not only enjoying

impunity, but boasting that they were acting under the authority of government. Do you not know that the same system of tyranny and terror has been enforced with various success in almost every part of the north? that Belfast has been dragooned? that our most virtuous inhabitants have been nearly decimated? that magistrates have frequently issued forth, by day and by night, at the head of parties of the army, to scour the country, to burn the houses, and imprison the persons of those who are suspected to love liberty? Can you then wonder, if men, who have made themselves peculiarly obnoxious by their cruelties should sometimes fall victims to individual vengeance? However, you may lament in common with us, can you be surprised if the son, whose father has been torn from his family and illegally imprisoned, or carried on board the fleet; if the husband, whose wife has been dragged from her lying-in-bed, at the hour of midnight, and thrown into the street to see her house burned before her eyes; if the father, whose property has been destroyed, and his children cast out into want and misery; can you be surprised even if men, who are daily witnesses to such transactions, without redress and without the shadow of legal authority, and who are themselves suffering under a grinding persecution, the acts of which cannot be easily particularized, but which, by its unceasing operation, crushes and destroys; can you be surprised, if men thus situated, determined not to be forced into insurrection, should seek to assuage their revenge, and vainly hope to stop the current of general calamity by the assassination of the most atrocious of their persecutors? Do not, we beseech you, falsely impute their acts to the moral depravity of any body of men: No; if the hands of the inhabitants of the North were not restrained by the strongest ties of duty and religion, the highest heads and most overbearing spirits of our oppressors would have long since expiated their tyranny.

We have told you, countrymen, the charges exhibited against us, hear now the facts, and for the truth of them we solemnly appeal to the searcher of hearts. We are under an obligation (and we glory in it) to promote a brotherhood of affection among Irishmen of every religious persuasion. We are united in an organised system, not to promote murder, but to promote peace; not to destroy persons and property, but to save both from destruction. Lastly, beloved countrymen! we are most solemnly pledged, (a pledge we will never forfeit) to co-operate with you in every temperate and rational measure for obtaining the freedom of our country, by a full and adequate representation of all the people of Ireland, without regard to religious distinctions.

These are the crimes of Ulster. They are the common crimes of Ireland. How should it be otherwise, when they arise

from the duty we owe to our country and to our God? Yes, Irishmen! the sacred flame has become general! That which originated in Antrim, has been reverberated from Cork, and all the intermediate space from Wicklow to Mayo glows with the same enthusiasm. It has been our glory to raise the abutments, to you belongs the still more glorious task of crowning the arch.

Our intentions have been, and still are to obtain the great objects of our pursuit, through the means of calm discussion, and their own unquestionable justice. The common enemy knows, that these are the most powerful and irresistible weapons. It is, therefore, that they have practised upon us a system of reiterated aggression, unparalleled in the history of civilized nations, for the purpose of goading us into insurrection, or driving us into despair. They have hitherto failed, and they will still fail, thanks to that bountiful Being who has endued us with patience as well as courage.

We can even yet endure for our country's sake. But, countrymen! is there not a point, beyond which forbearance becomes a crime, and human nature is incapable of enduring? Shall we be forced beyond that point? If we should, our poor and feeble oppressors would find, that United Ireland could, in an instant, trample them to dust.

To our national armed force, whether militia or yeomanry, we peculiarly appeal. Soldiers! when you took up arms to defend your country, did you intend to turn them against your countrymen? Was it to raise the Catholic against the Protestant, and the Protestant against the Catholic that you arrayed? Was it to support an administration which has brought your country to the verge of destruction, by a wicked war against liberty abroad, and a still more wicked war against liberty at home, that you swore allegiance? If you should ever, with parricidal hearts, turn your arms against your fellow-citizens, whose only crime is their patriotism, would you not feel that you were guilty of treason, rebellion and perjury against your king, your country, and your God? Think then in time, remember you are Irishmen! Remember that you must shortly answer for every act of murder, or even pillage that you might be induced, by unjust orders, to commit, before that Being who is the avenger of the oppressed.

To the British nation we also appeal! Is it criminal, Britons! to follow the example of your renowned ancestors? If you feel the defects in your representation, and if you are sensible that you as well as we, have been precipitated into the most wicked and destructive wars, in consequence of these defects, can you possibly blame us whose representation is infinitely more inadequate, for our peaceable exertions to remedy those defects?

Shall Ireland be considered as hostile, because she has caught a spark of that holy fire, which was kept alive in your island, when surrounding Europe was sunk under a barbarous despotism? But you will be told that we wish to get rid of the connexion. If that connexion only existed in the manifold evils, which have been heaped upon us by the present abominable administration, we surely would wish for a separation.

But, fellow subjects, connected as we are by the ties of blood—of common language and polity—intimately connected as we are by our relative situation with each other, and with the rest of the world, as well as by our mutual wants and redundancies—so far from wishing to lessen these ties of connexion, we call upon, we entreat you to unite still farther with us in the just and necessary work of reform. We conjure you, by the names of your Lockes, your Sidneys, your Hampdens, and your Russells, to join us in a great and united effort to save the empire from destruction by the only measure which can save it—A radical reform in the representation of the people. The removal of your present wicked ministers will only operate as a temporal relief; the cause of all our evils would still remain. Had not your minister known that his influence, owing to the defective state of our representation, enabled him to draw from Ireland 150,000 men to recruit the army, and 40,000 seamen to man the fleet of the empire, he would not so rapidly have rushed into this detestable war, which has brought you as well as us to the brink of ruin. Britons! Remember the words of the most illustrious statesman that ever adorned your country or directed your councils; of that Pitt who conducted the empire to glory abroad, whilst he cherished liberty at home. In the year 1766, when Massachusetts was charged with rebellion, as Ulster is now, "I rejoice that America has resisted," said that great man. "Three millions of people, so dead to all the feelings of liberty as voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would have been fit instruments to make slaves of the rest. If America was to fall," continued he, "she would fall like the strong man; she would embrace the pillars of the state, and pull down the constitution with her. She has been wronged; she has been driven to madness by injustice: Will you punish her for the madness you have occasioned?" His councils succeeded—the obnoxious laws were repealed, and America sat down contented. Shortly after, the system of coercion was again resorted to, and America was lost.

Finally, we appeal to the Father of the universe, whose almighty power we invoke to conduct us by the paths of peace, to liberty and happiness.

April 14th, 1797.

COUNTY ARMAGH.

Whereas I have this day received a requisition, signed by the undernamed gentlemen, to call a meeting of the nobility, gentry, clergy, and freeholders of the county. Now I do hereby appoint such meeting to be held at the session-house in Armagh, at one o'clock, on Wednesday next, 19th inst.

R. B. SPARROW, Sheriff,

Armagh, April 14th, 1797.

Wm. Brownlow	Jos. Atkinson	Jas. Johnston
Caufield	J. Steele	Wm. Bisset
Wm. Richardson	John Maxwell	Samuel Close
Robert Cam. Cope	Jos. M'Geough	George Perry
A. T. Stuart	A. Macan	J. Seaver
K. Cope	J. A. Hamilton	Charl. M. Warburton
Alex. Hamilton	J. Lawson	Geo. Atkinson
John Moore	Corry M'Connell	K. Livingston
A. Thomson	J. Read	M. Obins.
J. Turner	Wm. Irvin	

Pursuant to the above, the most respectable meeting ever known in this county, of the nobility, gentry, clergy and freeholders, took place, the high sheriff in the chair, the following address was agreed on (with only one dissenting voice) and being signed by the sheriff, was given to the two county members, to be by them presented to his excellency the lord lieutenant, to transmit the same to his majesty as the sentiments of their constituents.

To the KING's Most Excellent MAJESTY.

SIRE,

IN the moment of calamity, in the hour of impending distress, the inhabitants of the county of Armagh, in the kingdom of Ireland, with reverence approach the throne, to express their sentiments of the highest respect and affection for your majesty's person, and unalterable attachment to the true principles of the British constitution, and to solicit your majesty, to avert from the empire that total ruin, in which a war of unexampled ferocity and misfortune has almost irretrievably involved a brave and loyal people.

With astonishment, we have beheld your majesty's ministers, obstinately persisting in a vain contest, which hath already spread through Europe, misery and devastation. At home, Sire, their conduct has been marked with greedy exaction, with avaricious and insatiable rapacity; and abroad they have manifested a prodigality unlimited, and an incapacity almost incredible.

When they first rashly precipitated the nation into this unprincipled war, they boldly predicted the destruction of the French Republic and French political principles, the extension of our own commerce; and a lasting and glorious peace.

Instead of realizing these golden dreams they have, by external pressure, consolidated the heterogeneous parts of the French Republic into one solid and indissoluble body, they have disseminated French principles, with a rapidity proportioned to their efforts for exterminating them; and, having ruined our commerce, loaded us with enormous taxes, and mocked us with delusive hopes of peace, they seemed determined to wage an endless war, without resources, and without any clear and defined object.

Under the guidance of these men, the power of the British empire has been diminished, and its glory and honour destroyed—perhaps for ever. They found us in possession of a commerce, co-extensive with the world; of resources, which they themselves boasted were inexhaustible; and of allies, whose combined powers they considered irresistible. Their boundless prodigality has dissipated these resources, their infatuation has estranged our allies, our commerce has dwindled into insignificance, our public credit blasted at their inauspicious touch, has shrunk into non-existence.

Your majesty's subjects of the kingdom of Ireland, bear not only a portion of those calamities, under which the constitution totters, and the whole empire groans, but labour under distresses and miseries peculiar to themselves.

We complain, Sir, that the British constitution is enjoyed by us in name only. The English cabinet is the real efficient power, which guides, directs, and actuates the Irish government. Through their influence, laws are capriciously made and repealed. Under their guidance, a system of organized corruption has established itself: their measures are carried into effect, not by arguments drawn from reason and policy, but by the efforts of venality, frontless and unblushing. Coercive laws are made and penalties inflicted, altogether disproportioned to the alleged offences. The people are goaded to madness by accumulated miseries and oppression, and if they sigh, or murmur, the sigh is treason, and the murmur death. The convention bill has taken from your majesty's subjects, even the right to complain, the last sad refuge of distress and suffering humanity. An enemy powerful and full of animosity, has appeared on our coasts, and in the moment of distress, our government manifested itself impotent and incapable of protecting the people; yet when the winds had providentially prevented the intended invasion, it prepared, not to resist the returning foe, but to alienate the affections of the people by despoiling them of their only protection—their arms.

Your subjects, Sire, are daily committed to prison, under the insurrection act, for frivolous causes ; and, that one cruelty may be superadded to another, the habeas corpus act has been suspended, and innocent and unoffending men confined without hope of trial, liberation, or redress. The richest and most populous province in the kingdom has been, in defiance of truth and justice, stigmatized and illegally treated, as in a state of insurrection ; our most useful citizens, torn from their families and dearest connexions, are without trial by jury, dragged to the fleet, like the most atrocious felons ; and military coercion has taken place of common law.

Sire, we humbly submit to your consideration, that if your people were fairly and adequately represented in parliament, most of these evils would have been prevented in their very origin.

In this kingdom, three-fourths of your majesty's loyal people are aliens to many of the blessings of the constitution : the Roman Catholics exist under restrictions hostile to the common rights of mankind, and disgraceful to the age in which we live. Your majesty's ministers, Sire, ungenerously taking advantage of these restrictions, have too long propagated amongst us religious animosities, and the fiery persecutions of merciless bigotry. Against these men, at this moment, Sire, Irishmen of every religious persuasion lift up their voice with one accord : we arraign them of crimes at which humanity shudders, and from which christianity turns an abhorrent eye. Of these enormities we accuse them before our country, before the whole British empire, before our king, in the face of the world, in the presence of GOD.

For these reasons, Sire, we pray your majesty to aid your people in reforming the parliament, in emancipating the Catholics, and to dismiss your present ministers from your councils for ever.

No. CIV.

MR. PELHAM'S LETTER TO GENERAL LAKE 3D MARCH...

PAGE 266.

Dublin Castle, 3d March, 1797.

SIR,

I AM commanded by my lord lieutenant to acquaint you, that from the information received by his excellency

with respect to various parts of the North of Ireland, additional measures to those hitherto employed for preserving the public peace are become necessary. It appears that in the counties of Down, Antrim, Tyrone, Derry and Donegal, secret and treasonable associations still continue to an alarming degree, and that the persons concerned in these associations are attempting to defeat all the exertions of the loyal and well-disposed, by the means of terror; that they threaten the lives of all who shall venture, from regard to their duty and oath of allegiance, to discover their treasons; that they assemble in great numbers by night, and by threats and force disarm the peaceable inhabitants; that they have fired on his majesty's justices of the peace when endeavouring to apprehend them in their nocturnal robberies; that they threaten by papers, letters and notices, the persons of those, who shall in any manner resist or oppose them; that in their nightly excursions for the purpose of disarming his majesty's loyal subjects, they disguise their persons and countenances; that they endeavour to collect great quantities of arms in concealed hiding places; that they have cut down great numbers of trees on the estates of the gentry, for the purpose of making pikes; that they have stolen great quantities of lead for the purpose of casting bullets; that they privately, by night, exercise in the practice of arms; that they endeavour to intimidate persons from joining the yeomanry corps established by law, in order to resist a foreign enemy; they refuse to employ as manufacturers, those who enlist in the corps; that they not only threaten but ill-treat the persons of the yeomanry, and even attack their houses by night, and proceed to the barbarous extremity of deliberate and shocking murder, as was exemplified in their recent attack and murder by night of Mr. Comyns, of Newtownards, and that they profess a resolution to assist the enemies of his majesty, if they should be enabled to land in this kingdom. It further appears, that these disturbances and outrages exist, and even increase, as well in the districts which have been proclaimed, as in other parts of the country. In order therefore to reduce the persons engaged in the aforesaid treasonable associations and guilty of the said atrocious outrages, to subordination to the laws, and to give confidence to the well-disposed among his majesty's subjects, and security to their properties and their lives, and to prevent any assistance being given to the enemy, by the disloyal and disaffected, his excellency has commanded me to communicate to you his positive orders, that you take the most immediate and decisive measures for disposing of the military force under your command, aided by the yeomanry corps, for immediately disarming all persons so commissioned, or persons holding commissions, the authority of the yeomanry act, or persons acting under officers so commissioned, and after

making such disposition you are desired to carry such disarming into effect.

His excellency gives you this full authority, in order to give your discretion the greatest latitude, relying at the same time on your prudence and discernment in the exercise of it, so that the peaceable and well-affected may be protected against the evil designs of those who have threatened their lives and property with destruction.

His excellency further authorizes you to employ force against any persons assembled in arms, not legally authorized so to be, to disperse all tumultuous assemblies of persons, though they may not be in arms, without waiting for the sanction and assistance of the civil authority, if in your opinion the peace of the realm, and the safety of his majesty's faithful subjects may be endangered by waiting for such authority.

His excellency further authorizes you to consider those parts of the country, where the outrages before stated have been committed, or where they shall arise, as being in a state that requires all the measures of exertion and precaution, which a country depending upon military force alone for its protection would require : and you are therefore required to station your troops with a view to interrupt communication between those whom you may have reason to suspect of evil designs ; to establish patrols on the high roads or other passes, and to stop all persons passing or re-passing after certain hours of the night, and in order completely to carry into effect any orders or regulations which, in the circumstances of the case may be considered by you as necessary, your are authorized to issue notices, stating the regulations, and calling upon his majesty's subjects to be aiding and assisting therein.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

T. P.

General Lake's Proclamation.

Belfast, March 13th, 1797.

WHEREAS the daring and horrid outrages in many parts of this province, evidently perpetrated with a view to supersede the laws and the administration of justice, by an organized system of murder and robbery, have increased to such an alarming degree, as from their atrocity and extent, to bid defiance to the civil power, and to endanger the lives and properties of his majesty's faithful subjects.

And whereas, the better to effect their traitorous purposes, several persons who have been enrolled under the authority of his majesty's commissions, and others have been forcibly and traitor-

ously deprived of their arms, it is therefore become indispensably necessary for the safety and protection of the well-disposed, to interpose the king's troops under my command, and I do hereby give notice, that I have received authority and directions to act in such manner as the public safety may require: I therefore hereby enjoin and require all persons in this district (peace officers and those serving in a military capacity excepted) forthwith to bring in and surrender up all arms and ammunition, which they may have in their possession, to the officer commanding the king's troops in their neighbourhood.

I trust that an immediate compliance with this order may render any act of mine to enforce it unnecessary.

Let the people seriously reflect before it is too late on the ruin, into which they are rushing; let them reflect on their present prosperity and the miseries in which they will inevitably be involved by persisting in acts of positive rebellion; let them instantly by surrendering up their arms and by restoring those traitorously taken from the king's forces, rescue themselves from the severity of military authority. Let all the loyal and well-intentioned act together with energy and spirit in enforcing subordination to the laws, and restoring tranquillity in their respective neighbourhoods, and they may be assured of protection and support from me.

And I do hereby invite all persons, who are enabled to give information touching arms and ammunition which may be concealed, immediately to communicate the same to the several officers commanding his majesty's forces in their respective districts; and for their encouragement and reward, I do hereby promise and engage, that strict and inviolable secrecy shall be observed with respect to all persons who shall make communication; and that every person who shall make it shall receive a reward the full value of all such arms and ammunition.

G. LAKE, Lieut. Gen.
Commanding the Northern District.

No. CV.

BY THE LORD LIEUTENANT AND COUNCIL OF IRELAND—

A PROCLAMATION....PAGE 268.

CAMDEN.

WHEREAS there exists within this kingdom a seditious and traitorous conspiracy, by a number of persons

styling themselves United Irishmen, for the subversion of the authority of his majesty and the parliament, and the destruction of the established constitution and government: and whereas, for the execution of such their wicked designs, they have planned means of open violence, and formed secret arrangements for raising, arming, and paying a disciplined force; and in furtherance of their purposes have frequently assembled in great and unusual numbers, under the colourable pretence of planting or digging potatoes, attending funerals and the like, and have frequently assembled in large armed bodies, and plundered of arms the houses of many of his majesty's loyal subjects in different parts of the kingdom, and cut down and carried away great numbers of trees wherewith to make handles for pikes and other offensive weapons to arm their traitorous associates, and have audaciously attempted to disarm the district or yeomanry corps enrolled under his majesty's commission for the defence of the realm, and even fired upon several bodies of his majesty's forces when attempting to quell their insurrections; and it is therefore now become necessary to use the utmost powers, with which government is by law entrusted for the suppression of such traitorous attempts: and whereas the exertions of the civil power have proved ineffectual for the suppression of the aforesaid traitorous and wicked conspiracy, and for the protection of the lives and properties of his majesty's faithful subjects.

Now we, the lord lieutenant, by and with the advice of the privy council, having determined as far as in us lies to suppress such daring attempts, and at the same time desirous to prevent the well-disposed or misled from falling into the dangers to which ignorance or incaution may expose them, do by this our proclamation forewarn all such to abstain from entering into the said traitorous societies of United Irishmen, or any of them, and from resorting to their meetings, or acting under their directions or influence, or taking or adhering to any of their declarations or engagements, and from suffering them to assemble in their houses, or in any manner harbouring them. And we do strictly charge and command, on their allegiance, all persons having knowledge or information of the meetings of the said societies, or any of them, to give immediate information thereof to some of his majesty's justices of the peace, or to some officer of his majesty's forces in the neighbourhood of the place where such meeting is intended. And we do forewarn all persons from tumultuous or unlawful assemblies, or from meeting in unusual numbers, under the plausible or colourable pretence aforesaid, or any other whatsoever.

And we caution his majesty's loyal and loving subjects whenever such assemblies shall happen, or that they receive notice from

any magistrate or from the officer commanding any body of his majesty's forces, to keep quietly within their dwellings, to the end that the well-disposed may avoid the mischiefs, which the guilty may bring upon themselves.

And as it has become necessary, from the circumstances before mentioned, to employ the military force, with which we are by law entrusted for the immediate suppression of such rebellious and traitorous attempts now making against the peace and dignity of the crown, and the safety of the lives and properties of his majesty's loyal subjects, we have therefore issued the most direct and effectual orders to all officers commanding his majesty's troops, by the exertions of their utmost force, and with their full power to oppose all such as shall resist them in the execution of their duty.

And we do hereby strictly charge and command all our officers civil and military, and all other his majesty's loving subjects, to use their utmost endeavours to discover all pikes, pike heads, concealed guns and swords, offensive weapons or ammunition of any kind whatsoever.

And we do hereby charge and command all persons having in their custody pikes, pike heads, or concealed guns, swords, offensive weapons or ammunition whatsoever, to deliver up the same to some magistrate or officer of his majesty's troops, as they shall answer the contrary at their peril.

And we do hereby strictly charge and command all officers civil and military, and all other his majesty's faithful subjects, to be aiding and assisting in suppressing all traitorous, tumultuous or unlawful assemblies, and in bringing to punishment all persons disturbing or attempting to disturb the public peace.

And whereas we have reason to hope that many of his majesty's subjects who have joined the said traitorous societies, have done so without having been apprized of the extent of their crime, and others from intimidation, and that such may be willing to return to their allegiance—Now we being desirous to extend his majesty's pardon to all such as are sensible of their errors and will return to their allegiance, do hereby promise his majesty's most gracious pardon to all such persons so seduced and intimidated, as have taken an engagement to the said societies, or any of them, who shall on or before the 24th day of June next surrender themselves to any of his majesty's justices of the quorum of the counties, in which they shall respectively reside, and take the oath of allegiance, and enter into sufficient recognizances, with two sufficient securities, if securities shall be required by the magistrate before whom such recognizances shall be acknowledged, which recognizance every such magistrate is hereby required to return to the next general session of the peace or assizes to

be holden in and for the county, in which such recognizance shall be taken respectively, to be of the peace and good behaviour for the space of seven years, save and except all such as have been guilty of murder, conspiracy of murder, burglary, burning of houses, corn or hay, stacks of straw or turf, maliciously digging up or injuring or destroying any potatoes, flax or hemp, rape or corn of any kind planted or sowed, or destroying meadows or hay, maiming or houghing of cattle, administering or causing to be administered any unlawful oath or engagement to any of his majesty's forces of any description, or inciting or encouraging any person to commit any of the aforesaid offences respectively, and save and except all persons now in custody.

Given at the Council Chamber in Dublin, the 17th day of May, 1797.

W. Armagh	Altamont	Carleton
Clare, C.	Glendore	Yelverton
Chas. Cashel	Portarlinton	J. Foster
W. Tuam	Farnham	J. Beresford
Waterford	Carhampton	Denis Brown
Drogheda	Clonmell	T. Pelham
Westmeath	Ely	H. Cavendish
Shannon	Gosford, H.	J. Blaquiere
Clanbrassie	Meath	H. Langrish
Theo. Jones	D. Latouche	Robert Ross
Jos. Cooper	J. M. Mason	Isaac Corry
James Cuffe	Arthur Wolfe	S. Hamilton
Geo. Ogle	James Fitzgerald	L. Morris

Mr. Pelham's letter to lord Carhampton.

Dublin Castle, 18th May, 1797.

MY LORD,

THE lord lieutenant and council having judged it expedient to call upon his majesty's troops to exert their utmost force to suppress a seditious and traitorous conspiracy of persons styling themselves United Irishmen, I am commanded by his excellency to transmit to your lordship a copy of the proclamation issued on this subject, and to desire that your lordship will issue the necessary orders to the troops under your command in consequence thereof; his excellency has directed me to represent to your lordship, that as the traitorous and treasonable designs of these conspirators extend to the subversion of the constitution and government, it will be necessary to have recourse to their exertions. In those parts of the kingdom where these designs have been manifested by acts of open violence, it will be necessary to give the officers of his majesty's troops more precise

directions for their conduct. In such parts of the kingdom as have been disturbed by nocturnal depredations, where the lives of his majesty's loyal subjects have been endangered by persons collected in arms, attacking and firing upon their houses, and where assemblies of persons have been collected for the purpose of unlawful cutting down trees or perpetrating other acts of outrage, military precaution should be adopted for the security of the lives and property of his majesty's loyal subjects, and opposing by the most effectual means such daring acts of violence.

Diligent inquiry should be made respecting any concealed arms or ammunition, and for pikes and pike-handles, and upon information thereof, officers commanding parties should be directed to search for and seize the same.

Any persons armed with pikes or other weapons in resistance of his majesty's troops, to be considered as rebels and treated accordingly; all persons exercising themselves in the use of arms under persons not holding his majesty's or the lord lieutenant's commission are to be disarmed and apprehended, and in case of resistance to be treated as rebels; and as it appears to be a part of the system of these conspirators to take the opportunity of funerals and other occasions to assemble considerable numbers of persons, the officers of his majesty's army should be directed, in pursuance of this proclamation, to watch all such assemblies, and if from their number, or other circumstances, the public peace should appear to be endangered, they will disperse them; and as various attempts have been made to seduce his majesty's troops from their duty and allegiance, you will direct all persons of suspicious appearance, who shall come within the lines of any encampment, barrack, or other stations of his majesty's troops, to be detained.

And his excellency further desires, that your lordship will, from time to time, communicate such instructions to the officers of his majesty's troops as you shall deem best adapted for carrying into effect his excellency's proclamation, and as local exigencies may demand.

I have the honour to be, my lord,

Your lordship's most obedient humble servant,

THOMAS PELHAM.

*The earl Garhampton,
Commander in Chief, &c. &c.*

No. CVI.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE FREEMEN AND FREEHOLDERS OF DUBLIN
AND OF CORK....PAGE 275.

AT a meeting of the FREEMEN and FREEHOLDERS of the city of DUBLIN, convened by the high sheriffs at the Royal Exchange, on Saturday the 8th of April, 1797, to consider of a "petition to the throne, praying the removal of his majesty's ministers from his councils for ever;" and a petition to his majesty to that effect having been produced, the question of adjournment was moved thereupon, and a division having taken place, the sheriffs declared from the chair, that of the multitude assembled in the hall they had no hesitation to say, that the majority were against the adjournment, but that at the same time they felt it their duty to declare, "that being as well acquainted with the citizens of their bailiwicks as any other persons in the assembly, a very large number of those, who formed the majority, were to their own certain knowledge neither freemen nor freeholders of the city of Dublin, but a multitude of men, who had tumultuously forced the doors, and made their way into the assembly; and that, under that impression, they should think it their duty to refuse putting their names to any proceedings of the day, though they would sit in the chair as long as their fellow-citizens should desire."—Whereupon the freemen and freeholders who voted for the adjournment, anxiously pressed for another meeting, in order that there might be a fair discussion of the petition; and the sheriffs declared that if such a measure were adopted, they would take such precautions as would procure a chaste meeting of the freemen and freeholders only, by giving them tickets of admission; and this they earnestly and repeatedly pressed, but having been objected to by the other part of the assembly, those who voted for the adjournment retired from the meeting, and came to the following resolution:

"Resolved, That any proceedings adopted at the said meeting, are not, and cannot be considered as the sense of freemen and freeholders of the city of Dublin."

We, whose names are hereunto subscribed, freemen and freeholders of the city of Dublin, agree to the above resolution.

TO THOMAS GIBBINGS AND EDWARD ALLEN, ESQRS. HIGH
SHERIFFS OF THE CITY AND COUNTY OF THE CITY OF
CORK.

GENTLEMEN,

WE request that you will as soon as possible convene your bailiwick, to take into consideration an humble address to our most gracious and beloved sovereign, upon the present alarming state of public affairs ; praying him to dismiss his present ministers in Great Britain and Ireland from his councils for ever, as the first step towards obtaining a speedy, honourable, and permanent peace.

John Cuthbert, sen,	Benj. Bousfield	Edw. Hoare, M. P.
Wm. Beamish	Wm. Crawford	Wm. Bleazby
Rich. Kellet, jun.	Francis Woodley	Wm. Stawell
Wm. Leader	Reuben Harvey, sen.	John Callanan
George Stawell	R. De la Cour	John Terry
Wm. Cuthbert	Thos. Cuthbert	Wm. Penrose
St. Leger Aldworth	Reuben Harvey, jun.	Wm. Penrose
Michael Rogers	Thos. Rochfort	Benj. Hayes
Richard Barrett	Dominick Waters	Thos. Ware
Abbot Trayer	Arthur G. Creagh	Rich. Moylan
N. F. Coppinger	Peter Trant	Thos. Gonnell
Nicholas Therry	John Martin	Paul Abbott
Marcus Lynch, jun.	Austin Shinkwin	Philip Stackpole
Nicholas Mahon	J. Keller	Cornelius Donegan
Heyward St. Leger	Samuel Perrott	Isaac Kingston
Wm. Reynolds	Benj. Hayes, jun.	Robert Simmons
Wm. Coppinger	B. Foley	George Chinnery
Stephen Fagan	John Cremin	Thomas Mahon
Justin Mc. Carthy	John Unthank	Rev. Chas. Beamish
John Moylan	George Lombard	Andrew O'Shea
John Lyne	Robert Burke	Johnson St. Leger
M. I. Fulham	Morgan Regan	Russel Fitton
John H. Hoskins	James Haley	James Fagan
John Parks	George Cotter	James Kelly
Rich. Chinnery	Gerard Galway	J. Barry, M. D.
William Flynn	Rich. Maguire, jun.	† Sampson Stawell
D. Shea	John Thompson	† Eustace Stawell
D. Foley	Rich. Fitton	
Henry Sadlier	Cooper Penrose	

The Gentlemen's names marked thus † were received after the requisition was delivered to the high sheriffs.

The high sheriffs having refused to comply with the above requisition, the freemen, freeholders, and citizens, qualified to be jurors, are requested to meet for the above constitutional purpose, at the Tholsel, on the 20th day of May, at one o'clock in the afternoon.

The freemen, freeholders, and citizens, qualified to be jurors, who were invited to meet the 20th instant, "To take into consideration an humble address to our most gracious and beloved sovereign, upon the present alarming state of public affairs, praying him to dismiss his present ministers in Great Britain and Ireland, from his councils for ever, as the first step towards obtaining a speedy, honourable, and permanent peace," are requested by the gentlemen who signed the requisition, not to assemble on that day, as a proclamation, dated the 17th has been issued by the lord lieutenant and council, "forewarning all persons from meeting in unusual numbers, *under any pretence whatsoever.*"

Cork, May 19, 1797.

The gentlemen, who signed the above requisition, feel themselves called on by their love of peace, of order, and of freedom, to state to the good sense and impartial judgment of the public their opinions and conduct; particularly to express their apprehensions relative to the late proclamation, which places this kingdom in a situation awful and unprecedented. It is not necessary to mention, how much interested they are in the welfare of this country; when the enemy menaced the coast, their personal services and peculiar contributions were not the least conspicuous or effectual amidst the general loyalty and patriotism which prevailed. The peculiar calamities of the war they have long beheld, and severely feel; its dreadful consequences to the commerce and to the constitution, they cannot view without the deepest anguish. They shudder in reflecting on the waste of treasure, and the prodigality of human victims it has occasioned. They lament to see public credit shaken to its foundation, trade daily decaying, and manufactures almost annihilated, distrust and dependency pervading all ranks of the community, thousands of the lower orders unemployed, sinking under poverty and wretchedness, ministers obstinately pursuing a system dangerous to the liberty of the country, and ruinous to the interest of the empire, prompt to irritate the feelings, but slow to conciliate the affections of the people; who, when this country was in danger, saw and acknowledged the zeal and fidelity of our Catholic brethren, but so soon as that danger was removed, forgot their services, and rejected their claims. Judging from such conduct and effects, they apprehend that no confidence can be placed in the sincerity or capacity of these ministers, and looking to an immediate peace as

the only probable means of rescuing the British empire from inevitable destruction, they feel the same solicitude that the authors and abettors of these misfortunes should be dismissed for ever from his majesty's councils.

When they invited their fellow-citizens to assemble and deliberate on a question involving their national existence, they conceived, that they were adhering equally to the spirit of the constitution, as to the letter of the law. They considered the right to petition for redress of grievances as inherent in the subject; they knew that right had been claimed, ratified and confirmed at the revolution of 1688; that it has since been invariably exercised, and was in the late Convention act declared and recognized; they therefore consider it as interwoven with the principles of that constitution which they have ever revered, and are resolved to support.

After the proclamation was issued, had they not recalled their invitation they would have deemed themselves accessary to the indignities and the military coercion, which might have been directed against the unoffending loyal and peaceable inhabitants of this city, who might have felt it their duty to pour out their complaints to their gracious sovereign. From this act of the executive power, which prevents "any meeting in unusual numbers *under any pretence whatsoever*, and expressing the necessity of "employing military power, and commanding the exertion of "their *utmost force*," * they apprehend additional misfortunes; they fear that the introduction of military force may bring into disrespect and disuse the civil power; they are of opinion, that to check discussion—to suppress manly and open effusions of public spirit, or of public complaint, may excite secret discontent and disaffection towards that government, which it is the duty of all good men to support, whilst affording protection and security to life, property, and liberty, against violence, rapacity, and usurpation. Under the restrictions of the proclamation they conceive, that no body of electors can safely assemble to instruct their representatives, or to petition parliament; that salutary and constitutional medium for conveying the desires, the wishes, or the wants of the people is thus lost; all avenues to parliamentary inquiry, as to the legality of this proclamation, the necessity that urged it, or the justice which directed its application to this loyal city, are thereby shut up.

Having thus delivered their opinions, and stated the motives for their conduct, the subscribers to the requisition have only to deplore the adoption of a measure that defeated their well-intend-

* Vide proclamation by the lord-lieutenant and council, Dublin Castle, 17th of May, 1797.

ed purposes—and which in its operation involving the innocent with the guilty, restraining and coercing the loyal equally as the disaffected, diffuses doubts, terror, and dismay.

By the people of Great Britain and Ireland this event will not pass unmarked—in seriously contemplating this deprivation of right, they will feel the insecurity of all their once boasted liberty.

Cork, May 24, 1797.

COPY OF A REQUISITION MADE TO THE HIGH SHERIFF OF THE
COUNTY OF KILDARE, OF THE NAMES THEREUNTO SUBJOIN-
ED, AND OF THE ANSWERS OF THE HIGH SHERIFF.

To ROBERT LATOUCHE, esq. High Sheriff of the County Kildare.

SIR,

YOU are hereby requested to convene the freeholders and inhabitants of your bailiwick, in order to consider the propriety of petitioning his majesty, praying him to dismiss his present ministers from his councils for ever, and to adopt such measures as may once more ensure to these countries the blessings of exterior and interior peace.

Leinster	B. Willa	P. Dever
Cloncurry	T. Swords	T. Kenna
N. Lawless	R. Dease	C. Colclough
J. Dillon	C. Nangle	John Henry
J. Hussey	C. Aylmer	Joseph Henry
W. Ponsonby	J. Gorman	G. Cockburne
G. Ponsonby	Rev. N. Ashe	D. O'Reilly
C. Lumm	M. Lewis	J. Fitzgerald
E. Fitzgerald [Lord]	E. Walsh	J. Gorman
James Ryan	G. Lalor	W. Carroll
Robert Mercer	Mau. B. St. L. Keatinge	M. Taylor
Wogan Browne	T. Fitzgerald	T. Devay
G. Daker	L. Mansergh	D. Caulfield
N. Cahill	J. Medlicott	T. Dunn
G. Chapman	T. Graydon	J. B. Lewis
P. Dunne	J. Leeson	W. Fitzgerald
Thomas Conolly	R. Aylmer	J. Cuffe
P. Lattin	W. Sherlock	J. Fitzgerald, jun.
J. Taylor	J. Haughton	H. Phelim
R. Hamilton	P. Maher	J. Moore
D. B. Daly	W. Wilkes	
A. O. Ferrall	O. Walsh	

Answer of the High Sheriff.

GENTLEMEN,

I HAVE received your requisition, desiring that I would convene the freeholders and inhabitants of my bailiwick, in order to consider the propriety of a petition to his majesty, praying him to dismiss his present ministers from his councils for ever, and to adopt such measures as may once more ensure to these countries the blessings of exterior and interior peace.

I have also received a paper, signed by a number of very respectable magistrates and freeholders of the county of Kildare, who having heard that such a requisition was in contemplation, and being fully convinced that a general meeting at this juncture would tend to disturb the peace and tranquillity of the county, express in the strongest terms their disapprobation of such a measure, and earnestly request that I should not accede to any such requisition at present.

Having considered this difference of opinion among men of property in the county, and being myself decidedly of opinion that such a meeting would be highly injurious to its peace and tranquillity, I cannot consistently with my duty comply with your requisition.

I have the honour to be,

Gentlemen, &c.

ROBERT LATOUCHE.

To the Gentlemen, &c.

In consequence of the above answer such persons as signed the requisition are requested to meet at the Eagle in Eustace-street, on Monday next, the 15th inst. at two o'clock, in order to consider what steps might be taken in consequence thereof.

NO. CVII.

LOYAL DECLARATIONS OF CATHOLICS AND ORANGEMEN....

PAGE 283.

7th January, 1798.

WE, the Roman Catholic inhabitants of the parishes of Ramoan, Aunoy, Ballintoy, in the county of Antrim, regretting justly the disturbances, which have outraged and disgraced the

northern parts of this kingdom, and feeling sensible of the past errors which many of our body have been led into by the deep designs of wicked men, styling themselves United Irishmen; men who have been, and still are, the prime causers and sole movers of all the seditious proceedings, which have torn and disturbed Ireland; and detesting and abhorring as we do, from the bottom of our hearts, both their seditious principles and diabolical practices, do hereby declare, and in the most solemn manner, pledge ourselves to support, with our lives and fortunes, the blessed constitution of this country, and his majesty's happy government, established amongst us. Determined as we are, to exert ourselves for the suppression of rebellion and sedition within our district, we further declare, that we have seen with indignation, their endeavours to sow discord between those of our and of the Protestant persuasion; being truly sensible that men, who have associated or will associate, like us, for the protection of the constitution, can have no enmity to those who are equally anxious for its preservation, of whatever religious persuasion they may be; and we do hereby assure our Protestant brethren of the above description, of our sincere affection for them, and our absolute determination to co-operate and join with them by every means in our power, for the suppression of rebellion, the support of this happy constitution, the welfare of his majesty's happy government, and in love and loyalty to his sacred person.

Signed by Roger O'Murray, Pastor, Philip M'Kilver, and by 508 Roman Catholic inhabitants of the aforesaid parishes.

WE, the loyal inhabitants of the province of Ulster, who have been styled Orangemen, in remembrance of our glorious deliverer, king William the Third, think it incumbent on us, at this critical period, to declare our faithful and steady attachment to his majesty king George the Third, and to our valuable constitution in church and state, as well as our gratitude for the blessings we enjoy under the present government, and our happiness in the suppression of insurrection and rebellion, and the restoration of tranquillity in this province, by the exertions of the general officers and militia, aided by the zeal of the loyal inhabitants.

We have read in the public papers, with much satisfaction, the declarations of the Roman Catholic inhabitants of several parishes of this province: we have no doubt of the sincerity of such declarations: and that the Catholics of Ireland, sensible of the benefits they enjoy, will not suffer themselves to be made the dupes

of wicked and designing men, for the most diabolical purposes : and we flatter ourselves, that such declarations will be embraced, and have the happiest effects, in other parts of the kingdom ; such conduct must be acceptable in the eyes of God and man.

We declare most solemnly, that we are not enemies to any body of people, on account of their religion, their faith, or their mode of worship, we consider every peaceable and loyal subject our brother, and they shall have our aid and protection.

Anxious to co-operate in preserving internal tranquillity, and repelling invasion, (should our foreign enemies be desperate enough to attempt it), we take this opportunity of declaring our readiness to undertake any duty, in obedience to the commands of his excellency the lord lieutenant.

William Atkinson
John Crossle
George Lendrum
Edward Butler
Anthony M'Reynolds
Samuel Johnston

Richard Taylor
Hugh Watson
John Johnston
Abraham Dawson
William Hazleton
George Taylor

And several thousand loyal inhabitants.

February 15, 1798.

WE, the Roman Catholic inhabitants of the parish of Cappoquin, in the county of Waterford, assembled at our chapel, on the 26th of December, 1797, anxiously embrace the earliest opportunity of following the example of our fellow-subjects of the parish of Calfraghtrin, and Grange of Inispollan, in the county of Antrim, by expressing our unfeigned loyalty, and our sincere concern at the disturbed state of this country, which, until now, has been ever remarkable for a due obedience to the laws.

We cannot more strongly express our sentiments, than by adopting the declaration of the above parish, in justly regretting the disturbances which have outraged and disgraced our hitherto peaceable country, and feeling sensible of the past errors which many of our body have been led into by the deep designs of wicked men, styling themselves United Irishmen ; who have been, and still are, the prime causers, and sole movers, of all the seditious proceedings which have torn and disturbed Ireland, and detesting and abhorring as we do, from the bottom of our hearts, both their seditious and diabolical practices, do hereby declare, and in the most solemn manner pledge ourselves to support, with our lives and fortunes, the blessed constitution of this country, and his majesty's happy government established amongst us. Determin-

ed as we are, to exert ourselves for the suppression of rebellion and sedition within our district, we further declare, that we have seen with indignation their endeavours to sow discord between those of our and the Protestant persuasion? being truly sensible that men who have associated, or will associate like us, for the protection of the constitution, can have no enmity to those who are equally anxious for its preservation, of whatever religious persuasion they may be; and we do hereby assure our Protestant brethren of the above description, of our sincere affection for them, and our absolute determination to co-operate and join with them by every means in our power, for the suppression of rebellion, the support of this happy constitution, the welfare of his majesty's government, and in love and loyalty to his sacred person.

Signed by Thomas Flannery, parish priest,
and 817 persons.

WE, the Roman Catholics of the parishes of Ballinderry, in the counties of Tyrone and Londonderry, think it our duty to come forward, and thus publicly declare, our firm and determined resolution of supporting our gracious sovereign king George, and opposing, with all our might, his enemies, and the enemies of all we hold dear—our liberty, our religion.

With unfeigned contrition we acknowledge, that many of our body were seduced from their duty and allegiance to the best of kings, by the artifice and arguments of designing men, styling themselves United Irishmen; to their wicked designs and diabolical practices we are indebted for all the outrages that have disgraced the north of Ireland.

With unfeigned concern we hear, that the emissaries of that seditious body have been too successful in seducing many of our Roman Catholic brethren in the south of the kingdom, and that at this time, (as it was heretofore in the north) the country is disgraced with outrage, rapine, and murder. In the most earnest manner we entreat the Roman Catholics in those disturbed parts, for the honour of the religion they profess, to withdraw themselves (before it is too late) from those wicked societies—to acknowledge their error, and throw themselves on the mercy of our lenient government; then, like us, they will receive pardon for their past offences, and we hope, like us, will become dutiful and loyal subjects.

We are happy in declaring, that the most perfect good understanding has ever subsisted between us and our Protestant brethren.

ren—and we shall ever endeavour to preserve it: like them, we serve the same God, and with them we are ready, with our lives and fortunes, to support our king and constitution. When, in other places, disgraceful outrages were committed, with us the most perfect order was preserved; for that blessing we are indebted to our next resident magistrate, Andrew Newton, esq. of Coagh, for whose prudent conduct in that office, and the good behaviour of the Ballinderry yeomen under his command, our grateful acknowledgments are due.

Resolved, That this declaration, with our signatures, be delivered to captain Newton, with our request, that a copy of it be laid before his excellency the lord lieutenant.

Ballinderry, Dec. 29, 1797.

The above declaration is signed by Patrick Develin, pastor and all the Roman Catholics in the parish, amounting to several hundreds.

December 10th, 1797.

WE, the Roman Catholic inhabitants of the parish of Rathlin, in the county of Antrim, justly regretting the disturbances, which have outraged and disgraced the northern parts of this kingdom, and feeling sensible of the past errors which many of our body have been led into by the deep designs of wicked men styling themselves United Irishmen; men who have been and still are the prime causers and sole movers of all the seditious proceedings which have torn and disturbed Ireland—and detesting and abhorring as we do, from the bottom of our hearts, both their seditious principles and diabolical practices, do hereby declare, and in the most solemn manner, pledge ourselves to support with our lives and fortunes, the blessed constitution of this country, and his majesty's happy government established amongst us, determined as we are to exert ourselves for the suppression of rebellion and sedition within our districts. We further declare, that we have seen with indignation their endeavours to sow discord between those of our and the Protestant persuasion; being truly sensible that men who have associated or will associate like us, for the protection of the constitution, can have no enmity to those who are equally anxious for its preservation, of whatever religious persuasion they may be. And we do hereby assure all our Protestant brethren of the above description, of our sincere affection for them, and our absolute determination, to co-operate and join with them by every means in our power,

for the suppression of rebellion, the support of this happy constitution, the welfare of his majesty's government, and in love and loyalty towards his sacred person.

Signed by Edward M'Mullan, pastor of Rathlin.
Alexander M'Donnell, and by 180
Roman Catholic inhabitants of the
aforesaid parish.

NO. CVIII.

PAGE 299.

GENERAL ELECTION.

TO THE MEETING OF FREEMEN AND FREEHOLDERS, ASSEMBLED
AT THE EXCHANGE, ON SATURDAY, THE 29th JULY.

MY FELLOW CITIZENS,

A SLIGHT indisposition has prevented me from giving your resolution an immediate answer. When the country is put down, the press destroyed, and public meetings for the purpose of exercising the right of petition to remove ministers are threatened and dispersed by the military, I agree with you that a general election is no more than an opportunity to exercise, by permission of the army, the solitary privilege to return a few representatives of the people to a house occupied by the representatives of boroughs.

When the Irish parliament was perpetual or provincial, it was of little moment how that parliament was constituted: but becoming independent, it became essential, that it should become constitutional; and in order to be constitutional, it was necessary the commons should form an integral part thereof; fourteen years you gave to the experiment, and having failed, withdrew. You refuse to take a small portion of that representation, the whole of which belongs to you; you will not confirm an unjust distribution of your property, by becoming a poor-rent charger on a poor portion of your inheritance; you refuse to give your sanction to your exclusion; and will not attend a ceremony which has proved the trade of the individual and the ruin of the country. While I entertain such an opinion, I beg to express my profound respect for some enlightened and valuable individuals, who differ from me; oppos-

ed to their opinion, I should suspect my own if it were not fortified by yours. I think the people of this country are perfectly right when they insist to be nothing less than the whole of the third estate. The people are in contemplation of the constitution only a part of the legislature, but they are the whole of the commons. Is that too much? They gave the crown—they ask the representation: they ask the representation of that prince to whom they gave the crown. Without derogating from any of those rights which exist, independent of any artificial formation, the people claim under the general constitution of the land, and under their own particular declaration of right to be an integral part of the legislature. The constitution tells them, that their liberty exists in their exemption from any laws, save those to which by representation they consent: their declaration of right tells them that the king, the lords, and the commons of Ireland are the only body competent to make her laws, by which it is not only asserted that the Irish parliament is exclusively the Irish legislature, but that the people are an integral part thereof. If then the people are not suffered to form that integral part, the constitution of the realm and the claim of right are evaded and defeated. The minister stands in the place of parliament. He becomes the arbiter of your lives and fortunes, and transfers that dominion to the British cabinet, on whom he depends, and thus re-imposes on this realm the legislative power of another country. And when your ministers tell you that the reform of parliament is only a popular pretence, I cannot believe them to be in earnest: I wish they had made the experiment: happy had it been for the country—happy had it been for themselves; they would then indeed have possessed but one-third of the constitution, but they would not have lost the whole of the empire.

Foreign disgrace leads naturally and of course to the subject of domestic oppression: I cannot here omit that part of your resolution which adverts to the barbarities committed upon the habitations, property, and persons of the people, and beg to join with yours my testimony against such repeated, wanton, savage, abominable, and permitted outrages, barbarities, and murders, such as no printer will now dare to print, lest he too should be plundered or murdered for the ordinary exercise of his trade.

I beg to take this opportunity of returning my thanks to the aldermen of Skinner's alley, who have expressed their approbation of my conduct. I do believe our measures were agreeable to the sense of the nation. I lament they were not seconded by the majority of parliament; if that majority whose motives I do not discuss, whose infatuations I do lament; if that majority instead of attaching itself to the court, had considered itself as part and parcel of the people, they had consulted their dignity

better. Why am I superior to ministers or viceroys? Because I do not assume to be superior to my fellow-citizens. Had that majority taken a proud post, and identified with the people—had they seized the opportunity of doing justice to Ireland, and instead of voting millions without getting any thing for the country, supported us in our motion to ameliorate the condition of the peasantry, in our motion for an equal trade, in our attempts to emancipate the Catholics, and to reform the parliament, their country would now have liberty and peace, instead of distraction at home, and negotiation abroad. Where the British negotiator remains with the Irish boroughs about his neck, to pay for every felony the minister has committed on the - - - - -

You express a wish, that my public duty should not cease with my representative capacity. In that idea I entirely concur. My seat in parliament was but a part of my situation; the relationship to my country was higher and more permanent. The duty of a citizen is commensurate with his powers of body and mind.

I have the honour to be,

With the greatest respect,

Your most humble servant,

H. GRATTAN,

TO THE CITIZENS OF DUBLIN.

HAVING seen an address to the citizens of Dublin, from my worthy colleague and friend Mr Grattan, I feel it incumbent upon me, not only to take the same step, but also to state to you my most perfect coincidence of opinion, with the whole of that address; an address of such comprehension, such sublimity and truth, that he that does not feel its force must be lost to every sense of humanity, justice, and honour.

As my friend's address has been in consequence of the probability of a speedy dissolution of parliament, I should be wanting both in gratitude and respect, were I not immediately to seize the earliest opportunity of returning you my most sincere thanks for your past kindness, favour, and indulgence; in other circumstances I might have solicited I might have aspired to a continuance of them, but till the parliament of Ireland is reformed, I renounce every thought of ever again entering the House of Commons.

To take leave of those, from whom one has experienced so much as I have from the citizens of Dublin, is a most painful task. Proportionate, I may say, with the joy and satisfaction with which we met, flushed with hope, proud of your confidence,

proud of feeling myself a willing and devoted servant, I indulged in the fond illusion, as it has proved, of being instrumental, with the rest of my friends, in advancing those measures so absolutely necessary to the salvation of Ireland, and which the nation had a right to expect would be brought to a happy conclusion. Vain hope! vain struggle! accompanied by more ceasing regret, at having engaged to work in such a fruitless vineyard. I could not do it long; I early deserted the Irish House of Commons, but never you; I did so on conviction, that if the honesty and talents of my friends combined were only the sport of their opponents, wallowing in corruption, there could be little necessity for the attendance of those, who, not pretending to the latter, made the former the only rule of their conduct.

A session of parliament had not passed, after the honour you had done me, before I was completely convinced, that without a reform of the parliament, the country could not be saved. Could I have thought that you would have disapproved of my absence, I can only say, that I would have dragged my person and my regrets day after day, and night after night, into that house, however irksome it might have been to me, and although peculiarly circumstanced as to this country, you would still have found me at my post, had there been the most distant prospect of any one measure proposed for the good of Ireland, on an enlightened and comprehensive scale, being crowned with success.

The time was, would that it could be recalled, when the people of Ireland, always patient, always enduring, looked to a reform of parliament as a period when, through the integrity of their representatives and an ardent love for the welfare of the kingdom, such measures might be pursued, with the concurring zeal of an economical and wise administration, as would have raised the character of the nation, and detached our country from the ridicule of that frivolous system, that often imposed, by the character and appearance of energy and decision, only to relapse into the most perfidious dereliction of all principle whatsoever.

At this awful crisis, when the reflecting mind wanders through the mazes of truth and error, in the teeming of eventful moments, we must not despair, though our affrighted country, with a desponding and unsteady hand, upholds a mirror to our view, that glares upon our sight; the steady grasp shifts it but a little, and its reflection true. All is not lost, Ireland must still be saved. Words get abroad; I have heard of United Irishmen—their system I know not—I cannot suppose it bad; but this I know, that want of system, want of union, want of cordiality, want of real patriotism in all ranks, has hitherto been the ruin of our country.

Again let me repeat my assurances of unalterable regard for you, my fellow-citizens, and my most anxious wishes for your prosperity. May the lash of despotism be averted. May the liberties for which our ancestors have bled, still survive all attempts at their extinction. Put your trust in that Providence, that alone directs the blow, let the powers of this earth take what aim they may.

HENRY FITZGERALD.

Boyle Farm, July 15, 1797.

No. CIX.

A PASTORAL LETTER TO THE CATHOLIC CLERGY OF THE UNITED
DIOCESES OF WATERFORD AND LISMORE. BY THE R. R. DR.
HUSSEY....PAGE 296.

DEARLY BELOVED BRETHREN IN CHRIST,

IN these critical and awful times, when opinions seem spreading over this island, of a novel and dangerous tendency; when the remnants of old oppression, and new principles which tend to anarchy, are struggling for victory, and which in the collision may produce the ruin of religion; when a moral earthquake shakes all Europe, I felt no small affliction and alarm, upon receiving the superior command of the head of the church, to preside over the Catholics of these united dioceses, upon the death of your most venerable, and ever to be regretted prelate, your late bishop.

In the midst of these fears and alarms, it was a great consolation to me, to be assured of the piety, zeal, and loyalty of the clergy under my spiritual care; and that their exertions were constantly employed to keep the laity within the bounds of religion, morality, and decorum. That no part of Ireland was more exempt from turbulence and insubordination to the laws, than this district; and that the memory of the illegal injustices and cruelties formerly practised in this country, by men who made religious distinctions a stalking horse for political purposes, is completely and happily effaced, I hope, for ever.

It is upon you, very reverend, and dearly beloved brethren, that, under God, my reliance is, that the Catholic faith will

duce its happy effects, in mending and improving the morals of the flock, which I commit to your care respectively. Let me beseech you, to attach yourselves to them, by frequently instructing and exhorting them, especially as often as you approach the sacred altar; and certainly you cannot fail to attach them to you, by such a pious, exemplary, and zealous conduct. Do not permit yourselves to be made the instruments of the rich of this world, who will try, by adulation, and possibly by other means, to make instruments of you over the poor, for their own temporal purposes, and perhaps to render your sacred ministry odious to them. The poor were always your friends, they inflexibly adhered to you, and to their religion, even in the worst of times: they shared their scanty meal with you, and with your predecessors, and thereby preserved a succession of spiritual pastors throughout the kingdom. If they had acted otherwise, conformed to the errors of the nation, and imitated the conduct of the rich, who not only shut their doors against you, but not unfrequently hunted you like wild beasts, I should not be able to address the present respectable body of clergy under my spiritual authority. Such a consideration cannot fail to enliven your zeal, and with affectionate attachment towards them, to impel you to instruct them in their duties; to restrain their errors, and to correct their vices. *Argue, obsecra, increpa, in omni patientia, & doctrina.* Upon all proper occasions, *speak to them the words of eternal life*, without fear or deference towards the enemies of our holy faith. The pastor, who doth not act in this manner towards his flock, hath lost the grace of his vocation, or perhaps he never received it from God. He is the mercenary shepherd, described in the scripture, who, upon seeing the wolf, runs away, and abandons his flock an easy prey to him.

At the same time that I charge you to avoid all political interferences, as unworthy the ministers of him, *whose kingdom is not of this world*, I call upon you to stand firm against all attempts, which may be made, under various pretexts, to withdraw any of your flocks from the belief and practice of the Catholic religion. Remonstrate with any parent who will be so criminal as to expose his offspring to those places of education where his religious faith or morals are likely to be perverted. If he will not attend to your remonstrances, refuse him the participation of Christ's body; if he still should continue obstinate, denounce him to the church, in order that, according to Christ's commandment, *he be considered as a heathen and a publican.*

If, in any of your districts, the Catholic military frequent Protestant places of worship, it is your duty to expostulate with them, and to teach them how contrary to the principles of the Catholic religion it is, exteriorly to profess one faith, and interiorly to believe

another. That such hypocrisy, even in the eyes of the world, is mean and pusillanimous, as well as odious and abominable in the sight of God. That the military garb they wear, implies a manly candour, which abhors such duplicity. That this manly candour is peculiarly the character of an Irish soldier, who ought not to be ashamed of openly professing the Catholic religion—the religion of Irishmen. Instruct them, that in all matters regarding the service of the king, their officers are competent to command them, and that they are bound to obey; but in matters regarding the service of the King of Kings, their officers have no authority over them. Their personal religion is their own natural, uncontrollable, imprescriptible right, subject to the spiritual authority of the Catholic church, and over which the laws of the land cannot enjoy a coercive authority. In all temporal matters, they are subject to their temporal rulers. In all spiritual matters, they are subject to their spiritual rulers. These two authorities, like parallel lines in mathematics, can never touch each other. By the smallest declination, they lose even their name. Guard them from being deluded by the hacknied phrase of liberality of sentiment. Surely liberality of sentiment does not consist in holding all creeds, and all forms of worship, to be equal! He who thus expresses himself, is a latitudinarian, who despises all creeds—all forms of worship! The man of true liberality is he who conscientiously believes, and scrupulously follows that creed and form of worship which is conformable to his conscience, yet lives in charity, in concord, in amity with all others, of every religious persuasion. The man of true liberality is he who employs his conscience as the helm with which he steers, in his religious voyage, leaving others to steer theirs by a similar guide. The man of true liberality is he with whom a difference in religious opinions makes no difference in social life—living in equal harmony with all, and frequently bestowing more kindness and more bounty upon those who differ from him in religious opinions, when they want it, more than upon those of his own communion. The man of true liberality is he, who, when raised above the rest, to govern a great people, scorns to attend to the paltry distinctions of sect or party, spurns from his presence those interested advisers of a dangerous faction, who would dishonour him, and abuse the sacred name of majesty, to enrich themselves; but, like a true patriot, raises to power and influence, those whom, in his conscience, he thinks of most ability and integrity, to serve king and country. To sum up the whole, the truly liberal man is he who makes his religion the guide for his own personal and private conduct, and not a rule to guide, to govern, or to compel others to act against their conscience and their religion.

The many compulsory means lately employed (and several instances of them within this very diocese not many days since) to drive the Catholic military to Protestant places of worship, alarmed the *true* friends to the king and his service, and every well-wisher to the peace and quiet of the country. Such unwarrantable steps could not make proselytes of the Catholic military; it might, in time, make them indifferent to all forms of worship, and thereby jacobinize them upon the French scale, and perhaps in the hour of danger, induce them to forget their duty and their loyalty, in order to be revenged of their persecutors.

O how different are the principles of a Catholic soldier, educated in the belief, and living in the full exercise of his religion! He clearly convinces his countrymen, that military valour is not inconsistent with religious piety; but that, on the contrary, they are natural allies. That when called to protect and defend his country, he is fearless and intrepid in the midst of danger; his bosom glowing with this consideration, that his death upon his post, promotes him to a superior post in eternity. The unbeliever, who sees nothing beyond the grave, more naturally shrinks from the danger of his dissolution, or if he seems to assume courage, it is either the brutal insensibility of his temper, or an artificial mask, which he puts on, to screen him from the contempt which is sure to follow cowardice: But the courage and intrepidity of a true Catholic, is the discharge of his duty, is a calm heroic intrepidity, which sees the danger in his road, but sees immortality beyond it. He marches courageously on, sure that if he falls, it is to rise again beyond the grave. But when the unbeliever sees the danger, he sees nothing beyond it, and thinks, that if he falls, that moment puts a final and a fatal period to all his schemes of ambition, of fortune, of pleasure, and that he *sinks into eternal night*, never—never to rise again. Surely such an impious idea is capable of transmuting even a naturally brave man into a cowardly slave. Let me say all in one sentence. Those sentiments of intrepidity, of fidelity, of honour, which high birth and polished education impress upon those of an elevated sphere in life, cannot be superior to the sentiments of fidelity, of courage, and of honour, which the Catholic religion, *if sincerely believed, and piously practised*, would inspire into the lowest in the ranks; and who, if his duty calls him, would shew a courage and intrepidity equal to Alexander and Cæsar, and as unsullied loyalty and integrity as those statesmen and generals, who regulate kingdoms, or who defend them.

In all your proceedings, very reverend and dearly beloved brethren, avoid intermixing the politics of the world with the sublime and heavenly maxims of the Catholic religion; they have not the smallest connexion with each other: the one is spiritual,

the other is temporal ; the one regards the transitory affairs of this world, the other the eternal affairs of the world to come. As the Catholic faith is a religion preached to all nations, and to all people, so it is suitable to all climes, and all forms of government, monarchies or republics, aristocracies or democracies. Despotic or popular governments are not the concerns of the Catholic faith : it may well suit a small sect to regulate its creed and form of worship, according to the shape and form of government, of the limited boundaries where that sect arose, exists, and dies away. Not so the religion, which the prophet foretold should extend from the rising to the setting sun, which has been propagated and promulgated from Peru to China, from the East to the West Indies, from pole to pole, teaching the same doctrine, administering the same sacraments, and offering up the adorable sacrifice of the Redeemer, wherever man is found, and God adored. It is therefore called the Catholic, or universal religion. It may well suit the laity of your respective districts, to pursue their temporal concerns, and their temporal politics, by such ways as appear to them fair, peaceable, and loyal ; and their past conduct is a proof that they are incapable of pursuing them by any other means. If their conduct has always been loyal and peaceable, even in the worst of times ; if, even when religious penalties made them total strangers to their native land ; if, when the ruling party, with insolence in their looks, and oppression in their hands, ground them down, when some of the most powerful men in the nation declared in the senate, that they hoped to see the day when no Catholic would dare to speak to a Protestant with his hat on ; when even the course of justice was perverted, and the channels of it dried up, according to the prejudices and party views of the judges who sat upon the bench, and were paid for the impartial administration of it, by taxes levied upon the oppressed sufferers ; yet even in these provoking times, if the body of Catholics remained inflexibly attached to their religion, and to their king, what have you to dread from their proceedings, when not only the judges are equitable and humane, but also a great part of these impolitic religious penalties are removed, and the rest of them in such a state of progress to be totally removed ; that however a junto, for their own interested or other sinister views, may raise mobs to try to throw obstacles against the total repeal of them, yet all their efforts must be useless. The vast rock is already detached from the mountain's brow, and whoever opposes its descent and removal, must be crushed by his own rash endeavours. The popery laws are upon the eve of being extinguished for ever ; and may no wicked hand ever again attempt to divide this land, by making religious distinctions a mask to divide, to disturb, to oppress it.

Make your flock sensible to the honour of being accounted a member of the Catholic communion, that they are not members of a small sect, limited to that country where the sect itself was formed. They are members of a great church, which has lasted more than 1700 years, which flourished in every part of the habitable world. *In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum, & in fines terræ verba eorum*, and that Christ has promised that it will flourish until time shall be no more. *Usque ad consummationem sæculi, portæ inferi non prævalebunt adversus eam*. That consequently they should not be ashamed to belong to a religion, which so many kings and princes, so many of the most polished and learned nations of the world, glory in professing.

Remind them, that two centuries of persecution have tried in vain to pervert them; that the annals of the church, the history of mankind, does not afford another example like theirs of perseverance in their religious principles. That we find, in the history of every other nation or people, that a much shorter time was sufficient, by penal restrictions of religion, to gain over the people to the religion of the state; but that two centuries of persecuting laws, immense sums of money given by parliament to gain over proselytes, and levied upon those very people whose creeds they thereby endeavoured to purchase, left still the great body of the nation faithful to that spark, which St. Patrick lighted at the great altar of the Catholic church, and spread over this island; and that nine-tenths of the nation at large, and ninety-nine hundredths of this diocese are still faithful and steady Catholics, notwithstanding what they and their ancestors suffered for their fidelity, and for which they are as unrivalled in the history of the church, as insulated an exception to the prevaricating versatility of man, as the geographical situation of the island itself is to the rest of the world.

That portion of the Catholics of Ireland which God has committed to my spiritual care, I call upon you, very reverend and dearly beloved brethren, as my coadjutors and assistants, to aid me, by word, and by example, to instruct, and to feed, with the *word of salvation*, and *with the bread of angels*. It is a laborious, but it is also a meritorious, and an honourable employment. It forms the strongest bulwark to the state, by being the best supplement to the laws; which, *without morals, are vain*. A faithful discharge of these duties, will form our crown, and our glory, when, at the last day, the supreme Pastor will come to judge us, and to judge the world.

A letter from Mr. Burke to Dr. Hussey.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I HOPE in God this letter will find you in Ireland. From the moment that the government who employed you betrayed you, they determined at the same time to destroy you. They are not a people to stop short in their course. You have come to an open issue with them. On your part what you have done has been perfectly agreeable to your duty as a Catholic bishop and a man of honour and spirit. Whether it is equally agreeable to those rules of circumspect prudence, which ought to have their weight perhaps in an enslaved country, may admit of some question. That many of your people will be ready to condemn you is very probable: it is more than probable that they will give you but a feeble support, however the less you have to rely on others, the more you are to rely upon yourself. There is nothing I wish for more than to have some conversation with you. But if just now you were to come to England, it would be construed into a flight from the attack of lord —— and Mr. ——, at the same time that you will naturally act in a manner agreeable to the courageous dispositions, which you have from principle, from disinterestedness, and a degree perhaps from mental constitution, you will be careful to preserve that temper, in which the conflict which I fear you will be called to will certainly require. I expect you will be called before lord D——'s committee. I did not conceive that a man of so little estimation in either kingdom, would have the lead of the House of Lords committed to him, without some purpose, that required that kind of instrument. I therefore am of opinion, that instead of coming direct from W——d to England, you ought to go without delay to Dublin. How could they expect that you, a Catholic bishop, should not prefer your own religion to all others? How could they expect, that you should be of any other opinion than mine, in which you know we frequently agreed “that if the Catholics were seduced or bullied from the only religion they have or can have, they must fall into indifference or into actual atheism, or its concomitant direct tendency, actual rebellion.” How could they expect, that if you as a Catholic pastor, did not strongly assert the advantages and pre-eminence of your own religion, yet as a good citizen you would endeavour to keep the people attached to the only religion which they can possibly have. How dare they assert it is not the religion of the country, in which more than 100 to 1 in your diocese are of your communion. If they should say, as that buffoon

D——n does, that this is the religion, of the common people, it is only to speak more in its favour, because it is for them that all religion, and eminently the Christian religion, is meant for a guide, for a control and for a consolation. These are principles you have always held. To be sure Christ himself has given as a conclusive proof in his answer to John the Baptist of his divine mission, that the gospel was preached to the poor. The other part of the divine answer, if you cannot imitate in miracle you may as you have always done imitate in charity. As to what you said to the soldiers, why should it be wrong in you to say of them exactly what Tertullian has said of the Roman soldiers in his day? You cannot alter the language of the church, and I believe there is no Protestant pastor (and I believe you may appeal to his Grace of Cashel) who should attempt by any rigour, inflicted or threatened, to bring his people to mass. Who would or could mean any other language than what you have done? The great point for you (as I wrote to you before in my first long letter, because I knew that the castle junta do absolutely deny the fact,) is to establish the circumstance either of menace, coercion, or punishment, as the case may be. When you have bottomed yourself well upon these facts, you need not be afraid to meet the vindictive lord D—— upon this ground. I should not be sorry, that the Catholicity of this nobleman's family should be alleged as an excuse for thinking well of your religion, for that whatever respect you have for the present lord D——, you cannot think better of him than you did of the old lord, who certainly had been a most zealous Catholic, that if any person of those families became more enlightened you could have no objection to it, but you could not think the better of them on account of their conversion, and that you hoped they would not persecute you on principles which would equally well have justified a persecution of their ancestors and nearest relations. That you would heartily wish, that every man in the kingdom had as much zeal for the crown, and as much abhorrence for jacobinical principles as you have shewn. I revert to it again, you cannot leave Ireland until you have seen Dublin. There is a direct attack intended to be made on all your episcopacy. Dr. Troy has not fared better than you, notwithstanding his caution and the sermons he has published against the taking of oaths. For I have this day a letter from a most respectable and dignified clergyman of the church of England, in which he tells me, that the Dublin castle runners in London propagated every where, that this prelate actually had taken the oath of United Irishmen. If you have not wisdom enough to make common cause, they will cut you off one by one. If you are called on, my opinion is, that you ought to recapitulate all the proceedings at Laughlinstown, and

to state that you consider that as the pledge of government, that on your going to Ireland you would find the same course persevered in. That let them determine what they will, you are determined to do your duty. That if you have expressed your apprehensions from the persons commonly called the *junto*, it is nothing but what you are justified in by their own repeated declarations of dislike to your whole body, and the repugnance which they have always publicly expressed against the repeal of the several persecuting and disqualifying laws. This last is only a hint in case they should urge you upon the point. I feel as much concerned in you as if I was in my own person in Ireland, and in your situation, because you know I advised you to accept the D—e of P——d's invitation; though I confess (and I am sure you remember) that I trembled at your being committed at such times and with such people: but I thought it an imperious duty, and so did yourself, to do every thing in your power to check the growth of jacobinism upon one hand, and oppression, which is its best friend, on the other. I hope you have put down what you intended about the protest you entered into with the D—e of P——d and Mr. P—t. Adieu. I am, with little ceremony, but great truth,

Yours, &c. &c.

E. B.

Bath, 16th May, 1797.

Another letter from Mr. Burke to Dr. Hussey.

MY DEAR SIR,

YOU will easily believe, I am in the highest degree interested in any thing, with which you are connected, particularly in the most important object, by which you are now detained in Ireland. I wrote to you by sir George Shee. I hope you have got that letter; not that it contains any thing very material, but that I hope you will not think me inattentive to you or your most important pursuit; for a long time I have had no information, or nothing which deserves the name, about what you are doing. I hear, and am extremely alarmed at hearing, that the chancellor and the chiefs of the benches are among your trustees: if this be the case, so as to give them the power of intermeddling, I must fairly say, that I consider, not only all the benefits of the institution to be wholly lost, but that a more mischievous project was never set on foot. I should much sooner make your college, according to the first act of parliament, a subordinate department of our Protestant university, absurd as I always thought that plan to be, than to make you the instrument

of the instruments of the jobbing system. I am sure that the constant meddling of your bishops and of the clergy with the castle, and of the castle with them, will infallibly set them ill with their own body; all the weight, which hitherto the clergy have had in keeping the people quiet, will be wholly lost if once this should happen; at best you will have a marked schism, and more than one kind, and I am greatly mistaken if this is not intended, and diligently and systematically pursued. I am steadily of my old opinion, that this affair had better be wholly dropped, and the government boon with civility and acknowledgment declined, than to subject yourselves and your religion to your known and avowed enemies, who connect their interest with your humiliation, and found their own reputation on the destruction of yours. I have said so much on this point already, that I shall trouble you no more about it. As to the committee of lay Catholics, I am sorry for a tone of jacobinism that was adopted by some of its principal members, but still more so, that it has been dissolved: the bad principle might have been kept under. Nothing ever can save you without some committee of the kind. I wish something of the sort re-established; your enemies are embodied, what becomes of you if you are only individuals!

Mr. Hay of the county of Wexford, who came hither with an address from that part of Ireland, is on his return to you, and takes this with him. I like him very much, he is a zealous, spirited, and active young man. He has one project in hand of great extent, and some difficulty, but like to be of great use: it is to make an exact enumeration of the inhabitants of Ireland distinguishing their religion. The specimen he has shewn me if it is perfect; and I have no doubt, that with the assistance of the Catholic clergy (without whom nothing of that sort can be done) a very useful work towards every plan of political economy may be formed. I am sure every one must be sensible of the truth of lord Fitzwilliam's assertion, on seeing Mr. Hay's plan, that the depression of the Catholics is not the persecution of a sect, but tyranny over a people. In the provinces of Ireland (out of the cities) it is almost literally true in substance and effect; it is true of the whole in the parts marked in his paper, the Protestants are not as one to forty-five; and on the whole, I do not think that the county of Wexford is much more, Catholic than the other counties in Leinster and Munster. I know that an ill handle may be made of this work, but so there is, and so there will be of every thing done for the good of that country; but this invidious representation is not of so much prejudice as the knowledge of important truths will be of advantage to you, to the country, and to a considerate government.

Mr. Hay is so good as to take over to you some books of your late dear friend,* to be presented as memorials of the deceased to the new college, or to that of Carlow, as you think best.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

7. 7. EDMUND BURKE.

Beaconsfield, June 9th, 1798. *Impossible 1798.*

To the Rev. Doctor Hussey, Catholic College. *17 who died July 7.*

(1797)

No. CX.

ADDRESS OF THE ROMAN CATHOLICS OF IRELAND....PAGE 335.

The address of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, presented to his excellency the lord lieutenant, on Wednesday, May the 30th, 1798.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

WE, the undersigned, his majesty's most loyal subjects the Roman Catholics of Ireland, think it necessary at this moment publicly to declare our firm attachment to his majesty's royal person, and to the constitution, under which we have the happiness to live; we feel, in common with the rest of his majesty's subjects, the danger to which both are exposed from an implacable and enterprising enemy menacing invasion from abroad, and from the machinations of evil and disaffected men conspiring treason within his majesty's kingdom; under these impressions, we deem it necessary to remove, by an open and explicit declaration, every idea of countenance afforded on our part to a conduct bearing even the appearance of indifference and indiscretion, much more to a conduct holding forth symptoms of disaffection and hostility to the established order of government in this kingdom, in the preservation of which, though we differ from it in some points of spiritual concern, we feel too deeply interested to look with an indifferent eye at its overthrow.

Allow us then to assure your excellency, that we contemplate with horror the evils of every description, which the conduct of the French republic has produced on every nation hitherto weak enough to be deluded with its promises of liberty, and offers of

* His son the late Richard Burke.

fraternity ; we anticipate similar misfortunes as awaiting this his majesty's kingdom, in the deprecated event of successful invasion ; with confidence we date our determination not to be outdone by any description of our fellow-subjects, in zealous endeavours for averting that calamity : and that although anxious to enjoy, free of every restriction, the full benefit of our constitution, we reject with indignation any idea of removing the restrictions, under which we still labour, by means of foreign invasion, or by any other step inconsistent with the known laws of the land ; we prefer, without hesitation, our present state to any alteration thus obtained ; and with gratitude to the best of kings, and to our enlightened legislature, we acknowledge such a share of political liberty and advantage, already in our possession, as leaves us nothing to expect from foreign aid, nor any motive to look elsewhere, than to the tried benignity of our sovereign, and the unbiassed determination of the legislature, as the source of future advantage.

We cannot avoid expressing to your excellency our regret at seeing, amid the general delusion, many, particularly of the lower orders, of our religious persuasion engaged in unlawful associations and practices. Yet we trust that your excellency's discernment will lead you to make every just allowance for the facility, with which men, open to delusion from their situation in life, are led astray from their political duty : it shall be our endeavour to call such men to a sense of that duty, by pointing out to them, how inconsistent their conduct is with their real interest, and how contrary to the maxims of religion which they profess ; nor shall we less endeavour, by our conduct, to convince all descriptions of our fellow-subjects, how much we are impressed with the necessity of laying aside all considerations of religious distinctions, and joining in one common effort for the preservation of our constitution, of social order, and of the Christian religion, against a nation whose avowed principles aim at the destruction of them all.

We request your excellency will make these our sentiments known to his majesty, and we rely with confidence on your excellency's acknowledged candour and generosity, that you will represent us in that light, to which we venture to hope our conduct and principles have given us a just claim.

FINGAL, SOUTHWELL,
GORMANSTOWN, KENMARE,

With seventy-two baronets, gentlemen of distinction, and professors of divinity, together with the Rev. Peter Hood, D. D. president of the Royal College of Maynooth, for himself and the professors and students of said college, and above 2000 whose names are too numerous to be inserted.

The following address was presented to his excellency the lord lieutenant by the earl of Fingall, viscounts Gormanstown, Southwell, and Kenmare, the rev. dr. Troy, the hon. Mr. Barnewall, Denis Thomas O'Brien, Hugh Hamil, and George Goold, esqrs. and signed by great numbers of Roman Catholics of Dublin, and of other parts of the kingdom :

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

WE, the undersigned Roman Catholics, his majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, beg leave to approach your excellency with our warmest congratulations on your excellency's appointment to the government of this kingdom.

Firmly attached to his majesty's royal person and family, and to the principles of our excellent constitution, we cannot omit this opportunity of expressing to your excellency our deep concern and regret, at seeing in this kingdom the existence of a rebellion, threatening the destruction of each. We beg leave to assure your excellency, that we are determined to spare no exertion in our power for stopping its progress ; and that, however our religious tenets may prevent us from subscribing some of the tests, which, by some of the existing laws, are required as qualifications in certain instances, yet none of these tenets militate against the principles of our happy constitution. Our religious principles lead us to resist all rebellious conduct, as well as every species of turbulence and insubordination, and our individual attachment to his majesty and the constitution further invites us to such resistance ; by these principles your excellency will find our conduct ever guided, and led by them to a zealous co-operation with all others of his majesty's loyal subjects. We anticipate with confidence, under the direction of your excellency's acknowledged military and political talents, a speedy determination of the present unhappy state of this his majesty's kingdom, and an early restoration of the blessings of internal peace and tranquillity.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT'S ANSWER.

I HAVE the highest satisfaction in receiving your address. The loyalty of the principles you profess will, I doubt not, be fully evinced by your public and effectual exertions. The present unhappy conjuncture calls equally upon men of all religious persuasions to mark their attachment to their sovereign and our constitution, by counteracting the spirit of anarchy and rebelli-

on, which had disgraced the country. The influence of your example and authority may be of essential service, and you may be assured of my determination to do justice to your efforts, in repressing every species of turbulence and insubordination.

No. CXI.

PAGE 344.

The following declaration and address have been transmitted by James Stewart, esq. of Killymoon, and laid before the lord lieutenant :

WE, the dissenting congregation of Cookestown, in the county of Tyrone, assembled at our meeting house, on the 27th of May, 1798, feel ourselves called upon, at this important and alarming period, to come forward and express our attachment and loyalty in this public manner to our king and the constitution, and pledge ourselves, to the utmost of our power, to preserve the peace and good order of the community, and prevent, as far as our influence shall extend, that anarchy and confusion, which are so lamentably disgracing other parts of the kingdom.

Signed, by order of the session,

JOHN DAVIS, Minister.

And we do also request that James Stewart, esq. of Killymoon, will present these our sentiments to his excellency the lord lieutenant.

The address of the Roman Catholics of the parish of Desartcreat and Derryloran, in the county of Tyrone, unanimously agreed to at their respective chapels, on Sunday the 3d day of June, 1798, to be presented to his excellency the lord lieutenant.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

WE, the Roman Catholic inhabitants of the parish of Desartcreat and Derryloran, understanding with the utmost concern that most daring outrages have, for some time past, disgraced our unfortunate country, and which, in some parts of the kingdom, seem as yet disturbing the public peace, do think it necessary at this moment of alarm, (when many of our unfortunate

countrymen, and, amidst the general delusion, many of our religious persuasion, are engaged in those unlawful practices, publicly to declare our firm attachment to his gracious majesty's royal person, and the constitution under which we have the happiness to live. Under these impressions, we also think it necessary to remove, by an explicit declaration, every idea which may be entertained of our assisting or even countenancing the conduct of these misguided people, who are attempting to introduce into our country anarchy and confusion: and we pledge ourselves, solemnly and without hesitation, to protect, at the hazard of all we hold most dear, the person of our most gracious sovereign king George the third, and the constitution of this kingdom, against all enemies foreign or domestic, who are now or may hereafter disturb the public peace or tranquillity.

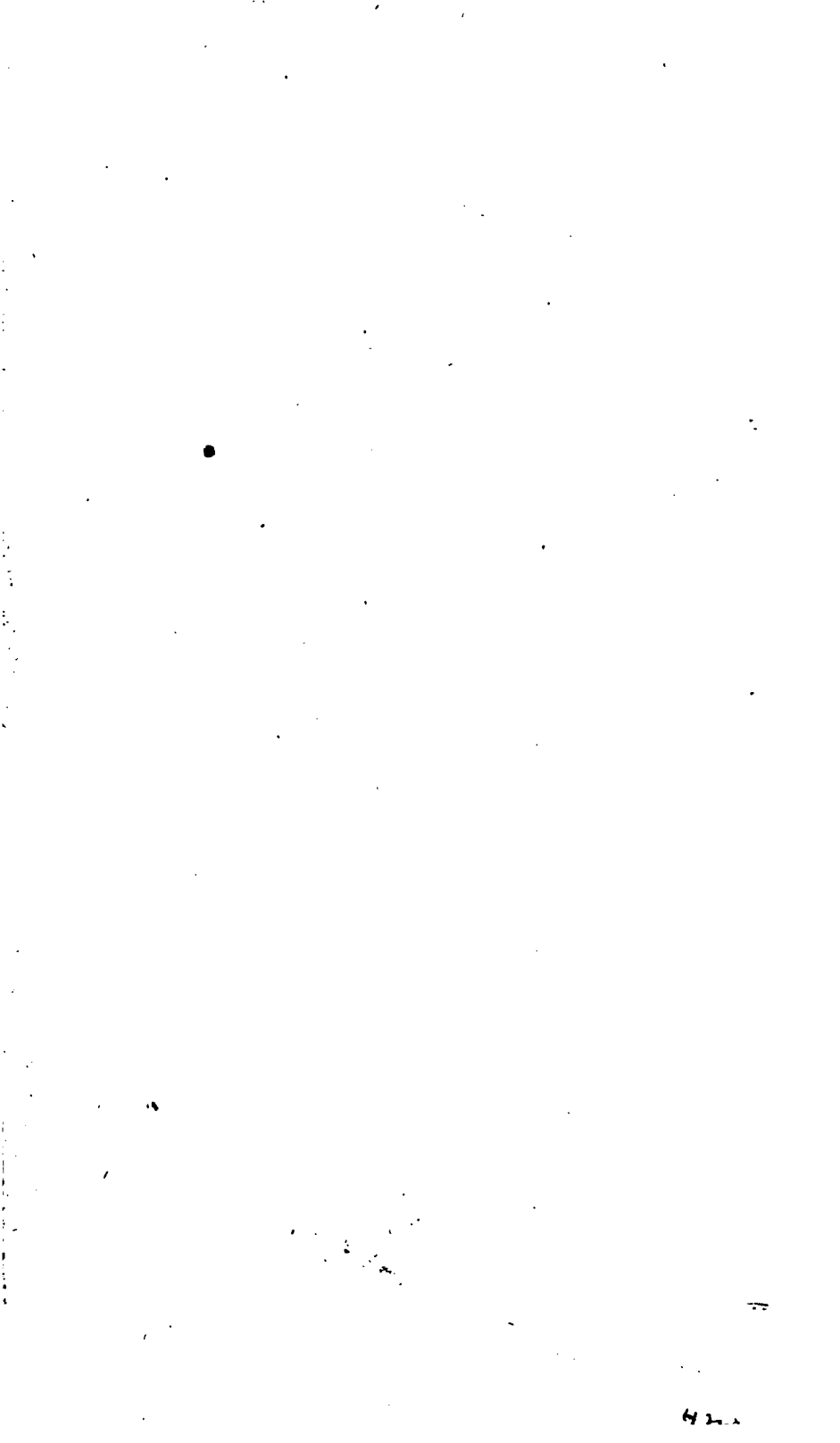
Signed by upwards of 1000 of the inhabitants of
said parishes in the presence of

ARTHUR TEGART, Parish Priest.

N. B. The signatures may be seen with Mr. Tegart.

END OF APPENDIX TO VOL. IV.

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